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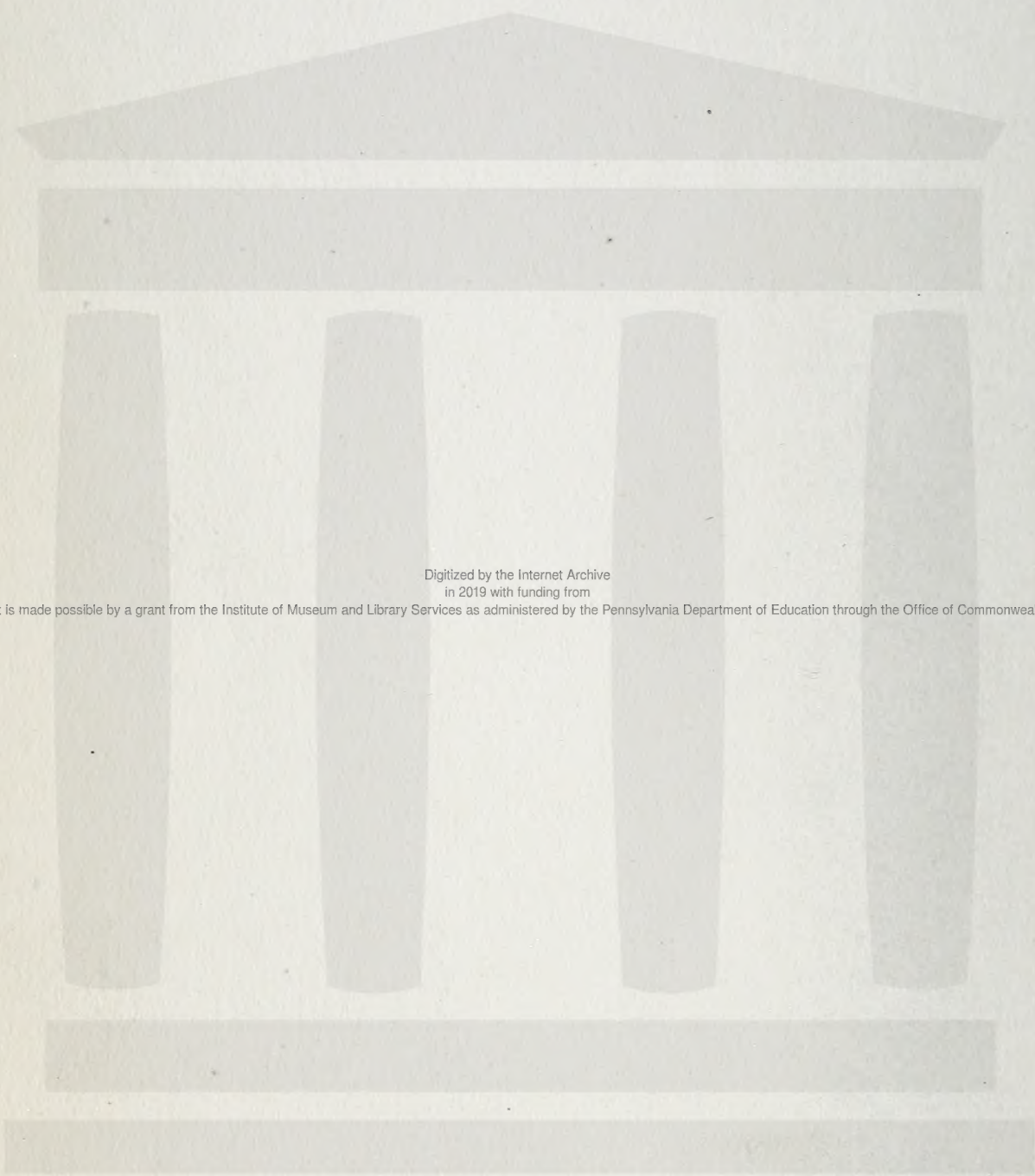
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THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

CONDUCTED BY

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INDEX TO VOL. XXXI.

- Albert, Rev. C. S., D. D., Art. by 559.
- Alleman, Rev. Herbert C., A. M., Art. by, 521.
- Authority, The Protestant Principle of, 937.
- Biblical Versions, A Century of, 197.
- Child-like Potential, The, 56.
- Christian College, The, 545.
- Christ Under Oath, 402.
- Church The, And the Social Problems of our Day, 255, 385.
- Clutz, Pres. Jacob A., D. D., Art. by, 453.
- Confession of Faith, The Elector of Saxony's, 301.
- Coover, Rev. M., A. M., Arts. by 100, 270, 435, 572.
- Current Theological Thought, 100, 270, 435, 572.
- De usu Sacramentorum (Confessional Subscription) Dr. Parson's, 216.
- Dogmatic Tradition, Luther's Relation to, 186.
- Education, The Changed Conditions of, 559.
- Fox, Prof. L. A., D. D., Art. by, 149.
- Future Punishment, The Question of, 94.
- Gladhill, Rev. J. T., A. M., Art. by, 177.
- Hall, Rev. J. A., D. D., Art. by, 39.
- Hay, Rev. C. E., D. D., Art. by, 19.
- Hefelbower, Rev. S. Gring., A. M., Arts. by, 114, 216, 283, 442, 581.
- Heisler, Pres. C. W., D. D., Art. by, 419.
- Holy Spirit, The, The Operations of, 80.
- Inauguration Addresses, 1.
- Influence of the Halle Pietism in the Provincial Development of Pennsylvania, 170.
- King, Rev. Hiram, A. M., Arts. by, 66, 370.
- Lord's Supper, Luthardt on the, 19.
- Miller, Rev. Edgar Grim, A. M., Arts. by, 255, 385.
- Ministry, The, The Call to, 453.
- Neve, Prof. J. L., Art. by, 413.
- Oxford Movement, The, And John Henry Newman, 39.
- Oxford Movement, Some Aspects of the, 521.
- Pick, Rev. B., Ph. D., D. D., Art. by, 197.
- Revelation Supernatural, The Biblical, 74.
- Revelation, Diversity and Union of, 66.
- Review of Recent Literature, 125, 292, 450, 588.
- Richard, Prof. J. W., D. D., Art. by, 301.
- Ruthrauff, Rev. J. M., D. D., Art. by, 545.
- Sachse, Julius Friederick, Art. by, 170.
- Sanders, Rev. C. F., A. M., B. D., Art. by, 337.
- Smaller Colleges, The Mission of, 419.
- Social Problem, The, And the Gospel, 370.
- Stump, Rev. Adam, A. M., Art. by, 186.
- Successive Phases in the Developments of the Doctrinal Standpoint of the General Synod, 413.
- Sutherland, Rev. Edgar, A. M., Art. by, 94.
- Theories, The Two, 364.
- Tomlinson, Rev. John, A. M., Art. by, 364.
- Valentine, Rev. M., D. D. LL. D., Art. by, 74.
- Weaver, Rev. J. H. Art. by, 80.
- Wenner, Rev. George U., D. D., Art. by, 507.
- Wesen Des Christenthums, Harnack's, 507.
- Will, Edward's Doctrine of the, 149.
- World, God's Relation to the, 177.
- Wynn, Prof. W. H., Ph. D., D. D., Art. by, 56.
- Young, Rev. J. J., D. D., Art. by, 402.

ANALYSIS

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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1901.

ARTICLE I.

INAUGURATION ADDRESSES.*

THE CLAIMS OF THE BIBLE AS THE WORD OF GOD.—THE CHARGE
TO THE PROFESSOR-ELECT.

BY REV. JOHN WAGNER, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD.

My Dear Brother: It is made my official duty to deliver the formal charge at this your inauguration as Professor of Biblical Theology. The remarkable unanimity with which you were chosen by the Board of Directors, representing seven of our oldest and largest Synods, compels the conviction that it was God's voice calling you to this high and responsible position.

It will be needless for me to detain you by presenting and emphasizing every phase of the great and important trust committed to you. Before proceeding to lay before you some of the claims of the Bible as the Word of God, it may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that the establishment of a chair of Biblical Theology in this venerable institution marks a distinct advance in the theological equipment of the Lutheran Church in this country. Hence this is an occasion of more than ordinary interest and significance. It is cause for profound gratification among us that the Seminary of the General Synod has lately not only secured buildings befitting its needs, but now sustains a department of Theological Science whose sole busi-

*Delivered in Christ Church, Gettysburg, Pa., September 21st, 1900, at the inauguration of Rev. J. A. Singmaster, D. D., as Professor of Biblical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the U. S.

ness it is "critically to ascertain and truthfully to exhibit," what the Word of God really teaches. Both Catholic and Protestant divines have been justly charged with having made until comparatively recent times "the enormous mistake of studying Scripture,—so far as their interest therein was theoretical and practical,—primarily in order to find proof of the doctrines contained in their creeds and confessions." They failed to apprehend and appreciate the seemingly very simple thought that Scripture should be studied in the first instance with a single eye to find out what was really in it, and that to this end the study of it should be strictly and purely exegetical and historical, without regard to the later deductions of dogmatic theology.

This thought, to which I have adverted, is one which stamps Biblical Theology with a unique, extraordinary and transcendent value. It is not sufficient for a minister to be acquainted with Christian symbolics and ecclesiastical history; to be skilled in Biblical criticism and homiletics; to be learned in dogmatics, or even in "exegesis, the ultimate direct result and most comprehensive and perfect product of which is Biblical Theology."

What is of chief moment is that the man of God be both acquainted and impressed with, and trained skillfully to use and apply, the very truths of the inspired word which it is the specific object of Biblical Theology to ascertain and set forth.

Upon you, my brother, has fallen this distinguished honor, and upon you will devolve the grave responsibility of training the Church's future ministers in the immediate interpretation of the Scriptures from an historical rather than from a dogmatic standpoint—to bring out the truths of God with such clearness that whatever is built upon them will be able to stand before the searchlight of experience and increasing knowledge.

The Bible is more than a revelation. It is a history of revelation. In it there may be discovered a gradual unfolding of eternal verities and of God's plans for the redemption of man. A full recognition of this historical process as to how the Scriptures became what they are cannot but aid materially in extracting from them the exact meaning which the sacred writers put

into them, which alone is the one object and aim of all genuine Bible study.

You are also set for the defence of this word, which is being assailed in these days not only by its avowed enemies but by its professed champions. New theories as to the origin, character and development of the Biblical religion of the Biblical books are seeking to support the traditional views of Evangelical Christianity. Dr. Schodde spoke words of truth and soberness when he declared some years ago: "The lecture delivered by Dr. Briggs at his inauguration as Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Seminary in New York City is not the spasmodic shriek of an eccentric genius, but is a significant sign of the times. What he preaches from the housetops scores and scores of Bible students are entertaining in their heart of hearts, if not already as fixed theory and views, yet in the shape of doubts and uncertainties as to the accepted views of Protestant theology. When a man of the national prominence of Dr. Briggs sees in inspiration, inerrancy and absolute accuracy of the Scriptures, not supports and protectors of the truth, but 'barriers' to the truth, and the cry is raised that in the interest of the Church these so called 'barriers' must be removed, then it is evident that the radical and advanced views as to the origin and character of the Scriptures are not confined to the speculative circles of German and Dutch scholarship but are burning questions of the hour for us too."

In view of these new tendencies and departures in theological thought and teaching, the General Synod is to be congratulated not simply upon the addition of another professorship to the faculty of its leading seminary, but chiefly that a chair has been established in the interests of sound Biblical Theology; and that its first incumbent is free from any evil leaven from the so-called Higher Criticism.

The high importance of this chair in our theological education rests in part upon *the Character of the Bible as the Word of God*, which is to be the light of salvation to the ends of the world, and in part upon *the Condition of the Church* in our day. Permit me to recall a few things in reference to these two points:

As to the Bible, unquestionably as the Church has always rightly regarded it, it is to be viewed as not only *containing* but as *being* a *divine revelation*. If as to its *form* it may be said to contain a revelation, as to its *substance* it *is* a revelation.

This at once places it in a unique position, unlike every other book in the world, exalted to an office and an authority transcending every other. It carries, and is, God's message of necessary truth for human duty, welfare and eternal life.

It is a *supernatural* revelation. This, in spite of rationalistic and unbelieving denials, is its distinguishing characteristic. Dr. Valentine has well observed: "Christianity stands on maintaining the distinction between natural and supernatural divine self-disclosure. The finished *creation* of the earth and man established the system of *nature*—this natural system, the divine handiwork, becoming a real and true revelation of God, disclosing his thought, wisdom, power, and to some degree his love and goodness. The fall of man, out of his true relation to God and the line of his true spiritual destiny, created the necessity for some information and recovering help, upon which *nature*, or the *natural* revelation had no voice. If man was still to have opportunity to retrieve his condition and achieve his destiny, further word from God was necessary, a dispensation of grace. God's administration over the fallen world had to take on a *redemptive soteriological* saving character, with *supernatural* teaching, opening a way of forgiveness of sin, acceptable worship and a new life." And so, from the first Gospel promise of the seed of the woman, by the closing gates of the lost Paradise, a *supernatural* revelation and administration began its history in the world. This *supernatural* character of the Biblical revelation is the very feature, the essential feature, for a world of sin, a race lapsed from its natural development in holiness for its destiny of eternal life.

And this supernatural revelation comes to us as a *progressive* revelation. As this spiritual salvation of the race was a moral movement, to advance through moral or spiritual forces, light and truth and divine grace through them, it proceeded gradually, according to the divine plan—truth after truth, in advancing

clearness, training on training in worship, duty and piety; century after century, through covenant and law and prophecy and providential discipline, "pointing faith more and more distinctly to the great atonement that underlaid it all from the beginning, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world"—on, on to the fullness of time when the divine Son himself came to sum it all up and complete it in his teaching and work. "The revelation was a mighty presence of God in ages of history." And when Christ came to complete it he underlaid his own revealing word with that already thus given, truth after truth as to his kingdom and the grace of salvation. Even when closing, he declared he had many things yet to say, which they could not bear then, and assured that the Holy Spirit through his apostles should guide the Church into the whole finished gospel.

And further, formally the Bible is the *history* of this revelation, the record of its progress, advance and completion. The collected library of writings, which, brought together, form the volume—as ordered by Providence—contains sixty-six separate books, written by many different authors, in countries and centuries widely remote from each other, under an immense diversity of conditions, yet these books are one in their inspiration, in their origin, in their object.

And the Bible is an inspired record. From Genesis to the Apocalypse, "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God." Christ was God manifest in flesh; the Bible is God manifest in language. It is conceivable that Christianity might be true, and the redemption by Jesus Christ actual, without an *inspired* record of it. It might have been left wholly to men to make it known and hand it down through the centuries. But that would not accord with the importance of correct information, or be consistent with the supernatural providence providing the redemption, nor sufficient to meet the wants of the Church. A merely human account of God's revelation would hardly afford the proper guidance and support in faith. But we have the Bible according to its own claims and the acceptance of the Church of all the centuries, as "God's own providentially se-

cured and inspired record of his saving self-revelation in Jesus Christ." It is thus as the Professor's oaths accepts: "The only infallible rule of faith and practice," the teaching of God and not of man.

Now, it is this character of the Bible revelation, especially as gradual and progressive through so many centuries to its consummation, that taken in connection with the condition of the Church of our times, that gives emphasis to the importance of the work of this chair. Never before has this progress in revelation, always acknowledged, been so accented as now. The present doctrine concerning the Scripture among the most conservative and churchly theologians gives this a recognition and influence unknown among the older dogmaticians. Each book in the Bible must be studied in its place in the unfolding revelation, its theology unfolded and estimated in its place and its bearings on the system. The various doctrines reach their full Christian form only in the light of their final Biblical explanation. "The time is forever past when theology can open the Bible just at any place, and quote as proof texts, from the beginning or middle, as if they expressed the full form of the divine doctrine. It must be studied in true perspective, and the doctrinal content of Christianity stand under the full light of the consummated Biblical teaching."

Two things are thus of supreme and ruling importance in this chair :

First, the maintenance, against all destructive criticism or rationalizing tendencies, of the full and final authority of the Word of God as to the Christian faith and life.

Secondly, the training of the ministry of the Church into the habit of holding theological doctrine close to the living oracles of God.

Exhort your students to preach the word *and nothing else*. All attempts to substitute human speculations for the saving truths of the gospel must be sternly resisted. There must be neither surrender to, nor compromise with, rationalism which seeks to eliminate the supernatural from the Word of God. Christianity, like the Saviour's coat, is seamless and all of a

piece; but, as exhibited in the rationalistic writings of the day, it is full of seams, and, like Joseph's coat, of many colors.

“Within this awful volume lies
The mystery of mysteries.
Happiest they of human race
To whom their God has given grace
To read, to fear, to hope, to pray,
To lift the latch and lead the way.
And better he had ne'er been born
Who reads to doubt, or reads to scorn.”

Finally I charge you: Seek to inspire your students with such a love for the Bible, and with such an appreciation of its priceless value, that in its study they may find their daily delight, add in its divine truths the power that shall not only save them but those to whom they are sent to preach. Impress them with such a reverence for it that they may never falsify it, either by approaching it in the spirit of bibliolatry on the one hand or of rationalism on the other.

Remember that the most successful teacher is not he who imparts most knowledge, but he who quickens, stimulates, inspires his students with a sincere love of the truth and an earnest search for its hidden treasures. Yours will be the truest and most abiding success if the young men, who in the coming years shall go out from under your instruction and influence, shall have been led to hold their minds and hearts in living touch with God's Word, and so felt the thrill of a holy enthusiasm for the truth kindled in their hearts by contact with your own spirit and zeal, that they may go forth preaching the word in its divine power as well as purity.

“And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment; that you may approve things that are excellent; that you may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness which are by Jesus Christ with the glory and praise of God.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO ITS STUDY.

BY PROF. J. A. SINGMASTER, D. D.

Biblical scholarship is fully up to the times. Indeed, it is doubtful whether any other department of knowledge or research has made equal progress. No generation of scholars has ever been so well equipped as the present for the study of the Sacred Scriptures. The heritage of the past, the recovery of lost manuscripts, the fuller acquaintance with the original languages, the contributions of archaeology, and the greater skill in the use of scientific principles and methods, all combine to give the scholar of to-day a vast advantage over the scholar of other days. This may be in some respects a frivolous age; yet has there ever been a period when accuracy and thoroughness were more earnestly demanded and more generally attained than now?

The question is asked: After these many centuries is the Bible still a book hard to be understood? Are there no finalities in our holy religion? It may be answered that as long as we have not fathomed all the wonders of creation, it ought not to seem strange that we have not exhausted the meaning of revelation. There are many finalities in our faith. The great cardinal points of doctrine have long since been settled to the satisfaction of believers; and plain, devout people have ever found food for their souls in their daily reading of the Bible. Who would say, however, that he has sounded every depth of inspired truth, and looked at it from every side, that he has obtained the full mind of the Spirit and divined the application of the word to the ever changing phases of experience?

The persistent discussion of the great questions connected with the Bible is not to be deprecated. Agitation is preferable to stagnation. It is the genius of Christianity to create unrest until perfect rest is found. It is characteristic of Protestantism over against Romanism to inquire and to examine rather than

blindly to accept. Every generation, like every individual, must fight its own way with ignorance and doubt to fuller light. Every thinking age has emerged from the conflict with some question settled. The past, however, has not settled every question. Each succeeding age, takes a new point of view, looks a little farther and a little deeper and so finds new problems to solve.

The Bible has nothing to fear. Our cherished theories and interpretations may suffer, but the truth will stand. The supernatural origin of the Bible and Christianity have a thousand proofs and a million illustrations. This is a great, incontrovertible fact. As God's living gospel it commends itself to every sincere inquirer after truth. It is a part of the mission of the Church to make this gospel known, and to expound it in all the fulness of its previous meaning. Every help to this end is to be joyfully welcomed.

Biblical Theology is such a help. Its aim is to discover and to set forth in proper order the exact truth of the Bible; of the revelation of God's character and dispensation in the O. T. and of the teaching of Christ and his apostles in the N. T. That such a help is needed none will acknowledge more freely than the ministry, who are often painfully conscious of a lack of power, because of a lack of thorough, systematic acquaintance with the Bible. The scientific study of the Scriptures is not only not forbidden but imperatively demanded by the nature of the case. It is true that the Bible is not a scientific text-book. If it were, it would not be every man's book. It is not "a logically articulated system of theology." (Driver). The Master said, "the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." (John 6 : 63). But there is exquisite order in the most exuberant forms of life. The luxuriant growth of a tropical forest is as capable of classification as the cultivated plant of a botanical garden. And so the Bible— that wonderful library of sixty-six books, the product of sixteen centuries and forty inspired authors—the Bible, with its wealth of history and prophecy,

poetry and parable, may be analyzed and set forth so as to present truth in a scientific yet simple manner.

"Biblical Theology" is a technical term, and therefore requires defining. All theology is or ought to be biblical, but "Biblical Theology" is only a department of theological study. Many intelligent ministers may be at loss as to its distinct province, and hence may not appreciate its importance or see the propriety of its introduction as a special study. It was not found in the curriculum of the Seminaries some years ago, nor taught as a distinct branch. These facts are the apology for the subject of the address:

A Brief Introduction to the Study of Biblical Theology.

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE SCIENCE.

Our first task will be to exhibit the character of Biblical Theology.

John Philip Gabler, to whom belongs the credit of being the first to make Biblical Theology a historical science, defined its work as the setting forth of "the religious ideas of Scripture as an historical fact, so as to distinguish the different times and subjects, and so also the different stages in the development of these ideas."

"The Theology of the Old Testament," according to Oehler, "is the historical exhibition of the development of the religion contained in the canonical books of the Old Testament."

"The Biblical Theology of the New Testament," as defined by Weiss, "is the scientific representation of the religious ideas and doctrines which are contained in the N. T."

If we may venture to put the thought of these great masters into a single definition it might be as follows: Biblical Theology is the scientific presentation from a historical standpoint of the religious teachings contained in the canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments.

It is *scientific* as over against popular and inexact. Its standpoint is *historical* in being objective rather than subjective. Its theme is the *religious teachings* rather than the language, the history, the biography, the story. It concerns itself only about

the canonical books, accepting them alone as authentic and inspired. It confines itself to the teachings of the Bible regardless of deductions, speculations and later developments of doctrine.

The character of Biblical Theology will appear still more plainly where we divest it from possible misconceptions. With the deplorable ignorance of the English Bible in mind, some have confounded Biblical Theology with the popular "normal" lectures of a summer school or of a Sunday School Convention. Over against these laudable exercises, which appeal rather to the memory than to the judgment, Biblical Theology is a profound study of the doctrinal contents of the several parts of the Bible. Others have hailed Biblical Theology as a new and atoning feature of a theological course, that is supposed to supplant the "dry, old theology" of other days. It is expected that the new study will somehow immediately furnish the student with practical preaching power. While this is one of its ultimate aims, we must remember that Biblical Theology does not teach homiletics, nor appeal to the imagination, nor furnish pathetic illustrations or captivating elocution. Its object is simply to give the student a clearer and fuller view of Bible doctrine.

Biblical Theology is not a new name for something that already exists under a more familiar title. If it were this it would be simply multiplying machinery without increasing power. But Biblical Theology proves its right to exist by filling a place in theological science hitherto either left vacant or improperly included in some other department. It constitutes an essential link in the chain of theological study. The attempt to do its specific work by attaching it to a kindred branch robs it of that certain definiteness characteristic of true science. It is, of course, possible nominally to combine many branches under one chair, and even to expect one teacher to impart the whole curriculum, but no wise man could expect good results under such limitations.

Biblical Theology stands between Introduction and Exegesis on the one hand, and Systematic and Practical Theology on the

other. Introduction designates the material; Exegesis prepares it; Biblical Theology classifies it; Systematic Theology develops it; and Practical Theology applies it. Do these seem to overlap each other, it is only the admirable dove-tailing of an ingenious mechanism or the unity and completeness of a living organism, in which every member has its distinct function.

Biblical Theology accepts the results of Introduction as far as they commend themselves to its judgment. It takes for granted that Introduction has demonstrated that the canonical Scriptures are the earliest and most original monuments of the Jewish and the Christian religion. Our science, therefore, does not concern itself directly with questions of text, authorship and authenticity. While it works from a historic standpoint "it is only a historico-descriptive and not a historico-critical science" as Introduction is. The latter is, therefore, a study preliminary and preparatory to the former.

Biblical Theology must also be distinguished from Exegesis or the science of interpretation. The latter discovers, the former arranges. The one is analytic, the other synthetic. Biblical Theology draws its conclusions from the established results of Exegesis. Exegesis seeks the meaning of verses and passages; Biblical Theology groups and systematizes all the doctrines of an entire book or author. Exegesis, therefore, is preparatory and fundamental to Biblical Theology.

With no department is Biblical Theology more likely to be confused than with Dogmatic or Systematic Theology. But they are neither identical nor antagonistic. "The former is a historical, the latter a systematic science; as the former has to do with the variety of biblical forms of teaching, the latter has to do with the unity of the truth which is recorded in these." (Weiss.) Revelation is progressive through the various epochs of Bible history. Different ages emphasize different doctrines. The manifold forms of truth were only partially conceived at any one period. It is the part of Biblical Theology to discover and to arrange the teaching of these separate epochs, but of Systematic Theology to combine the material furnished by Biblical Theology into one harmonious system, such as must evidently

underlie revelation. Moreover, Systematic Theology follows up the truth beyond its biblical statement and form "into its ultimate grounds and its further consequences." While Biblical Theology confines itself to Bible times, Systematic Theology embraces the development of doctrine in the church since the apostolic age, for the Spirit is ever leading holy men into larger and fuller conceptions of the truth. The functions, therefore, of these two branches of theological science are entirely distinct. Biblical Theology is the foundation of Systematic Theology and the touch-stone by which the doctrines developed by Systematic Theology must be tested.

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE SCIENCE.

Biblical Theology is practically a new science. Its principles and methods are modern. It is the product of a more thorough appreciation of the direct teachings of the Bible apart from tradition on the one hand and human deduction on the other. "During the whole development of church doctrine down to the Reformation, and also in the old Protestant theology, no distinct line was drawn between the essential contents of revelation as they are laid down in the Scriptures and the doctrinal formulas elaborated from them, and still less were the successive stages of revelation and types of doctrine which are presented in Scripture recognized" (Oehler).

In the Apostolic Age the theology of the Church and that of the Bible were naturally identical. By this is not meant that the believers of that period possessed a complete conception of the doctrinal contents of the Scriptures. For it is evident from the writings of the early Christians that they by no means comprehended the teachings of the Apostle Paul, which were so largely the fruit of his own experience and too profound to be understood or appreciated by the mass of his converts, who possessed no such religious nature as he was gifted with, and who had passed through no such spiritual crisis as had preceded his conversion to the Christian faith. McGiffert in "The Apostolic Age."

"In the course of the second century the Church was com-

pelled to go back from the living tradition of the teaching of the apostles to the literary monuments of the apostolic age, in order to show from them the reason and justification of its doctrine in opposition to that of the heretics. Since then the Theology of the Church has professed to be essentially nothing else than a biblical theology. But neither was a methodical derivation of this theology from Scripture then attempted, nor, with the dominant unmethodical mode of interpretation, could such an attempt have succeeded. * * * Moreover, the more tradition asserted itself, in principle, as a rule of doctrine alongside of Scripture, so much the more must the theology of the Church have deviated, in its further development, from that contained in the Bible." (Weiss).

During the Middle Ages the cultivation of Biblical Theology was impossible on account of the trivial speculations of Scholasticism on the one hand and the fanatical tendencies of Mysticism on the other.

"The Reformation first brought the difference between the doctrine of the Church and the Bible into clear consciousness, and demanded a renovation of theology in accordance with its formal principle—the sole authority of the Holy Scripture." (Weiss). The revival of classic studies, by which biblical exegesis was greatly promoted, together with the profound religious experience of the Reformers demanded a revision or reconstruction of dogma, and thus the foundation of Biblical Theology was laid. Although doctrine and theology thus became more biblical, nevertheless the form of statement and the method of development were on the whole not essentially different from those prevalent in Catholicism. "If Melancthon and Calvin developed their dogmatic text-books immediately from the Scriptures, especially from the Epistles of Paul, their successors did not continue on this path, but rather based their dogmatic on the creeds of the Church." (Beyschlag). As the scholastic working out of doctrine advanced in the Protestant Church the more it deviated, both formally and materially, from the Bible. The purity of the doctrine being no longer in question its development in an independent way was considered more impor-

tant than its biblical demonstration. Thus the doctrine of the Church was again read into the Bible rather than read out of it. Hence, there was no difference observed between the theology of the Bible and that of the Church, and none between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology. Even Pietism, with its intense consciousness of the difference between the formalism of the prevalent Church system and the simpler mode of teaching employed in the Scriptures, did not break with the theology of the Church. While the work of the Pietists was of immense practical value, their immediate contributions to Biblical Theology have no scientific importance.

"Genuine friends of orthodoxy were the first, from a sense of the insufficiency and obsolescence of its scholastic form, to endeavor to regenerate it from the utterly neglected Bible, and thus did the name biblical theology—in the sense of a biblical as distinguished from a scholastic dogmatic—first become current in the latter part of the eighteenth century." (Beyschlag). But as Rationalism soon succeeded a decaying orthodoxy the Scriptures were again subjected to "a new kind of violence" by using a proper method in an improper way.

It was John Philip Gabler, the Altorf theologian, who came to the rescue, in his academic address, "*De justo discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae*" (1789), in which was first affirmed the purely historic character of Biblical Theology. From this properly dates the beginning of our science. The principle then announced, as defined earlier in this paper, has not since been materially changed. Various important contributions have been made chiefly by German theologians during this last century, and the subject is being more and more diligently pursued; but the literature of this branch of theological science is not nearly so extensive as that of kindred departments.

III. THE DIVISIONS OF THE SCIENCE.

The Bible is practically one book, with two grand divisions, the Old Testament and the New Testament. Made by the same Lord, we may naturally expect unity and consistency in these testaments. As a fact the one is the unfolding of the

other. But there is great difference in the form of teaching. Here we have sign and symbol; there, realization and fact. Biblical Theology, therefore, is divided into Old Testament Theology and New Testament Theology.

Oehler, the greatest specialist in his department, divides Old Testament Theology into three chief divisions: 1. Mosaism; 2. Prophetism; and 3. Wisdom. Under these heads are grouped the teachings of the respective ages represented by them.

The usual divisions of N. T. Theology (as given by Stevens) are: 1. The teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptic Gospels; 2. The teaching of Jesus according to the Fourth Gospel; 3. Primitive Apostolic Teaching, including the discourses in the Acts, and the Epistles of James, Jude and Peter; 4. The Theology of Paul; 5. The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews; 6. The Theology of the Apocalypse; 7. The Theology of John.

IV. THE METHOD OF THE SCIENCE.

In order to study any branch of science with profit and, therefore, with reliable results, proper methods must be used. One must know how to view his subject. As the aim of our science is to know exactly what is taught, the method of its study must be *genetic*, that is, it must look at the *genesis*, the beginning or origin of the idea. In this manner it traces an idea or doctrine from its inception along the process of its development, and is able to decide at any given point to what period of its growth that particular manifestation belongs. Thus it does not confound the bud with the fruit. It will not attribute to any period of revelation that which was not normal or possible to it. It will not read into any age or into biography the ideas of a later age. It endeavors to reproduce the thought of the time according to its environment.

We insist also that the method must be Christian in its spirit. It is next to impossible to approach the investigation of any subject without bias or prepossession. Nor is it necessary even from a scientific standpoint in this case to endeavor to divest ourselves of our faith in God and our belief in the Bible. Biblical Theology takes it for granted, takes it as demonstrated,

that the Bible is true. We must, therefore, approach it as a revelation from God with the assured expectation of finding in it a revelation of God. Believing that the sacred Scriptures are inspired by the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who abides with the Christian, the interpreter must be open to the Spirit's gracious influence in order that he may be led into the truth. He will be able to understand and expound the deep things of the Bible, and the inner experiences of holy men of old in proportion to the degree of spiritual illumination which he himself possesses. It is implied, therefore, that he must study the Bible prayerfully if he would have the help which the Bible itself conditions on prayer.

The successful application of a proper method not only demands a right spiritual attitude, but also a due sense of our limitations—of our lack of knowledge and of wisdom. It is hardly supposable that a book which deals with the origin, history, and destiny of man should not contain much which is hard to be understood. We must, therefore, not seek to explain what we do not, and perhaps can not, understand.

The method must be used with a warm love for the Scriptures, for they unfold themselves only to him who can say with the Psalmist, "O how love I thy law! it is my meditation all the day." "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth." Moreover, the study must be pursued with the aim contemplated by the Scriptures themselves. A mechanism designed for some useful purpose is valuable only when made to do its work. It is more than a plaything or a curiosity. The ultimate purpose of the Bible is the betterment of man. Only when its study is edifying does it attain its end. Unless, therefore, we remember the aim in applying the method we will fail to get the mind of the Spirit. We must study in the first place in order to learn, rather than to teach.

V. THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF THE SCIENCE.

It is to be hoped from what we have endeavored to say that

no special plea needs to be made for the study of Biblical Theology for the sake of its practical value.

1. Its relation to other branches of Bible study.

Biblical Theology is called by Hagenbach, "a focus of light in theological study." Nitzsch declares it to be "the keystone of evangelical theology, the starting point of Church History and the history of doctrine, the storehouse of normative teaching for Systematic Theology and the helper of Practical Theology." Biblical Theology is a growing science. Only a general stagnation of theological and biblical investigations could smother it. Every new result attained by Introduction, every new discovery made by Archaeology, every new phase of truth revealed by Exegesis and every new contribution made by Church History or any other allied science is at once appropriated by Biblical Theology and put into its place. As normative in the construction of Systematic Theology, Biblical Theology gives it an evangelical rather than an ecclesiastical trend, and serves as a standard by which to verify its conclusions. Biblical Theology also has a reflex influence upon the various branches of biblical criticism in shedding its light upon unsettled or doubtful questions.

2. Its relation to teaching and preaching.

While Biblical Theology does not pretend to supply ready-made sermons, it does far better in making more accessible the exhaustless treasures of the Holy Scriptures by presenting them in a systematic manner. The preacher who knows his Bible thus will never lack material for sermons. He will have a reservoir in the hills of God which will preserve the seemingly most unpromising field of pastoral labor from the drought and blight of an exhausted mind which offers the people husks instead of bread. The Bible will become a new book to the biblical theologian. Instead of being a mere repository of texts, alas! too often distorted and wrested from their connection and thus perverted, it will be recognized as a connected and consistent revelation of truth, of duty, and of privilege. The casket of unassorted gems has become the sparkling necklace and the resplendent diadem. The unity and beauty of the Bible will be

discovered, appreciated and applied in proportion as we make a thorough mastery of it.

3. Its relation to the inner life.

Theological study ought to be devotional as well as professional. The man who comes out of the Theological Seminary with a cold heart has missed a great opportunity, and has lost perhaps more than he has gained. And the preacher who discusses themes and lectures on subjects rather than preaching from a full heart the simple gospel has not begun to fathom it. But the student or preacher who studies his Bible, with the method and aim of Biblical Theology, will find that it touches and quickens his inner life and makes his message a savor of life unto life to his people.

ARTICLE II.

LUTHARDT ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

BY REV. C. E. HAY, D. D.

It is no mere accident that theological controversy should for nearly four centuries have found a fruitful field in the discussion of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. That sacred ordinance is unique. Even the most superficial view of its significance must assign to it a position very near the heart-centre of the true believer's experience. It brings us face to face with the profoundest depths of the mystery of godliness—the incarnation and the atonement. It touches in a way that we can experience but may not understand the tenderest chords of devout emotion. The circumstances attending its institution and the words of our Lord faithfully recorded add all possible emphasis to the appeal which it makes upon us, compelling us to recognize that we are here indeed treading upon the threshold of the holiest of holies of our faith.

Was it part of the divine purpose to leave room for the variant interpretations influenced by natural temperament and by the successive stages of the Church's development in doctrine

and cultus, and thus to keep alive by the inevitable discussion a keen intellectual interest in the great central fact of divine revelation? We may then expect a final approximation of divergent views as to the essential character and significance of the ordinance, with still enough of divergence to keep each generation of earnest theologians delving among the foundation and thus gaining for itself an immovable conviction of the divine content of the ordinance and its wonderful adaptation to meet the spiritual needs of the renewed soul.

However the specific doctrine of our own Church may be estimated, it must at least be recognized as at the farthest possible remove from the superficial or the vaguely sentimental, and as seeking to penetrate in devout faith into the loving fellowship of a Lord living and present.

It has been the aim of Dr. Luthardt to maintain the Lutheran view in its peculiar depth and richness, without unnecessarily antagonizing those who hesitate to accept the entire line of reasoning by which it has been traditionally supported. It is thought that an outline of his mature views as presented in semi-popular form in his recent work, "*Die christliche Glaubenslehre*," may be acceptable to some to whom the work in the original may not be accessible. The portions of the following pages enclosed in quotation marks are presented as close translations of the author's language; the connecting sentences as condensations embodying no ideas not found *in loco* in the original.

THE SCRIPTURAL PRESENTATION OF THE DOCTRINE.

The Scriptures present the Lord's Supper as co-ordinate in dignity and value with Baptism. "As baptism is the rite of initiation into the Church of Jesus, and into membership in its communion, the Lord's Supper is a meal—and hence a solemnization and celebration—of that communion, presupposing membership in the communion as already attained. If baptism be the beginning of a new life, this meal is, as a meal, a means of strengthening and promoting the new life. Baptism is therefore once administered and cannot be repeated, as one is born

but once; but the strengthening of the new life is frequently repeated because constantly required. If baptism be once for all the basis of the Church's life, the Holy Supper is the ever-necessary and ever-renewed basis of the new life of fellowship and of the Church." That both were instituted by Christ and the latter designed by him to be frequently repeated has never until recently been called in question.

The Lord's Supper is seldom mentioned in the New Testament. We have only the three-fold record of its institution in the Synoptical Gospels and the two passages in 1 Cor. "In the Gospel of John it is not mentioned, but in its place appears the familiar discourse of Jesus in the Synagogue at Capernaum in regard to the eating and drinking of his flesh and blood, just as the same Gospel omits all report of the institution of baptism and presents instead the conversation with Nicodemus upon the baptism of water and the Spirit. In both cases the subject is anticipated by the presentation of the essential content of the respective institutions. Because there is a birth of water and the Spirit, the rite of Christian baptism can be a baptism with the Holy Ghost; and because there is a communion of faith with the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, the reception of the Holy Supper can be a communion of the body and blood of Christ." This anticipation of the two ordinances of the Lord in the Gospel of John is to be explained by the peculiar character of that Gospel and the method of its composition and the absence of more definite reference does not imply ignorance of the ordinances nor a denial of their divine institution. The witness of water and blood 1 Jn. 5 : 6, refers to the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan and his blood shed upon the cross. The altar in Heb. 13 : 10 is the cross. Eph. 5 : 30 refers to the intimate spiritual fellowship of believers with their Lord. The Supper of the Lamb, Rev. 19 : 9, portrays the joys of the blessed in the future life. Yet the references in the Acts to the breaking of bread from house to house and on the first day of the week indicate that the Lord's Supper constituted a central point in the congregational life and cultus of the ancient church. We infer that its place was so well assured that further mention or

exposition of it was not needed at the time when the Gospels were written. The few passages in the New Testament relating to the subject are clear and satisfactory, and the doctrine rests thus upon a clear historical foundation.

RELATION TO THE JEWISH PASSOVER.

It is evident that the Saviour, in instituting the Holy Supper immediately at the conclusion of the Passover feast intended to present it as the fulfilment of that ancient institution. "But the Old Testament passover was not merely a memorial of an event in the past (the departure from Egypt), but the celebration of a present spiritual blessing. In the meal of fellowship, at the basis of which lay the sacrifice of the lamb, the Israelites sought to celebrate their attachment to Jehovah and his redeemed people. The meal was therefore not an actual sacrifice, but a meal of (upon) the sacrifice. This feature of the ordinance was to be repeated and fulfilled in the New Testament institution. In the latter, indeed, it is not a sacrifice already offered which is partaken of and which forms the basis of pardon and of fellowship in the blessings of salvation, but it is a sacrifice yet to be offered to which the meal is brought into intimate relation. Yet the meal still remains a meal of (upon) the sacrifice, and thus a pledge of the salvation secured by the sacrifice and of personal participation in the salvation thus secured." The conclusion to which we are thus led by the study of the relation of the Holy Supper to the Passover finds confirmation in

THE WORDS OF INSTITUTION.

There are no important variations in the words of institution as recorded by the three Evangelists. The greater emphasis laid upon the memorial feature of the meal in 1 Cor. XI. may be accounted for by the desire of the Apostle to warn against the abuses which had marked the observance of the ordinance at Corinth. It becomes a question however how the words employed by the Lord in instituting the Supper are to be understood. They are preceded by the prayer of thanksgiving and blessing and the breaking of the bread, both of which acts were

in keeping with the usual custom of a pious father at an ordinary meal, and especially with the fixed order of the passover celebration.

“The breaking of the bread by the Saviour is not to be interpreted, as has been often done from ancient times, as a symbolical act indicating the putting of his body to death. It was the usual custom of the Jews, as of Jesus himself, to open a meal with the breaking of the bread, *i. e.*, the thin cake-like loaf. We have examples of this at the feeding of the multitudes, Matt. 14 : 19 ; 15 : 36, and it was by this familiar act that the risen Lord was recognized by the two disciples on the way to Emmaus. It is thus that we are here also to understand this act of the Lord. It was to open the meal which he was instituting and not to picture his approaching death, that he broke the bread ; and the disciples afterward observed the custom in the same spirit, and designated the meal from this initiatory act. Acts 20 : 7, 11 ; 27 : 35. The reference to his death lies in the words which he employed and not in the act of breaking the bread. In fact, it is especially noted, Jn. 19 : 36, that his body, as the paschal sacrifice, was not broken. The decision of the question as to the significance of the Holy Supper does not lie in this (supposed symbolical) act, but in the words of institution, spoken by Jesus as he gave the bread to his disciples : ‘Take, eat, this is my body’ (which is given for you, *i. e.*, to death upon the cross). At this point interpreters and churches separate.

“The view of the Romish Church appears to be the simplest: The Lord designates that which he gives them as his body, and it is therefore nothing else—not bread—but only this, his body. But the declaration of the Lord is not such an exclusive proposition, as would form a proper answer to the question, what the thing under discussion is—a question leaving the answer indeterminate. We have not an indefinite ‘this’, which must be more closely defined by the Lord, but: This bread, which I give to you and which you receive and eat, is my body; so that the bread does not in some way cease to be bread, because he now designates it as his body.

“Nor can we follow the usual interpretation dominant in the Lutheran theology since the days of Luther, the so-called synecdochical theory, *i. e.*, that the word ‘This,’ designates, together with the bread, as the bearer, also that which it includes as the chief thing, somewhat as we in common speech talk of a vessel, although we have in mind as the chief thing the contents of the vessel. The bread is not a vessel or anything which is the bearer of contents different from itself, but is filled with its own content and identical with it.

“There appears thus nothing left to us but the symbolical conception of the Reformed interpretation, which is usually formulated as making the copula, *is*, equivalent to ‘signifies.’ But the copula, *is*, as is self-evident, does not mean ‘signifies’—and it is to be especially noted that, in the idiom used by the Saviour, it was not expressed at all, but the Lord merely places the two terms ‘bread’ and ‘my body’ in relation to each other. What that relation is depends upon the sense in which both are used, whether literally or figurately. According to the Reformed view they are to be understood figuratively: This bread is a picture of my body, as when the Lord, in the parable of the Sower, says of the seed which the latter sows: The seed is the Word of God, *i. e.*, is here employed as a picture of the Word of God. But the parable is preceded by an address which asserts the resemblance between the seed and the word, whereas there is here no preceding discourse. In such a case there can be as little thought of a comparison as though one should hold before us a grain of corn, and, without any explanatory remark preceding or following, say: This is the Word of God. If the comparison in question is not indicated by the words employed, it would have to be set forth in the action of the Saviour, as for example, the prophet Jeremiah symbolizes the fall of Jerusalem by the breaking of a potter’s vessel. Similarly this action would here have to be the breaking of the bread, *i. e.*, as a representation of the bodily dissolution of Jesus. But we have seen that the breaking of bread at the institution of the Supper has no such symbolical import—in fact no symbolical import of any

kind. There would thus remain only the taking and eating as a picture of the inward appropriation of the body and blood of Christ—as was in substance the view of Calvin. But this would still leave unanswered the question, in what sense the terms body and blood were used. Thus this view leads us back again to the Lutheran—only the latter must be exegetically established by other than the traditional method. The Lord speaks not of bread in general and of his body and blood in general, but of this bread which he presents for their reception, and of his body and blood in so far as they are about to be given over to death. Just (in so far) as he offers to them this bread and wine, he gives to them his body and his blood. When they receive the former, they receive the latter. For there is not a comparison of bread with the body, but a parallel between the two in the act of giving and receiving. Only in so far is the one the other, 'in, with and under,' as the traditionary formula states it. There is therefore not only a commemoration of the death of our Lord although the most impressive possible, but an appropriation of his body given over to death and of his shed blood, since he offers to them his human nature—his duplex nature, bodily and inner-bodily (in the blood), which he gives to death for them—duplex in so far as the body is the bearer of power and the blood the bearer of the inner life (*Stimmungsleben*). The Lord wishes to make his disciples participants in this, in order that they may in his strength and joyfulness bear and outlive the trying ordeal which is before them, and be and remain sure of the new covenant of forgiveness foretold in Jer. 31 : 31f; and which he was about to establish by his death. He had himself, as he declares, prayed the Father to grant them aid to this end, in order that his incipient Church might not at once upon its severance from the hostile world fall away from him. How great was this peril, is plainly revealed in the recorded events of the Passion-week. A striking parallel is seen in the course of ancient Israel, who upon leaving Egypt were upon the point of hopelessly yielding to fear, so that Moses was compelled to be a wall of defense for

his people against the power of Egypt and the (living) bond uniting them to Jehovah. And as that first passover of the exodus was only preparatory to the subsequent, oft-repeated passover of the Jews, so was it here also. It is of his body to be given over to death for them, and of his blood to be shed for them upon the cross, that he speaks—and thus of the future. This first meal is therefore also a preparation for the meal which his disciples are thereafter to celebrate in order to preserve his memory not as that of an absent or departed (person) but as that of one, who is always present, but who has passed through death.

“We have thus answered the inquiry often raised in recent times, whether it was the purpose of the Lord to establish a fixed custom. It is self-evident that he meant it as an ordinance for the life of his future Church and her life in fellowship with himself, as it was just as evidently not an act of momentary impulse, but, as was said of him upon another occasion: ‘He well knew what he would do.’ Thus also has his Church understood the matter and has made this celebration of fellowship the central point of her life of fellowship (with her Lord). In this sense, too, St. Paul presents the Supper in the familiar passage in 1 Cor. In the bread broken and eaten he saw a fellowship of the body of Christ, which was given for us, *i. e.*, to death—in the cup a fellowship of the blood which was shed for us, *i. e.*, for our forgiveness. Not as though the shed blood (as some, including Bengel, have understood) were somehow and somewhere in heaven preserved as a special thing and were then dispensed to us somewhat (so to speak) as a holy chalice; but it is his blood shed upon the cross, *i. e.*, his inner-bodily life, which the living Lord still lives, as we find him in the Revelation of St. John called the Slain Lamb. Accordingly it is not for us to engage in special speculations as to the possibility of our conceiving the matter thus, but to hold to the fact of his surrender of life and to him who is our perpetual sacrifice in his human nature, in which he desires to be our chief good. In this sense, therefore, the Reformation and Luther in his catechism returned to the biblical ‘given and shed for you for the

forgiveness of sins' as the chief thing, forsaking thus the various by-paths and speculations of earlier periods."

HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE.

"Although the Lord's Supper held the central place in the religious and devotional life of the Church in the earliest times, it was not in corresponding measure a subject of doctrinal interest such as we find in the case of other topics, especially those within the range of the Pauline doctrinal system. There is no doctrine of the Church, in the proper sense of the term, in regard to the Supper, but only opinions of particular teachers presented in various forms, which, however, may be grouped with more or less ease about certain fundamental conceptions. The institution of the ordinance by Christ was maintained and the declarations of Scripture bearing directly or indirectly upon it. It was only in the further course of time and in connection with the idea of the Church and the development of her cultus that the ideas connected with this ordinance received fuller development. But all religious culture has two sides—an activity of God toward man, and of man toward God. The Lord's Supper falls accordingly both under the category of a sacrament, in which God approaches man, and under that of a sacrifice, in which man approaches God."

A. AS A SACRAMENT.

"The earliest custom was, following Scriptural usage, to present the earthly element, without any qualification, as equivalent to the gift of Christ, *i. e.*, Bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ; and there is no attempt to define the limits of the identification. As in the incarnate Christ Eternal Life was revealed to us and the love of God became manifest as the power securing our fellowship of love. Ignatius the martyr-bishop describes the Lord's Supper as a medicine of immortality, *i. e.*, of eternal life and as the bond of our fellowship of love; while the communion-prayers of the so-called Didache, dating from the first half of the second century, which have a Johannean sound, portray this spiritual food and drink as a

means of salvation. Justin, the apologist and martyr (about A. D. 150) presents the incarnation of the Eternal Word as parallel with the working of the words of prayer in the Supper in providing an unperishable food for us. The great bishop, Irenæus of Lyons (about A. D. 170), perhaps the most correct representative of the apostolic and especially of the Johannean tradition, approaches our conception of the matter most nearly when he represents the eucharist (as the Supper was then called), as consisting of two elements, an earthly and a heavenly; and as the earthy bread, in consequence of the invocation of the divine blessing, is no more common bread, so also our bodies, after the reception of the eucharist are no more perishable, but have hope of the eternal resurrection. We see in all these presentations of the subject the conception of participation in the eternal and immortal body of Christ mediated through the words of the consecratory prayer—and therefore a real relation of the Holy Supper to the incarnate Eternal Word. This relation may be conceived either symbolically, so that in the last analysis the word itself is the actual gift which we receive; or realistically, so that the actual body of Christ is the heavenly gift, in which the bread and through it the participant shares. The former is substantially the Alexandrian conception (of an Origen) which emphasizes the symbol in the Supper; the latter is that which triumphed chiefly in the west, but afterward became dominant also in the Greek Church. It is true, Augustine in the west is essentially a symbolist in a way that reminds us of the later Calvin, except that, not attaining the positive form of Calvin's theory, he presents instead a series of diverse relations, in which he now emphasizes the word in its connection with the earthly element, by which the ordinance becomes a sacrament, and then on the other hand understands by the body of Christ the Church as his mystical body, with which we unite ourselves by faith in the word, so that he after all but prepared the way for the realistic view. Having forsaken the path pointed out in the Scriptures, it seemed possible to retain the proposition: Bread and wine in the sacrament are the body and blood of Christ, only in the form of the transubstantiation

theory. Rhetoric and mysticism combined in Greek as in western theology in the resultant as expressed in the Greek formula: The bread and wine are indeed before the consecration to be called symbols of the body and blood of Christ, but after consecration no more symbols, but body and blood of Christ (thus, *e. g.*, the Greek dogmatician, John Damascenus, who died about A. D. 754). But the theology of the west gave dominance to the doctrine of transubstantiation, *i. e.*, the transformation of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ through the creative word of the consecrating priest (thus especially Radbertus, 831ff.), while the accidents *i. e.*, the apparent forms of bread and wine, remained the same to the perception of the senses. Despite much opposition (especially that of Berengar, A. D. 1050, whose treatise upon the subject Lessing discovered at Wolfenbüttel and published) this theory was at the Lateran Council of A. D. 1215 pronounced the only one with ecclesiastical validity, with the further definition, that where the body of Christ is there is also his blood as an accompaniment and that the cup should therefore be reserved as a special mark of distinction for the priest, and on various practical grounds denied to the laity. The consecrated host, as the bodily-present Lord, is to be worshiped by kneeling before it (A. D. 1217), and this perpetual miracle of the Church is to be celebrated in the greatest of the festivals, that of Corpus Christi (A. D. 1264). This line of development thus reached its culmination in the doctrine of the Romish Church."

B. AS A SACRIFICE.

"Hand in hand with this sacramental development proceeded the unfolding of the doctrine of the Holy Supper as a sacrifice, finding its justification in the Old Testament promise of a future pure offering (Mal. 1 : 11), which prophecy was held to be fulfilled in the eucharist. In connection with the elements of the holy meal as brought for devotional use and distributed to the needy, it became customary to thank God for the blessings of creation and redemption. In consequence, however, of the relation which the elements and the prayer of thanksgiving

were supposed to bear to the body of Christ sacrificed for us, and in connection with the conception of the priesthood which, largely through Cyprian's influence, became a dominant factor in the entire economy of the Church, the bringing of gifts to God became the bringing of a memorial, and then presently an imitation of the sacrifice of Christ. 'As Christ offered himself to the Father, and prescribed that this be repeated in memory of him, so the priest imitates the act of Christ and brings before God in the Church a true and complete sacrifice'—with these words Cyprian anticipated in substance the entire subsequent development. The rhetoric of both Greek and Western theologians was favorable to the advance of the doctrine along such lines. Says Chrysostom: 'Christ lies slain upon the altar,' and Gregory the Great, the originator of the mass in the Western Church, declares: 'In this mystery of the bringing of the sacred elements is Christ sacrificed again for us.' The priest in an unbloody way offers up (sacrifices) Christ ever anew to the Father for the living and for the dead, for the present and for the absent, in the presence of the congregation and in the so-called still-mass (without the presence of the congregation). This is the final form of the doctrine of sacrifice at the Council of Trent. The Greek Church differs only in the use of leavened bread, in granting the cup to the laity and in dispensing the Lord's Supper also to children."

"The polemic of Luther's Reformation sets itself in fundamental opposition to this sacrificial theory, because in it—and this is the characteristic mark of all religious perversions—human work takes the place of God's work addressing itself to our faith. The question of transubstantiation was at first for Luther a minor one, as he regarded the idea of God's work for us and the accompanying requirement of faith (or what we are accustomed to call the subjective side) as the matter of prime importance. He was tempted indeed to adopt the symbolical view: 'Since I well saw that I might thus have given the Papacy the very hardest thump.' But: 'I am held a prisoner and cannot escape. The text is too powerful and will not suffer itself to be torn loose from its (natural) sense.' He therefore held fast to

the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, maintaining that it is the mirror and pledge of the forgiveness which faith apprehends in the word. The word and faith, in these two conceptions Luther preserves the true interest of the Reformation. As to the question how the presence of the body of Christ is to be conceived, he says: 'Let it be said that he is in the bread, that he is the bread, that he is where the bread is, or however you please to state it. We will not quarrel about words, only so that the sense continues to be that it is not bare bread which we eat in the Lord's Supper, but the body of Christ.' Thus in the interest of faith mediated through the word, the reality of the presence of the body of Christ is secured and maintained; for faith has to be with the word of forgiveness as the principal thing, but this forgiveness is given and pledged for through the sacrificed body of Christ. The body of Christ is the highest pledge which God can give for the bestowal of forgiveness. Luther indeed in his unofficial writings often verges upon the thought so current in the early Church, that in the body of Christ is afforded also a pledge of our future bodily resurrection and glorification. 'For this food, says he, is so strong that it transforms us into itself and out of carnal, sinful, mortal men makes spiritual, holy, living men;' for 'the poor body has also the hope of resurrection from the dead and everlasting life.' But in his formal ecclesiastical writings (as in the two catechisms) he does not introduce this idea. The fifth principal part of the Smaller Catechism lays stress above all else upon the words 'given and shed for you for the forgiveness of sins'—'for where forgiveness of sins is there also is life and salvation'—'which words are together with the bodily eating and drinking as the chief part in the sacrament. And he who believes these words, has what they declare, namely, forgiveness of sins.' The connection between the real body and blood of Christ and the word with faith upon it constitute for him the essence of the Lord's Supper.

"This is the position assumed by him against the Swiss and their purely symbolical view. The Augsburg Confession maintains it and opposes likewise the symbolical conception. This

position stands opposed also to the doctrine afterward promulgated by Calvin, which approached that of Luther, acknowledging a real participation (*Genuss*) of the body of Christ exalted to God, but meaning thereby a spiritual fellowship and nourishment of the soul exalted to God in faith with the life of Christ—what the later dogmaticians call the mystical fellowship with Christ. Similar to this was the later view of Melancthon, except that he appeals to a more general personal communion with Christ, who is effectually present in the Lord's Supper. This variation under the appearance of correct Lutheran doctrine gave rise to the disastrous contentions and strife in Lutheran territory which were terminated at length in the Formula of Concord by the re-assertion and fuller establishment of the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession. The orthodox Lutheran dogmaticians continued, in their more precise statements of the doctrine, to maintain the position thus taken, omitting Luther's earlier ideas as to the effect of the Supper upon the bodies of those receiving it. The Reformed Church, meanwhile returned essentially to the purely symbolical view of Zwingli, only a few of her theologians here and there maintaining the profounder and more mystical theory of Calvin.

“That the periods of Illuminism and Rationalism should reject the deeper conception and see in the Lord's Supper only a symbol and a memorial-feast, was of course inevitable. But Schleiermacher and the theology influenced by his views held the efficacy of the sacrament to consist almost in a ‘new infusion of spiritual power and life from the fullness of Christ.’ The newer positive theology accepted for the most part this fundamentally Calvinistic conception and thus secured a doctrinal basis for the Union. Upon the other hand, the revived Lutheran theology returned to the earlier Lutheran view, not without a frequent tendency to lay greater emphasis upon the influence of the natural bodily life of Christ upon the natural bodily life of the recipient. We find this already in that valiant restorer of ecclesiastico-Lutheran modes of thought, Sartorius, and more significant still in others, such as the spiritually-minded Dane, Martensen. The Lutheran theology meanwhile,

particularly that of the Erlangen type, since the days of Höfling, notably in Thomasius, Th. Harnack and Hofmann, continually, though in a more moderate way, draws lines of connection between Christ's glorified bodily personality and our future resurrection and glorification. This is indeed carried so far by some (as, *e. g.*, by Zezschwitz) as to maintain that in the Lord's Supper the germ of the resurrection body is implanted in man. The latter is certainly an untenable idea; for that becomes of this supposed germ of the glorified body at death? Is it laid in the grave with the body? The earthly dust is not the basis of the glorified life. Or, is it taken up to heaven with the soul? The resurrection-body is to arise from the earth. It is not to be wondered at that the stricter followers of the old tradition, such as Philippi and Harless, will have nothing to do with a theory which has so much the appearance of a mystery of physical nature. He must at all events, without regard to such diversions, concentrate emphasis upon the word assuring of the forgiveness of sins and from this point of view form our estimate of the final result of the discussion."

THE RESULTANT.

"From the preceding review we therefore draw the following conclusion: As the children of Israel in their passover celebrated not only a memorial of their deliverance from Egypt as a fact of the past, but always as well their present enjoyment of fellowship with Jehovah, so the Lord instituted this New Testament meal not only as a memorial of his death, but as the covenant-meal of redemption (deliverance) and of fellowship with himself to serve until his return as a compensation for the time of his bodily separation from his followers. Assembled at his table, we, his disciples, should in the earthly elements of bread and wine receive his bodily human nature, in which he offered himself as the New Testament sacrifice for us—should receive it as the bodily support and pledge of our faith in his word, which promises and guarantees to us forgiveness in the present, and thereby at the same time assures us of our future

glorified fellowship with him, who is exalted to God and yet at the same time present with us in the celebration of the meal. We are not to think of the earthly element and the visible ceremony as standing side by side with the impartation of the Saviour's life, so that the two as it were coincide; but the one is the other. In the Church's administration Christ himself deals with us, and therefore with everyone with whom the Church deals. The reception of the bread and wine is the reception of the body and blood of Christ—the believing reception the appropriation of his blessing, the unbelieving the appropriation of wrath and condemnation just because it is a sinning against the Lord who is present in the Church's administration of the ordinance. For this very reason, therefore, *i. e.*, because the reception of the body and blood, intended for faith, is yet not dependent upon faith, is the Lord's Supper a means of comforting weak and distressed consciences, since they can therein lay hold upon a firm support outside of themselves, which is not dependent upon the measure or quality of their own faith.

“In distinction from the doctrinal delineations of the earlier confessions (the Smaller Catechism and the Augsburg Confession), in which the body and blood appear as material entities (*Größen*) it is an advance in the Formula of Concord and a gain from the controversies preceding it, that it lays the emphasis in the celebration of the Lord's Supper upon the transaction itself. The various utterances of the Formula may most naturally be referred to this, as consisting of the acts of consecration, distribution and reception.”

THE SEPARATE ACTS IN THE CELEBRATION.

“The elements to be consecrated were, according to the custom of the Ancient Church, leavened bread and mixed wine (*i. e.*, with water); but according to western tradition, with reference to the first meal, unleavened bread and, with reference to the pure blood of Christ, (upon which Luther laid emphasis) unmixed, *i. e.*, pure wine. From the materials at hand in the passover supper Christ selected bread and wine in order from

the outset to remove his Supper beyond all national bounds and to make it the expression of a transaction testified for the whole human race. The spiritual significance of the meal finds expression in the bread and wine: it is to serve for the strengthening and enlivening of faith and is to symbolize this purpose. The words of consecration are uttered above the bread and wine not as though, according to the Romish doctrine, they, being uttered by a consecrated priest, exert a kind of magic influence, so that Christ is thereby made present and the bread transformed into his body. The so-called consecration, consisting in the prayer of thanksgiving, and the repetition of the words of institution in connection with ancient custom of reverently making the sign of the cross, has in itself no significance, but is merely the setting apart of the earthly elements for sacred use. The entire efficacy depends upon the transaction itself and its completeness. In this Christ is present, and his presence is not secured by the consecration, as is often thought even among our own people, which would lead logically to the Romish doctrine and praxis.

“The breaking of the bread, where this is customary, is for the purpose of distributing it, not a representation of the bodily death of Christ and thus a more or less essential part of the transaction. It may therefore, as with us, be omitted. Whether the distribution may be made by laymen (as held, *e. g.*, by Chemnitz, etc., and by Spener) or not (as Gerhardt, Quenstedt and others maintained), has been an open question in our Church. But inasmuch as the Supper was given to the Church and is to be observed by it, it is but consistent that it be administered only by those whom the Church has commissioned, *i. e.*, the incumbents of the clerical office, except in emergencies when, in their absence, unofficial members may assume the duties of administering it. In the sixteenth century even ‘self communion’ was customary; it was afterwards abandoned and only recently has it been again advocated. But it hardly seems appropriate that one person should be both administrator and recipient, unless this be made necessary by such difficulties of communication as scarcely exist in our day. And if it is a

proper custom to place confession and absolution before the celebration of the Holy Supper (according to 1 Cor. 11 : 28), it would certainly not seem appropriate for one to absolve himself. It must be right to preserve the possibility at least of private confession.

“With the distribution of the elements has been combined from ancient times the confession of the Church in regard to that which is being done—although in the early Church in the brief formula: ‘The body of Christ, the blood of Christ.’ It is no confession, however, but only a reference, to substitute for the ecclesiastical declaration the words: ‘Christ said, This is my body’ which appears to be simply an evasion resulting from unionistic indefiniteness. The Church in her celebration (of the Holy Supper) should positively confess and express her faith.

“The reception of the elements is essential to the completeness of the transaction, so that without such reception there is no Lord's Supper, since there is no meal at all. ‘Take, eat,’ is the command—the elements are therefore appointed to be received, not (as in the Romish theory) to be worshiped. If in Lutheran circles the knees are bent at the reception of the elements, we do not thus bow, as in the Romish practice, before the Lord present in the bread, but we fall down in reverence before the Lord present in the sacred transaction. With this is connected the question, whether we should receive the sacrament with the hand (as is the Reformed custom) or with the mouth. Christ is the Giver, we the recipients; this is more fittingly represented in the reception by the mouth. Private communion is disapproved by the Reformed, but sanctioned in the Lutheran Church. The Lord's Supper is indeed a congregational ordinance, affording fellowship not alone with Christ, but with his people as well. But the individual soul, when prevented by outward conditions from participating in the general celebration, still feels the need of receiving the assurance of the fellowship of her Lord, although compelled to rest content in merely spiritual fellowship with the visible Church. There should however always under such circumstances be assembled a little company of believers, in order that the congregation at

large may be represented in the solemn service and the Lord be greeted by a band of reverent disciples. Such private communion, no less than the public celebration, should be preceded by the confession of sin and mutual forgiveness ; for the meal is to bring comfort to the sinful, and the forgiveness of sins by the Lord must be met by a willingness to forgive on the part of the recipient as a fruit of self-examination. It is on this account that our Church, differing from the Ancient and the Greek Churches, excludes children from the participation in the Lord's Supper, since there can here be no self-examination (see Art. XXIV. of Augsburg Confession). Should self-examination or the whole temper and disposition of the inner man awaken a sense of weakness and timidity, this should not prevent approach to the Holy Supper, for it was appointed, and is the appropriate remedy, for just such weakness and spiritual distress. The Lord came for the sake of the sick and weak, and he moves about in the infirmary of his followers as their physician and Saviour. This is to be our consolation and support throughout our pilgrimage in the flesh on earth—until at length all infirmity shall for us be banished forever.

“Baptism is the reception into the fellowship of the Church of Christ, the Lord's Supper is the means of strengthening upon the journey. This enables us to meet the question, how often we should celebrate the ordinance. The needs of our own inward nature and the recurrence of the appointed seasons when the Church commemorates the life and passion of the Lord will suggest the proper answer.”

POSITION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE CHURCH.

“It may be a painful reflection for us that, although the Lord instituted this feast of love and fellowship between himself and his followers ‘in order that they may be one, as we are one,’ yet it has become the very occasion and point of separation. We might well desire to see, not only all evangelical believers, but the followers of Christ of every name and nation, united at least at the table of the Lord. But so long as the present differences, and with them the resulting divisions in the Church,

exist and continue as a necessity, the same condition must be found reflected in the celebrations of the Holy Supper, which is the expression of the Church's thought and feeling and, as we may venture to assert, the holiest of holies of the Church. Hence it is precisely here that these differences come to view, and the separation of believers at this point remains inevitable and must be patiently endured. It is from this point indeed that we may perhaps most clearly understand the variant positions of different branches of the Church. Says Luther in his publication: 'Against the Heavenly Prophets': 'The Pope makes bodily that which is spiritual, just as he makes the spiritual Church of Christ an external bodily organization. Carlstadt on the other hand makes that spiritual which God makes bodily and external. We therefore take the middle path and make nothing either spiritual or bodily, but understand as spiritual what God makes spiritual, and as bodily what God makes bodily.' The difference between the churches and their teaching upon this subject could scarcely be more excellently stated, if we but substitute for the name of Carlstadt that of Zwingli and his followers. The great question involved is that of the relation between the spiritual and the bodily, the heavenly and the earthly, the inward and the outward. The Romish may be described as a materializing of Christianity. Heavenly and eternal things are by it transmuted into earthly: the exalted Christ is seen in the pope at Rome, his heavenly presence in the mass with its consecrated host, the real spiritual Church in the external kingdom of the pope and his earthly dominion; and hence, conversely the earthly element is regarded as without reservation a direct manifestation of the heavenly. The Reformed type of thought, on the other hand, urges with all possible energy the heavenly aspects of the divine Being and of his eternal decree and the absoluteness of his gracious working without the intervention of earthly means. Instead of the latter, there is merely an outward manifestation running parallel with the secret omnipotent will and working of God, without earthly means or vehicles, so that it is left to the energetic activity of believers themselves to bring the will of God here into

action and to extend and upbuild his kingdom. The Lutheran Church places the two elements, the inward and the outward, the heavenly and the earthly, not only in juxtaposition but in union with one another so that the former is mediated and becomes present in the latter. Thus the earthly and natural is not falsely deified, as in the Romish Church, nor falsely deprived of its divine character as is often the case in the praxis of the Reformed Church. Neither is a one-sided materialism advocated, as by Rome, which thus gains its popularity among the masses, nor a one-sided spirituality, as in the Reformed type of Christianity, which derives from this source the energy of its church life. As contrasted with both of these tendencies, we prefer the course of Luther as bearing the impress of sound judgment in maintaining the unity of the spiritual and the bodily, the immaterial and the sensuous, and as having thus the highest claim to general acceptance."

ARTICLE III.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

BY REV. J. A. HALL, D. D.

Our task in the present article is that of getting before our minds the essential features of that trend of thought which within the present century came into being in England, and which has been designated as the Anglo-Catholic movement.

Possibly but few tasks could be more difficult than that of setting forth succinctly, and within the compass of a single article, the essential features of that movement. The causes that led to it; the conceptions that sustained it; the peculiar religious conditions out of which it grew; and the weaknesses which brought it to its end; would each furnish abundant material for an article of the present order. I shall therefore make no other attempt than that of calling attention to a few of the factors that entered into the movement and which together were creative of it.

Unquestionably, one of the most important factors was that of the *man himself*. No movement can either create or sustain itself. It must always center around some single person in whom the thoughts and ideas that underlie it find expression, and who in turn stamps it with the peculiarity of his own genius. A study therefore of the man, a knowledge of his training, his mental and constitutional bent, is necessary to a clear understanding of the movement of which it is his to be the leader.

The man who more than any other was so identified with the Oxford movement was John Henry Newman. It is true that he did not stand alone. There were men like Keble and Froude and subsequently, Pusey, who shared in the main his thought, but it was in Newman that these ideas related themselves, found expression and were carried forward to their concrete results. It was according to the bias of Newman's mind that the Oxford thoughts were shaped. For had these same ideas which were struggling to make themselves felt at the time in England found expression in Keble, or more especially in the learned Pusey, they could not have shaped themselves as they did. It was Newman who stamped them with his spirit and made them mean what they did. To become acquainted, therefore, with Newman, is almost essential to a correct understanding of the movement of which he was the head.

Perhaps in England there lived not at the time a man whose personality so fitted him to give expression to the peculiar phase of thought which in Oxford was being received. Weak as Newman was, in many respects he was far from being an ordinary man. He was gifted by birth and by fortune as but few are gifted. He came out of that class which has given to the world so many of its best men—the commonality of England. His mother was of French Huguenot stock, and from her was doubtless inherited the poetical temperament and exquisite spiritual sensibility of her son. It is said that in his younger days his face had an irresistible charm that drew men to him by its own grace. And when he became old that face did not lose its power. A look from the old man's eyes was a "blessing," and

a smile from his lips a benediction. As to his mental powers they were both strong and delicate. He was remarkable in his prime for clearness of thought and simplicity of expression. True, as he grew older he lost somewhat of this simplicity, his style becoming more florid. Yet there never was a time when Newman did not know what to say and how best to say it. Gifted with bodily health, intellectual vigor, and spiritual sensibility, he would have been a leader in any time and in any age. At the age of sixteen he entered Trinity College, Oxford—graduated at twenty—was soon after elected Fellow of Oriel—and then at the early age of twenty-seven was presented with the Vicarage of St. Mary's.

But while Newman was possessed of those qualities that attract men to men, it must not be understood that these powers were simply of a passive character. Had they been such, he could never have become the leader that he afterward became. Looking into his face it would hardly be suspected that there could reside within him any ambition that was not the most worthy. Listening to his speech it would hardly be suspected that his conceptions were narrow, or that he could be anything but charitable. Yet those who knew him best knew that this was not the case. Whately who knew him well and whose pupil for a time Newman was does not hesitate to say, "that he was always possessed by an ambition to be at the head of a party," "that he was always conscious of his personal power and loved to lead more by his personality than by the force or right of his thought." But however that may be, it is at least certain that Newman had a great love of personal influence, and that he utterly lacked those broader conceptions that come from a wide scholarship and a universal love for men. In the most uncompromising sense he was a Dogmatician, was utterly unable to see anything good outside of the "High Church" party to which he belonged, was a hater of Protestantism and was constitutionally an ecclesiastical aristocrat. Such was Newman by birth, training, and spirit.

But no man creates himself nor has all to do with determin-

ing either his character or convictions. It is true that our constitutional tastes and sympathies have much to do with our environment. By that is meant that we will seek as our associates men whose spirits are congenial with our own and whose ideas do not too strongly antagonize ours. Yet for all that, what a man becomes is largely dependent upon the associations in the midst of which he finds himself and by the thoughts of those whose spirits are congenial. What Newman would have been had he been brought under other influences can only be a matter of conjecture. It was his fortune at that critical moment when the transition of his thoughts from Evangelicalism to High Churchism was going on, to come in contact with two men, whose influence over him as he himself acknowledges was well nigh unlimited. The one of these was Hurrell Froude, the other was John Keble. Both of these were Tories of the old stamp; both were exclusive High Churchmen; and both were as narrow as they were exclusive. They believed in the Church not merely as national, but as exclusive. To them there was no Church but the Church of England; and by the Church of England they meant that part of it which in polity and dogma stood nearest to Rome. True it is that neither of these men in intellectual power or breadth of knowledge possessed those qualities which by right should have determined the trend of the thoughts of a man like Newman. The only explanation that can be given of the strange influence they exerted over him, is the one based upon the supposition, that in Newman's spirit and thought there was already a deep, though it may have been unconscious, sympathy with the ecclesiastical exclusiveness for which these men stood.

Poet as Keble was he had no thought that religious truth could live outside the narrow pale of his own conceptions, nor did he imagine that men who differed from him could possibly be in earnest. It was the same with Froude. Yet it is a sad confession that Newman makes when speaking of the power that Froude had upon him, he says: "It is difficult to enumerate the precise addition to my theological creed which I derived from a friend to whom I owe so much. He made me look

with admiration toward the Church of Rome and in some degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed deep in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin and led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence." Such were the influences that surrounded Newman, and such we have a right to believe were the influences which he most desired to have about him.

Now if we take into account what Newman was in himself, the men who most influenced him, and the atmosphere in which he lived at Oxford, of which I shall speak later; when as I say all this is taken into account, it is not difficult to tell which side he will take in the great ecclesiastical struggle which we are now to consider. But here a word must be said concerning the religious condition of England in the times that concern us. Looked at rightly the Oxford movement was, intellectually and theologically, the struggle of the Reformation repeated. And it was so because that in England there had been many who had not been in sympathy with its principles. Because that there had still remained within the Anglican Church those who in doctrine and polity were well nigh one with Rome. True, the Church of England was regarded as Protestant, but she was not so in all that Protestantism implied. The Thirty-nine Articles, the confessional basis of the Anglican Church, were no doubt intended by their framers to be Protestant. They were so regarded by the Tractarians themselves; but while they admitted that, they held that the "real doctrine" of the Church was not to be found in the Articles, but in the Liturgy. It was indeed to be regretted, but yet in the interest of peace and for a better understanding there had been allowed to remain in the Liturgy some of the old Catholic formularies, relics of the sacramental and sacerdotal system. And it was upon these that the High Church Party stood. They held that one could be a consistent member of the Anglican Church and yet hold a doctrine of the real presence indistinguishable from that of transubstantiation. They believe that the traditions of the English Church were in spirit Roman, and not Protestant; that the prayer-book and not the Articles was the true canon of doctrine. In short they held that one was not disloyal to the Church if he accepted the whole

cycle of Roman doctrine. It was out of the ranks of those who thus held that the Tractarians came.

Over against these were the Evangelicals. True to the principles of the Reformation they planted themselves on the Thirty-nine Articles interpreted in their plainly intended sense. They denied that the Liturgy could be made to sanction the Sacerdotalism that was so marked a feature of the High Church Party, and were uncompromisingly opposed to everything that had even a tendency to Romanize the Anglican Church.

Now it was at the close of the 18th century that the Evangelical Party in England began to make itself felt. Intent as it was on the Reformation of the practical life, it of course exerted itself but little in the way of guarding the strict formulae of what at that time was regarded by the High Churchmen as rigid orthodoxy. It was natural that Evangelicalism tended to Liberalism both in church and in state. In fact it sympathized with the political liberalism that culminated in the test act of 1828, as well as the opening of Parliament, the High Council of the English Church, to Dissenters and Catholics alike.

It was inevitable that those from whose conceptions of the Church the institutional could not be disassociated; in whose thought the Church and the State are essentially conterminous; it was inevitable that in all this for which Evangelicalism stood, the High Churchmen could see nothing but that that threatened the very existence of the Church of England. In their judgment the hour had struck when it became imperative to do something to stay the tide of Evangelicalism which in their conception was proving the ruin of the Church.

It was to oppose these movements of Evangelicalism in the Church and Liberalism in politics that the Oxford Movement was brought into being. It was essentially a counter movement inaugurated and carried forward by the High Church Party. Naturally it had its seat at Oxford. It could not have had its home in Cambridge. And it could not have had from the fact, that that old university at Cambridge had kept pace with the tide of thought released by the Reformation, and which had forced itself across the channel that separated England from Con-

continent. In the light of that thought, and the wider conceptions that came out of it, the narrower thoughts that gave meaning to the Oxford movement could not live. It needed the atmosphere of Oxford to bring them into being, and to nurse them into maturity. For the chairs of Oxford had from time to time been filled by Romish priests. It was there that the clerical spirit of the past had yet its hold, because here the Romanizing tendency of Laud had not yet died out. It was here that every science but that of theology was under the ban. It was here that its fellows still lived in celibacy and revered the old order which the Reformation had made elsewhere intolerable.

But for all this, and strange as it may seem, at the time that concerns us, there were associated with Oxford a number of the most gifted young men. There was Keble of whom we have already spoken, professor of poetry. There was Pusey occupying the chair of Hebrew, and there too was Hurrell Froude, who more than any other dominated the thought of Newman. Of this gifted company, John Henry Newman was the master spirit. Each and all were haters of Protestantism, each saw in the Reformation nothing but evil; all except Pusey were dogmatists of most pronounced type and all agreed that the Thirty-nine Articles could be so interpreted as to include all that belonged to the Church of Rome.

It is when all this is borne in mind that the meaning of the statement made a moment ago, that the issues involved in the Oxford movement were essentially the issues of the Reformation, can be seen. We may try to look at it in a different light. A latent sympathy with that High Churchism which is now clamoring for the establishment of the "Episcopacy" in the Lutheran Church, may blind us to the real issues of the Oxford struggle, yet it was the Reformation issues that were again being decided; it was its principles that were again being brought before the bar of human judgment; and when the Oxford Movement collapsed, it was again the triumph of those ideas for which the Reformation contended. It is this that gives to the Oxford Movement its living interest to us to-day. It is this that makes it along with all that came out of it a theme worthy

of the profound study of those who are to shape the future of our own Church.

Now in the struggle which began in 1833 two things must concern us. First, What were the questions that were to be decided? Second, Upon which side did Newman and his coadjutors stand? As to the questions, the most important, the one that involved all others was this: What is the Church itself? Liberalism had again forced this old question to the front by challenging the answer that had been given to it by the High Churchmen of England. It was agreed by all that the Christian must be a member of Christendom. That is to say—he must be in connection with the ecclesia—must be in union with the Church. But what is the ecclesia? Where is the Church? Every student will recall the answer that the Reformation gave to these questions. It affirmed that wherever two or three are gathered together in Christ's name there is the ecclesia—there in that company is the true Church. In every such assembly of Christians and where Christ is, there is the true ecclesia. There was nothing that Luther loved more to say and to emphasize than this, that, "Church meant people, saintly, Catholic, Christian, daily being sanctified and made into a holy Christendom." And in so speaking he agreed with the Catholicity of the early ages. He held that wherever the holy soul is there is the Church. As to its *phenomenal form* or *visible being* he held that two things were necessary, the word and the sacraments. He affirmed that in these and by means of these men realize their relation to a common head and bind themselves into a common brotherhood. Where these are there is the Church in its innermost essence and in its outward form. The Church needs no human priesthood—it has but one priest—even Jesus. A human priesthood but serves to obscure the real meaning of the priesthood of Jesus. Whatever sanctities the Church possesses, whatever attributes she has, whatever dignities she has, are hers, not through priest, or bishop, not through a succession that may outwardly be traced, but through the personal relation to Christ of the believers who constitute the Church—*they are hers because of the presence of Christ in her midst.*

Such was the answer that Luther gave, and such was the answer of the Reformation to the question: What is the Ecclesia? It is true that the answer was spiritual, transcendental. It eliminated from the conception of the ecclesia all that was institutional, sacramental or sacerdotal; but it was the answer that stood the shock of Liberalism, and it sustained that shock because the answer was true.

As to the succession the Reformation taught that it could not be outward and formal. That is to say, that from the *nature of the thing itself* it could not be visibly traced. It too was transcendental. To be in line with the apostles was to possess their spirit, and to the conferring of that spirit neither priest or bishop were necessary.

Such was the answer given by the Reformation to the question, what is the Church? And such was its conception of the Apostolic succession. But such were not the answers that came from the Anglo Catholics at Oxford. In the answers that the Reformation gave they heard the death knell of the Church itself. Nor is it difficult to understand the agitation that possessed the soul of these Oxford men. Earnest as they were, they were nevertheless narrow in their intellectual conceptions. They never realized what spirit it was that lived in the Reformation, for in that mighty movement of the 16th century the spirit of "Humanism" lived. It came to the conflict with old ideas clad in the armor of scientific, historic and philosophical learning. It was the renaissance of all that up to that time was worthy in human knowledge that gave to the Reformation much of its power.

But within the walls of old Oxford the spirit of Humanism had never been permitted to come. Though a national university she was at that time entirely clerical. The headships and fellowships were all conferred upon persons of the clerical profession. The only graduate study was theology as theology was then conceived, viz., as dogma and church tradition. All else was laid aside as beneath the calling of men who belonged to its ecclesiastical community and whose time was entirely engrossed by ecclesiastical interests and disputes. Even Newman

had received no scientific training, nor had he looked into general history. His culture was only literary and theological. It was this narrowness that qualified him to occupy the most logically untenable positions which we afterward find him occupying, and that enabled him to play those subtle tricks with his own understanding of which the "grammar of assent is the manual." No wonder that Newman hated the Reformation, for ecclesiastic as he was, he was utterly unable to interpret its spirit, nor did he realize that when he set himself in opposition to it he was wrestling with a power that was not a man.

Now when liberalism brought again into the front the old question, what is the Church? it was inevitable that the answer of the Oxford theologians should be at variance with that of the Reformation. For with them the Church was conceived as essentially institutional. It involved in its very nature an office. Its sanctities were outward, consisting in traditional ceremonies, gorgeous vestments and elaborate ritual. It involved also the idea of outward apostolic succession. Where the legitimate ecclesiastical official, viz., the bishop, represents beyond all doubt an unbroken connection with the earliest times, there and there alone is the true tradition. Where the bishop is there alone is the Church. Without him or his legitimate representative there can be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, no ordination of the clergy, in short no ecclesia. Such were the conceptions which Newman had of the Church. They were conceptions in perfect harmony with his tastes and training, and it was with these that in his numerous tracts he endeavored to inspire all who came within the range of his power.

I have no desire at this point to enter into a criticism of the Anglo-Catholic conception of the Church. I have called attention to it in order that I might the better show how it came that it was so affected by the intellectual movement that was now sweeping over England. It was comparatively easy to affirm that the true Church must *be institutional* and that as being institutional it must be in direct *line with the outward succession*. But it was not so easy to establish that succession for the Church of England. For when these peculiar notions of

the Church which have so hastily been noticed were held as inseparable from the ecclesia, then it became necessary not only to identify the Church of the present with the Church of the past, but also to identify the Church of England with that of the Apostles. It was in the effort to accomplish this that the movement failed and went to pieces. For the time had come when the right of the Anglican Church, or of any Church for that matter, to lay exclusive claim to Apostolic succession, was challenged. And that right was challenged by Liberalism. It demanded that the title deed of the pretentious claim should be examined, and required that it be examined not in the light of *Anglican traditions*, but in the light of fact and of history.

And here a word must be said in regard to Liberalism itself in order that we may the better see how it affected the Oxford thought. Liberalism was in fact but the outgrowth, or more strictly speaking, a continuation of the "illumination" of the century that had preceded. It was indeed different as to the field of its operation from the illumination, but it was one with it in spirit. With the light which the new century flashed upon the fields of philosophy, science and history, the illumination went out to war with old ideas and the order of things as they existed. As a consequence, traditions that had never been questioned were interrogated, and their grounds in reality determined. Materials handed down by history were subjected to a process of criticism by which all that was relative and accidental was separated from that which was eternal, rational and inherent in the nature of things. But along with other ideas of the past traditional Christianity was also subjected to criticism. What rational claim, if any, had it upon the understanding of men? What was its basis in fact? How came it to be what it then was? Could an outward succession connecting the Church of the present with that of the past be traced? These were some of the questions that the illumination had proposed, and which in the years of the Anglo-Catholic struggle were again clamoring for an answer. Now it was to these questions that the Oxford theologians could give no satisfactory reply. And

their inability to answer these questions or even to give an apology for the views that they held that would appeal to the understanding of men outside of their own ecclesiastical community, came from the fact that in habit and training they were exclusively ecclesiastics. The weapons which in the duel had been forced upon them were not those with which they were familiar—for these men were dogmaticians and not theologians. Yet they did what they could. They attempted a reply to the questions in the only way in which they could answer them viz., by an appeal to dogma and tradition. But the answer was unsatisfactory, because it *was these very dogmas and traditions* that were being called into question. And so it came that the broader culture, which the illumination had created, undermined the structure of the Apostolic succession so far at least as it applied to the Church of England. At a time it even shook the faith of Newman himself and made him well nigh a liberal. But while the illumination dissolved in its own way the basis upon which the dogma of succession rested, Liberalism was undermining the structure in another way. It called into question the authority of the state itself. Prior to the advent of Liberalism the authority of the state had hardly been called in question. The dogma of Laud, and of the older Anglicans, that the state existed by divine right, had been accepted, and as a consequence it had assumed omnipotent power. But the questions which Liberalism proposed were, how and from what does the state derive its power? And it answered its own question by demonstrating, that the power of the state came and could come alone from the consent of the governed. That it was not, as had been held, a divine institution, but originated in a contract known as the “social contract.” It had its being not in divine right, but in the mutual consent of the community, and ceased as a consequence when such consent ceased to be.

Now it is easy to see how all this affected the Anglican Church. For in theory and in law the state and the English Church were held as conterminous. Though Liberalism was in itself a political movement the relations that obtained between the Church and state in England made Liberalism upon that

soil, of necessity, a religious movement. Here State and Church were looked upon as but different parts of the same institution. The sovereign as the vicerent of God was also the chief bishop. Since the state existed in divine right, and since the bishopric and sovereignty united in the same person it followed that the bishopric also existed by divine right. Such was the theory upon which Anglicanism rested. It was this theory that Liberalism made intolerable. It showed that it was unsupported by fact, and demonstrated that the Church and State were not conterminous. That they never had been and never could be. And so it came that in England these two spirits of humanism, viz., the Illumination and Liberalism, were slowly but surely accomplishing the same results which the former had accomplished previously on the continent. They were now doing for Anglicanism what humanism aided by theology had done for Rome when they demonstrated the fallacy of its dogmas, and broke the spell of its traditions. Newman loved the Church as he conceived it. But he could not conceive it as anything else than institutional, and as outward, for as has already been said, Newman was a High Church man. Constituted as he was, he had no thought of a Church without a bishop or without all that in sacrament and gorgeous ritual such a bishopric implied. With him what the Reformation had taught as purely accidental was indispensable, because essential. To him all that had distinguished the High-Church of England spoke as it spoke to but few even of his own school, and when he saw all that to him was sacred, violated, distrusted, destroyed, in all that could give it ethical significance, it well nigh broke his heart. It was in such a mood as this that he wrote the lines :

“Lead kindly light amidst the encircling gloom,”

“Lead thou me on.”

But what was Newman now to do? For a time he stood steadfast. With Keble and Perceval he now published what he called, “tracts for the times.” In these it was sought to develop the significance of the outward succession and to defend the orthodox interpretation of the prayer-book. At first these

tracts were almost universally welcomed—but when their Romanizing tendency became more and more apparent, when the press began to resound as it soon did with the cry “no popery,” and when even the Bishop of Oxford forbade the further publication of the tracts, Newman hesitated. But while he hesitated as to the step, he fixed his eyes upon Rome and lo! she became beautiful. In her he found the realization of his loftiest conceptions of what the Church must be. A Church that had no need to search for a constitution to free her from the State.—a Church the magnificent development of two thousand years of steady progress in the same direction—a Church that looked down upon the State as subordinate—as in its true relations, a servant—a Church that touched, if any Church did, through unbroken line, the Church of the Apostles. And *that Church was the Church of Rome.* And when he saw as he did that in England a middle position between Anglicanism, and Rome was no longer tenable, he resigned his parochial charge of St. Mary's at Oxford, and in 1846 passed formally within the pale of the Roman Church. Newman's act was a signal for a host.

By December of the same year not less than one hundred and fifty clergymen and eminent laymen of the Church of England followed their leader and became Romanists. But with Newman's secession from the Church the Oxford Movement came to its end. It is true that the leadership which Newman laid down Pusey took up—but it was not the same movement. The theological training of its new leader, his understanding and appreciation of German thought and Lutheran theology, lifted the movement out of its narrowness, placed it upon a higher plane, and gave to it that liberality and largeness which merged it into a movement, truly Catholic in its character. To the courage and wisdom of Pusey the Church of England owes more than it can fully know—for under God it was Pusey who saved her in the hour of her peril, and it was due to him that the secession to Rome of which Newman was the head was not a hundred fold greater than it was.

I wish now in so far as the time may permit to enter into a brief criticism of the thought that inspired the movement which

we have now been reviewing. All great thoughts that have lived in history have been characterized by two things. First they have been persistent—they have not lived for a moment—but on the contrary have been abiding forces. In the second place such really great, because true thoughts, have invariably produced great men. It is enough to cast suspicion therefore on the Anglo-Catholic Movement that it was transient, and that neither of the men who figured in it were great enough to live in the thought of the world after they themselves had passed away. The name even of Newman, its master spirit, will be known in the future only to the student. Not so many years have gone since he passed into the unseen. Yet no people even to-day look to him as their saint, no nation beholds in him its hero as the North German looks to Luther or as Switzerland looks to Zwingli. Even in the Church to which he gave the last fifty years of his life he leaves no work behind him by which he will be remembered. He was not a St. Francis, a St. Dominic, a St. Ignatius, nor even a St. Philip. No religious order looks to him as its founder. Unlike that of the fixed star his light was rather that of the meteor which dazzles for a moment by its brilliance and is then gone forever. And for this there was a logical reason. Thoughts, ideas, conceptions, endure in the measure that they embody truth, and men live in the measure that in speech and deed they give expression to the divine thought that underlies all. What then was it in the Oxford thought that condemned it and that brought the movement so speedily to its close?

For one thing its conception of the Church was entirely at fault. It was a conception in which the institutional was exalted until the Christ was obscured. It was stated a moment ago that in Luther's conception of the Church the primary place was given to the people. With him *polity* was always secondary. Wherever the holy souls are, whether under the Papacy or amid the Turks, there is the Church. A saintly people, nourished upon the word and the sacraments, and by these united to him who is the common head, these make the Church. So taught Luther, and he was right. Polity, priest, rituals, all

are accidental. The people, the saints, are the essential of the Church. The fault of the Oxford thought inhered therefore in this, that it made the polity primary, that it exalted the formal principle at the expense of the material, that it glorified the outward—the institutional—at the expense of the Christ. For wherever the grace that saves is confined to any outward channel—wherever salvation is mediated through priest or holy order—wherever robe or mitre, or incense swung, or candle lighted, wherever ritual however rich its symbolism, are conceived as other than *accidental*, there is the Christ minimized and his glory given to another. No wonder that with her conceptions of the Church the Church of England in the times of Newman was inert, lethargic—and as some men thought dying. But his colossal error lay in the fact that he attempted its quickening by emphasizing the very error that had destroyed its life.

I do not deny that as a result of the Anglo-Catholic Movement there came something of value to the world. It did revive again in men a love of the beautiful in Christian art. It did again call attention to the necessity of order and beauty in Christian worship. But it did it at far too great a price, for in the maintenance of its idea of the Church, it fostered that meaner conception of Christ which in history has always been coincident with a revival of High-Church conceptions. I repeat, whatever in polity or creed does not exalt him, whatever confines the outgoing of his grace, or mediates between the believer and his Lord, whatever is held as sacred, apart from the relations which it sustains to him, may indeed lead men to revere the Church. But in the measure that reverence is given to the Church as such it is taken from Christ.

But the second fault of the Oxford Movement was—that it was dogmatic instead of theological. Whatever life the Church has or can have must be derived from the word of God. It is the life-giving word, that gives meaning to the sacraments, and that makes the ministry of that word the hope of the world. "The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life." And this is the province of theology—to explain—to interpret—in the ever increasing light of history and human

thought, the larger meaning of that word. And so it comes that theology cannot be fixed. Creeds and councils cannot bind it. In each age it rises new, and with the strength of everlasting youth it goes forth to grapple with the falsities of the age, and to teach men the ever-enlarging conceptions of him who is "past searching out." Rooting itself in the word, theology is ever living—ever expansive—ever constructive—ever in harmony with all that is true in science, philosophy, or history. It was because the Reformation under Luther was theological that it lived. It was because the Reformation that was attempted by Newman was dogmatic that it died. Finding as it did its principle of authority in the opinions of the fathers and the decrees of councils, it found itself in the quickened thought of the times antiquated and outlived. No religious movement that is to tell for the present or the future dare circumscribe itself by finding its principle of authority in the past. It was the council of Trent by which the Church of Rome fettered itself, that set the limit to her progress. It was the same nemesis of uncompromising and unalloyed conservatism, that overtook the Oxford Movement and that contributed to the shortness of its life.

True conservatism has its place. The sudden sundering from the past leads society not to heaven, but to the abyss. But conservatism alone is death. Radicalism too has its place. But radicalism leads to revolution. Radicalism and conservatism hand in hand, a due respect for the past as well as a proper estimate of the divine in the present, these are the factors that make true progress.

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHILD-LIKE POTENTIAL.

BY PROF. W. H. WYNN, PH. D., D. D.

Somehow we cannot help thinking, that Christ's way into the kingdom is not well considered in our day. Humility was his password, and he made it beautifully concrete by embracing a little child. On the way to Capernaum the disciples quarrelled. They had hung behind the Master in bitter logomachy as to who was his best man. In the scene of the Transfiguration, the most stupendous exhibition of Messianic glory thus far, three of their number had been drawn apart in distinguished nearness to the Master's person—was the Master partial to them? What was there in Peter, and the two sons of Zebidee, that they should be singled out always, as inner confidants and witnesses, on occasions extraordinary, while the rest were habitually overlooked? This question they undertook to debate. That which took place on Mt. Hermon, might foreshadow the order of preferment on that day—not very far off, they thought—when the Messianic kingdom in full equipment and prerogative should be set up. And then the ambitious mother of the favored sons was there to proffer her request—these two boys, dear Lord, the one on thy right hand, the other on thy left.

Here was a crisis in the spiritual training of these men much more critical than we are apt to suspect. The splendors of the Transfiguration had scarcely died away on the Syrian hills when the college of the Apostles are all torn up and ruffled with controversial heat. Up there, and down here, things are running wild, because self-love and the lust of pre-eminence throw them against one another, and against all beneficent agencies outside their exclusive ring. "We found one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he was not one of us." They ought not to have done that. There was bigotry in the mass. It shall not surprise us if, in a little while,

they fight among themselves. Instinctively they slink in the rear of the Master, that his ears may not be stunned by their riot, nor his sweet face blanched by the unseemly sight. But the disgraceful encounter has other ways of reaching him than over the troubled air. No doubt their tones grew boisterous, and their eyes glared, and their gesticulation was defiant with the hate of angry men. The rough vocabulary of the old fisherman days came rushing storm-like over their unguarded lips. Indeed we do not know but that they came to blows. Worse things than that have happened growing out of theological hate, and among warring officials assuming to control a kingdom of peace. In great ecumenical councils, Bishops have fought, and the sacred precinct wherein they met was stained with blood. In any event these blundering Apostles earned for themselves a very low mark in the pitying estimate of their patient Lord. He had heard it all, and there was a fearful reckoning when Capernaum was reached.

Let us say it was in Peter's house, and Peter's little boy on the Master's lap. You have had a foolish quarrel, you, about rank in my kingdom, when, as I will show you now, you were not in that kingdom, and the spirit that inspired your bickering must evermore keep you out. I have no titled dignity to bestow, no rank of authority, except such as will accrue from lowly submission to my spirit, and unselfish endeavor always in my name. See this little boy, how he runs at my call, and bounds helpfully when I lift him to my knee. How in playful confidence he looks into my face; and when I press him close to my bosom, how he locks his little arms around my neck. There is no hate here, no crowing over other little ones not fondled thus, and no whining of envy, nor tantrum of discontent, because not fondled enough. It is all spontaneous love, and no ruffle of ill-will at all, just what the lowliest among you may have, and what the highest among you, if he thinks himself exalted, cannot have. Contrast your ugly strivings by the way with the simplicity and innocence of this little boy, and tell me whether they are not the distance of heaven and hell apart.

What impresses us here in the extraordinary emphasis of the Master's words. The whole tone and tenor of the spirit of his disciples must undergo a change. They have gone on to this high stage of their career—under the burning glories of the Transfiguration—and were not in the kingdom yet; did not seem to know what that kingdom was; that it was entered solely by the renunciation of self. And so he proceeded to say that, unless they wheeled right around, and become as little children, they could *in no wise* enter into the kingdom of heaven. "In no wise"—the terms are exacting; once for all the Master plants his stakes unwaveringly there. "In no wise," that is, except on this condition of the child-like potential, ye cannot enter my kingdom at all. It is an open door, it is true, but your steps will be stayed on the threshold, and your joints stiffened, if the spirit of preëminence or self-uplifting be the flag that signals your way. A great and decisive crisis it was for those dull-minded and quarrelling disciples, gathered there in the twilight of a fisherman's hut, in the throbbing city by the sea, a little child in the Master's bosom, and the ultimatum of Christian discipleship set up in living picture before their eyes.

Now a condition so fundamental requires to be understood. What is it to turn round, and become a little child—a little child, of course, in the Master's arms? On reflection we discover that we are dealing with the deepest secret of spiritual life. We recall the pregnant phrases of the philosophers, "dying to live;" "the finite self-abnegated to the larger self, which is the immanent life and substance of the universal order of things;" "the power that is *in* us, but not *of* us, the universal and absolute good, claiming not our allegiance only, but the unreserved surrender of our personality to be swept on and suffused in the currents of the higher life"—thus discursively describing what Jesus set forth under the symbol of a little child, huddling delightedly in his loving arms. We prefer the symbol to the abstract phrase. It catches us. We love the child, and would fain be where it is, in those same arms throbbing with infinite redemptive impulses, now that we know who it was that sat in that lowly cottage at Capernaum, and taught

stolid quarreling men the way to his embrace. We cannot drop the child from our count, and by no means the great Shepherd who holds the child in his arms. Somehow we feel that we must surrender self to him, and so beg off from walking with the grave philosophers on their high plateaus of luminous mist.

We cannot see why any one should find difficulty in accepting Jesus as God. But that once settled, the child-like potential becomes perfectly clear. For let us reflect how much men naturally and rationally give over to God—all this must lie freely in the lap of the Son of Man. To the running gear of our physical being, to consider that alone, how much do we contribute? The life's blood, and the vital chemistries that distill it; all those silent weavers that ply their looms uninterruptedly, night and day, for a century, weaving the intricate web of nerve, and tissue, and bone, a myriad threads crossing and re-crossing in the mystic pattern without a tangle—what have we to do with it? We did not put it there, and we do not carry it on. With the exception, perhaps, of a tiny speck of free energy involved in moving a muscle, whereby we prepare our food, and get it to our mouths, we are engirded with a net-work of automatic forces, which in our duller moments we think of as running themselves. But *automatism* is an evil word. Men wise in their own eyes have used it to juggle with. The scientist writes it down, and complacently says to himself: "There, now, I have exorcised God from his world." Not so with the unspoiled instincts of men. At the risk of some anthropomorphic disfigurement of idea, they put God in all this cosmic domain, shuddering at the thought of letting out so stupendous a venture to blind vibration or impersonal force.

The Christian is one who easily substitutes Jesus for God—assuming, now, that he believes in the fact of the Incarnation, and all that it carries with it in the interpretation of the world. He looks at that strong, fair, kindly man, in the fisherman's hut at Capernaum, with the babe in his arms, and feels impelled, from what he knows has gone before in his history, and what has followed after, to take up with reference to him the Apos-

tle's refrain, "*All and in all.*" And so what little there is of him he freely commits to the Master's embrace. His dependence is qualifiedly absolute—nay, absolute on God, but now he has found his God in the fisherman's hut, and as a little child he has locked his arms round the sovereign man's neck.

One step more will bring us to the fountain head. The child-like potential is the capacity we have, in Jesus, of becoming simple-minded and innocent in our relations to God and man. "Becoming," I say, for the way is long and difficult, and the new life is not achieved in a day. The kingdom is one of self-mastery, and not mastery of other men. But let us discriminate. It is not mere humility, or an abject feeling of self-abasement, a factitious mood which anyone may fall into as he drops devoutly into his pew on a Sabbath day—not this that our Lord makes the key to his kingdom. It is the resultant habit of a long process of spiritual culture, coming up from mustard-seed inceptions, and proximately compassing evermore the more and more complete abandonment of self to the Spirit of God. "I live, yet not I, it is Christ that liveth in me." It is a persistent experience, to use the language of the schools, with positive and negative poles. On the one side, evil is shut out; on the other side, this king of Capernaum comes in. It cannot be expressed in precise theological phrase, but it stands to reason, that where hell is rampant, heaven's effulgence blackens at its mouth—and the isolating self is always and only hell. The Master cannot take upon his bosom the soul that is soiled with pitch, in which the process of cleansing has never been begun. Therefore to gain simplicity and innocence—the child-like potential—see what mighty enterprises are pressing to our hand. And if our hand is not adequate, it is the simplest thing in the world to lay hold of the hand that is. To have the single eye, so that the whole body shall be full of light; to be rid of that sinful duplicity, that makes the sepulchre neat and white on the outside, while within are dead men's bones and all excess of corruption—so that the man will walk quietly among his fellows, to be accepted only for what he is—for what he is as a servant, and not as one waiting to be served—this is the triumph

of the child-like mind when it locks its arms round the neck of our Lord. We must notice that it is a thing of every day, a kind of culture that involves the whole tenor of professional life and trade, and will be dropped out of the secular routine for no single moment of time—taking up our cross daily, as Jesus puts it, meaning thereby that the discipline is betimes severe, but always day by day.

Well, my learned brother says, Beware! You are making life over-serious. You are trying to have Monasticism breathe again in the rough surcharged air of our modern time. Your child-like potential is a condition esoteric, and there are thousands of temperaments, self-sufficient and virile, that cannot bow to your lowly regime. And if they did, the rush of enterprise would trample them under foot, and toss their vanishing opportunities into the stormy air. In an age like this your simple child-like character is out of place. The whirl of the social tempest sweeps him away. His training, not to put himself forward, leaves him without a foot-hold even in the rear. And so it becomes a serious question, as to whether we have not misinterpreted this teaching of our Lord, making it a prime condition of discipleship that it will seek always the spirit of a little child.

Let us admit that it fosters scepticism to see so little of this spirit in those who, by rank and profession, want to be considered in special nearness to our Lord, and have the tremendous responsibility of conveying his covenanted secret to the hearts of men. To preach it is one thing; to live it is another—especially as the attempt to live it, may so easily slip into a sombre ostentation of humility, and the thing is twice gone which had never yet been really attained. The preacher, for example, the outside world, accounting this thing a species of asceticism, concedes it a possible attainment looked for in him. It is congenial to his mode of life, that he walk lowly, and take with lamb-like submission the buffets of unfriendly circumstance, since the world generously pushes him away from its tumultuous centers. He is never in the thick of the fight. His white tent gleams silently above the thunder and smoke of the battle

and he has leisure and security for his ecstasies, while his fellows are shedding their blood. For him and his class, the regime of simplicity and innocence comes naturally and inevitably to his help, and it were a shame if he should not attain it when there is so little obstruction in the way. And the objector goes on to say, that possibly this was all that was meant in Capernaum, when the Master put before his first preachers the necessity of this special qualification for the work he had for them to do. They were to be an organized propaganda, and it was important that they should know the spirit in which their lofty calling was to be pursued, especially as they were missing it so sadly in the quarrel they had had by the way. Now where a thing comes easy, and everything conspires to help it on, and it is the one beautiful and necessary qualification in him who would go forth heralding, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," it is a public scandal if the child-like spirit should be absent from the function, or only here and there shrinkingly appear.

But the objector is wrong—wrong in theory, and wrong in fact. The child-like potential is not for a function, it is the fundamental law of spiritual life. Just there the emphasis lies. It is "*in no wise*" can ye enter the kingdom of heaven without becoming as described—the universal condition laid as a requisition upon all men. "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart"—learn of me, not a proposition, not a system, not a creed that you can preach, but an attitude of soul, a disposition, a strenuous spiritual repose, as the active-limbed child nestles in the Master's arms. Moreover the preacher has not the easy time alleged. His besetments to inordinate self-uplifting are greater than those that lie in the path of the secular man. Child-like potential! power by abnegating power! often he goes through his course of instruction, and enters the sacred office, without ever having heard the term. He goes to preaching with the buoyant purpose of winning literary fame. He has advantages of person; he has compass of voice; he has all the graces of elocutionary drill. The ladies of his congregation will look on him and be pleased. He has wit and

sparkle, and a wide range of hypothecated phrase. Perhaps great crowds will fill up the sanctuary, and throng the aisles, in eager curiosity to feel and witness the inimitable charm of his personality and his voice. He will sway them at his will. By easy transitions he sweeps them through every mood of emotion, indifferently convulsing them with laughter, and melting them to tears. Observe him as he comes into his desk. The aspect of Jove sits on his kingly brow. His quick-rolling eye betrays a twinkle of satisfaction at the triumph that is ahead of him, when that great multitude shall be touched by his eloquence, and moved this way and that, like the waters of Jordan at the prophet's wand. And then, what may easily follow, the next morning's paper will trumpet a new-made fame, in the advent of a rare pulpit phenomenon hitherto unsurpassed. This is the dream of the acolyte, unchastened and unchecked, in how many cases of those who enter the sacred office in our day, let those whose business it is to know, tell. Sometimes it is more than a dream. But whether dream or deed, "the devil of the pinnacle" has his unsuspecting comrade at a dizzy eminence, and may drop him over at any time into the abyss below. Must we grant it! Apparently there is very little of the child-like spirit among those who are ordained to be lowly servants of the lowly, but so easily become greedy of the plaudits of men.

The trouble is, it is not reckoned as a cult in the schools. Two things for the most part engage the novitiate while there; wide fields of intellectual skirmishing among dogmas that were, and dogmas that are to be; and the stated duties of piety in the well-worn ruts of traditionary routine. Outside of these authoritative limits, he may dream of the perfection of the elocutionary art, and of the cosmopolitan pulpits that may await him, when he comes candidating in the land. And why not? He is going to preach in an age of the most strenuous, and wide-reaching, and deep-sounding thinking that has ever been done. And he is going to breast a rush of competition in making a place for himself, that will require that he have well in hand every resource of person, and accomplishment, and "power of face" he may have at command. He must hold up his head.

He must have grit and audacity, and let no man dispise his youth. If such counsel is not directly given from the professor's chair, there can be no doubt it is too often winked at and condoned. Why? Because the fundamental order of spiritual life has been misconceived. The child-like potential has lost its place in the training of the man of God. He is drilled for competitive heats. That matter in Capernaum cannot be subjected to pedagogical regime, and, in the opinion of the grave theological professors, it would be unorthodox to made the attempt. For is not that initial experience presupposed—entering the kingdom before he felt the divine prompting to preach? His examination was especially directed to that point. It cannot be a cult, therefore, or a thing of the schools, this condition of soul, this state in man, wrought by a flash of lightening from the spiritual skies. In all this, we are compelled to think, the learned pundits have made a mistake.

But the requirement is universal, and it is time now we should ask, how it must fare with those who have to battle with the world. There is a great difference between the group in Peter's house, and the crowds that a little way off throng the fish markets and kanking booths of the great city by the sea. The laboring and trading population—what about them? Is there a realizable ideal for them in the symbol of a little child on the Master's knee? For them, we should never forget, the bitter winds are ceaselessly blowing—the bitter winds of personal rivalry and hate. For them the raspings of competition, and the tyranny of the rich, darken their heavens with continual forebodings of business failure and want, and for countless numbers of them a bare subsistence is a tantalizing uncertainty from day to day. How the group in Peter's house get along as to bodily maintenance and material thrift, we are without information in detail. They were all from industrial and business avocations, not excepting the carpenter prophet at their head, but they had passed into a mode of life which was not economically productive, and it becomes a curious inquiry, as to how, in their missionary wanderings, they kept their commissary replenished, and their depleting treasury up to demand.

Charity, perhaps, such as came freely to the prophets, who had great and humble sympathizers always helping them on. In any event our concern for them is quieted by the knowledge, that their leader is a miracle-worker, and that he can pour out a banquet upon famishing multitudes, in a desert place, from invisible trays in the air. But for the motley crowds on the wharves, and in the thoroughfares, in stately mansion and lowly hut, there is no such kindly immunity against the strain. Early and late they are committed to the war of wills, to the fierce lashings of contrary winds on the soundless sea of trade. They must breast it, or be swept away. There, on the Rialto, constant rating is going on 'about money and usances,' deeds, mortgages, promises to pay, violations of trust, treachery, schemes of theft. Anger, envy, hate—all that area of humanity seems to be an open field into which these evil passions go romping like swine, when the vinyard hedging has been thrown down. There is the glaring eye and ribald tongue. The exasperated creditor takes the derelict debtor by the throat. The courts are thronged; jails overflow; and often justice seems to have flown to dumb brutes.

Dark picture this—and it might be darker yet. Let it be painted with the deepest tinges of pessimistic gloom, we have still to protest, that our Lord's remedy for it all is, the acquired spirit of a little child nestling in his arms. Go, stand in the Board of Trade. Right there in Dante's *malebolge*, where men cry and gesticulate like fiends in the crisis of a transaction when fluctuating millions are changing hands—would not the great Master with his nestling child be, in all that, an incompatibility not to be endured? Verily heaven has descended into hell, and still they are, and must be, thenceforward and forever, the distance of heaven and hell apart. But hold a moment. All ideals are proximately attained. And this ideal of all ideals, becoming as a little child—the growing consciousness of living and moving in the all-enveloping spirit of God, swathed round by the loving Master's arms—it is a whole gospel to proclaim, that it is approachable from most untoward beginnings, and proceeds by stages cognizant only to the Master's eye.

ARTICLE V.

THE DIVERSITY AND UNION OF REVELATION
IN ITS AUTHOR.

BY REV. HIRAM KING, A. B.

Divine revelation is the self-disclosure of God to man, not the result of man's search for God. Revelation is, moreover, the self-communication of God to man for the completion of man's being. The fall affects adversely the mutual relation of God and man, but natural revelation and direct revelation, nevertheless, remain the forms of the divine communication.

NATURAL REVELATION.

The content of natural revelation is the *God-idea*, which is, however, not the conclusion of man's reason, nor yet the outcome of his mental progress. It rises, on the contrary, unsought into the consciousness, and is, therefore, common to all men. This primary knowledge of God is communicated by the "word" (John 1 : 9) of whom St. John affirms eternity, fellowship and identity with God (1 : 1). As thus defined, he declares him the author of all creation (1 : 3) and the light of all men (1 : 9). The reference here is to the second person of the Trinity as the author of revelation apart from the incarnation altogether. "And the light shineth in the darkness" (1 : 5), the Evangelist says, and the truth of the assertion is proved by the God consciousness of men in every age and in all lands.

The Word is the author of *unspoken* revelation. He imparts to man the truth of the divine existence without the use of language or symbol. He makes the communication, as it were, by *radiation* (John 1 : 5). In close analogy to the solar systems of astronomy, the word, as the light, is man's sun-center, whose consciousness becomes illuminated with the knowledge of God as he is drawn in perpetual orbit about him.

"The light shineth in the darkness," but not independently of man. As the natural sun enlightens and warms the earth

through the medium of its own atmosphere, so also falls the divine light into man's consciousness through the medium of his mental intuitions. Mental discriminations are made only within the sphere of the general consciousness, but the mind is also in *sub-conscious* action, and its primary function of receiving the challenge of the word in natural revelation is performed quite outside the conscious being and in advance of thought itself. These first stirrings of the mind are therefore involuntary, and, under normal conditions, as fully beyond man's control as the coursing meteor in mid-sky.

The God-idea, it is plain, is *imposed* on man, for he neither seeks it nor consents to receive it. He finds himself, in fact, in possession of the heavenly inspiration as something not offered for his acceptance and which he could not reject. Is not this primary revelation by the word therefore out of harmony with man's moral agency? No. Freedom of choice could indeed not enter the account at all, since God-consciousness is a constituent element of human nature, equally with self-consciousness and world-consciousness. The God-idea is a factor of manhood as much as the reason, the will and the intellect. To add the knowledge of God to the endowments of the beast, would change its nature and destroy the symmetry of the animal kingdom. To deprive man of the heavenly gift, would break the divine image and uncrown the earthly viceroy.

While, therefore, man is not without a certain autonomy, he is, nevertheless, neither self-existent nor self-sufficient. Indeed, the Christian apostle and the heathen poet agree that "in him we live, and move, and have our being," and that "we also are his off-spring" (Acts 17 : 28). "For with thee is the fountain of life; in thy light shall we see light" (Ps. 36 : 9) anticipates the Psalmist. Here Jew and Gentile and Christian unite in the affirmation that man, in his entire physical, mental and spiritual being, originates in God, and that he derives his continuous existence from him, as the stream from the fountain, as the off-spring from the ancestor.

The God-idea is then not arbitrarily thrust on man, but the divine afflatus is actually normal to him, and is therefore an ele-

ment of his being. It made him Godlike, and originally qualified him for communion with God.

Is the God-idea of soteriological account? Not in itself. The fall affects the intellect as well as the heart. The darkness of moral evil distorts and obscures the God-idea in the mental intuitions, and man's natural knowledge of God is incorrect as well as dim. Under these conditions, although his sin does not interrupt natural revelation, man cannot resume communion with God on the original terms.

It is true that natural mankind, under inspiration of the God-idea, have constructed great religious systems, and have exhausted architectural skill in the creation of magnificent temple-shrines; But it is also true that the very grandest of the sacerdotal piles are in ruins,—the haunts of bats and owls and jackals,—and that their record is a chapter in religious archaeology. Then again, the wise Greeks, whose subtle perceptions and surpassing intellectual power qualified them to distinguish the divine communication the more clearly, were, nevertheless, the votaries of the licentious hierarchy of Olympus, and confessed their ignorance of the true God (Acts 17 : 23). The altar of the Athenians To An Unknown God marks, at once, the highest scope of the intuitive knowledge of God, and also proclaims the utter soteriological insufficiency of natural revelation. Nor did St. Paul mean to affirm the efficiency of the Gentile creed when he quoted Aratus with approval (Acts 17 : 28). The apostle only concurred in the abstract sentiment, touching the origin and existence of man. He, however, passed judgment on the spiritual state of the adherents of the natural religions, when writing to the Christians at Ephesus, who had formerly been worshippers of Diana. He describes them as having been dead through their trespasses and sins (Ep. 2 : 1); and as having performed a death-walk under power of the world and under diabolical inspiration (v. 2). And this scripture is fully sustained by the uniform failure of the natural man to struggle into the light through philosophy and self appointed religious rites. Of all the great religions evolved in the "darkness," Buddhism, with its Christlike gentleness and helpfulness, is indeed the best, but

even this system is as human as its founder. Its creed, indeed, lacks the article of divinity, and its adherents may, therefore, not expect supernatural aid to attain Nirvana, and Nirvana itself is annihilation. This crown of the religious creeds of heathenism is practically atheistic, it offers no heavenly home and blows out the lamp of personal existence, at last, as the ultimate solution of the life-problem.

The God-idea in natural revelation is thus of no more soteriological account than was the ontological abstraction of Plato's Divinity, for plainly the deity of heathenism fails to display the helpful attributes in behalf of his devotees.

OLD TESTAMENT REVELATION.

The content of Old Testament revelation was the *Messianic-idea*, which was not communicated, however, through the medium of the intuitive reason. So far as it was the expression of man's prospective deliverance, it was neither normal to him nor disclosed by the shining of the light into the consciousness. The incarnation itself may be normal to human nature, inasmuch as it seems to be the consummation of the original idea of man's complete existence, but the purpose of such a union of God with man was not communicated in natural revelation.

The Messianic-idea was, on the contrary, a *special* revelation, and was made known to man in forms of speech or by intelligible symbols. Unlike the God-idea in natural revelation, it is not projected out of mental chaos into the consciousness, but is addressed from without to the mind in thoughtful action. The Messianic idea was, moreover, presented as a proposition for voluntary acceptance (Joshua 24 : 15). As to natural revelation being mute, the writer of Hebrews places direct revelation in distinct contrast with it. "God," he writes, "having of old times spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son" (1 : 1, 2). The mode of communication is oral. Thus, God addressed the first parents in person. He spoke to Abraham and Moses and to many others before and after the birth of Christ. He also made vocal proclama-

tion of the Ten Commandments to the Israelites in Arabia. The usual mode of Old Testament revelation was, however, by prophecy. "Men spoke from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter 1 : 21). The visions, which they saw, were not regarded by them as dreams, but were distinctly understood to be special communications from beyond nature, coming direct from God.

The Messianic-idea is historical. It differs from a proposition in Enclid, which, Pallas-like, having been born, fully formed, of the mathematician's brain, passed to succeeding ages without variation. The Messianic-idea, as enunciated, (Gen. 3 : 15) was but a mustard seed. The protevangel (Gen. 3 : 15) was indeed so faintly Christological from Adam and Eve, that Cain was apparently mistaken by them for the Deliverer, which it promised (Gen. 4 : 1). It was, nevertheless, this primitive gospel of man's salvation that erected the earthly realm of the kingdom of God and the mustard seed has long been the world's arboreal monarch. It was indeed the Messianic-idea in the consciousness, ever made clearer by successive revelations, that gave character to the age of the Patriarchs. It was in the growth of the Messianic-idea, through Promise and Covenant, that the Hebrew Theocracy was established. So also it was in the historical evolution of the Messianic-idea that the true spirituality of the old Testament Church was so grandly exemplified by its representative men and women (Heb. 11). Then again, the temple ritual gave expression to the Messianic-idea in the clearest typical forms, so that an analysis of the Hebrew cult is the true exegesis of the protevangel, and the correct portrayal of the Messiah and man's redemption. The Messianic-idea was thus a divine force for man's faith, whom it refined and elevated from the Garden to the Manger, until human nature poised itself toward divinity and the Messianic-idea became concrete in the person of the divine human Son of the Virgin Mary.

NEW TESTAMENT REVELATION.

The content of New Testament revelation is *Christ*. "The word became flesh" (John 1 : 14), and is now the offspring of

a woman as well as the Son of God (Gal. 4 : 4). He therefore speaks face to face with men. Yea, more than even this, his formal utterances are as much human as divine, since man and God are practically a unit in his person. Revelation is now fully *Christocentric*, because it proceeds from the incarnation. Hitherto, men were "voices in the wilderness" (Isa. 4 : 3), and cried out under stress of the Messianic-idea, of which they were the incarnations. Henceforth, men will be the "light of the world" (Matt. 5 : 14)—"an epistle of Christ, written not in ink, but with the spirit of the living God" (2 Cor. 3 : 3). Not only was human nature regenerated at its divine assumption (Luke 1 : 35), but it was assumed *as an order of life*. Christ is, accordingly, the "last Adam" (1 Cor. 15 : 45), and men receive spiritual birth from his person. The incarnation is, therefore, much more than the necessary mode of the Messiah's introduction into the world. It is, indeed, the new creation, outright, and the sphere in which "life and immortality" for man are "brought to light through the gospel" (2 Tim. 1 : 10). The incarnation, moreover, eventuated in the coming of the Holy Spirit on his pentecostal mission to the world, by whose agency the exalted Christ gives to men the birth of "water and the spirit" (John 3 : 5), comforts his people (John 14 : 16), leads the Church into the deeper truth of his word, age after age, and quickens her growing consciousness that her dogmas may be the formulation of the living verities of his person.

Then again, as the religious systems of natural mankind, as far as true, have ever been the projection of the God-idea, and as the Hebrew theocracy was the evolution of the Messianic-idea, so now is the Christian Church the historical and economic expression of Christ in the world. Thus, the Church is the "body" of Christ (Ep. 1 : 23) and the preacher's theme is *Christ* (1 Cor. 1 : 23). The life of the Church is therefore the constant self-revelation of Christ (John 15 : 1-8). Would an analysis of Christianity, then, be also a true biography of Christ? Yes, so far as the life and spirit of Christianity are the expression of divine revelation as consummated in the incarnation.

Natural revelation and direct revelation are united in the in-

carnation. While the second person of the Trinity remains but the word for the heathen people, he is both the word and the word become flesh in Christianity, where the rays of natural revelation mingle with the clearer, warmer, life-giving light of incarnate radiation. The natural knowledge of God is indeed an indispensable factor in direct revelation. Without the equipment of God-consciousness on the part of man, divine revelation would be impossible to him as well as it is to the animal.

While, however, natural revelation obtains apart from direct revelation and became a factor in the life and constitution of the pre-Christian Church, Old Testament revelation itself had no independent existence at any time, but was projected, from beginning to end, by the *ideal* incarnation. Its promise and prophecy proceeded alike from the *prospective* advent of the Messiah. Its types derived their existence and meaning from their antitype, which was Christ. Its preparations were produced by the *idea* of the event in which they culminated. Under stress of the war-idea, for example, military measures are taken quite in advance of the hostilities which inspire it. So, too, the Messianic-idea proceeded from the future birth of the Son of God, from which it received its meaning and vitality. As touching this point, the author of Hebrews states that the law of Moses had a "shadow of the good things to come" (10 : 1). The expected advent of the Messiah summed up the "good things," which were therefore still future—the "shadow," which was present, was thrown forward into the Theocracy by the *ideal* substance of the approaching incarnation. When, then, the Virgin Mother was given the babe from God, the shadow was displaced by its object and the true Israel became Christian, for revelation was now focused in Christ, who is its perpetual utterance in the new creation.

REFLECTIONS.

1. The evolution of direct revelation from natural revelation is wholly impossible, like the evolution of man from lower animated nature. The gap that divides the two forms of revelation being the difference between the word and the word be-

come flesh, the "missing link" will ever elude the Darwinian quest, for direct revelation, as well as man, necessitates a new creation on the basis of the lower order. It is true that Melchizedek was a priestly type of Christ, Balaam a prophet, that Nebuchadnezzar saw a vision, that Cyrus received divine commands and Cornelius a message, but these, and other instances of extraneous direct revelation are readily accounted for in their connection with the people of God. As for the reputed demon of Socrates, that famous philosopher probably mistook the inspiration of his peerless mental genius for the "divine sign, the prophetic or supernatural voice."

2. Under the inspiration of the Messianic-idea, the Church enjoyed a primary spiritual life, whose development to the "fulness of the time" (Gal. 4 : 4) required many helpful interpositions of Jehovah. Revelation in Christ is truly historical, since it is changing the face of the earth through the development of his incarnate life in his body, the Church.

3. The human spirit not being subject to annihilation, there is some sort of spiritual action in process even in spiritual death. This ghastly function of the spirit, dead to God, is the sphere of natural revelation, which is, accordingly, *unhistorical*—a fact which is proved beyond a doubt by the history of ethnic religions, for even the oracles of Zeus, Apollo and Jupiter lost their speech in the decadence of the world's highest Gentile civilizations.

4. Natural revelation is common to man, because God-consciousness is an element in human nature. Direct revelation is limited, because it is uttered from beyond man's natural constitution, and becomes a communication only through the medium of his faith. The word shines everywhere in the "darkness," but the incarnate Word speaks only to men in his presence. The Lord therefore bade his Church make proclamation of his gospel, commensurate with the geographical distribution of the race (Mar. 16 : 15), that his world-embracing mission might be accomplished in the unification of natural and direct revelation.

ARTICLE VI.

THE BIBLICAL REVELATION SUPERNATURAL.

BY M. VALENTINE, D. D., L.L. D.

We are accustomed to define the Christian revelation as a supernatural and historical disclosure by God of himself and of truth needful for the moral and spiritual well-being of man. The term covers the process of disclosure as well as the disclosure itself. The New Testament word for it is ἀποκάλυψις, an uncovering, or making known. The pre-supposition of it is man's general need of religious instruction and especially his condition in sin. The aim of it was to enable him, despite the incoming of sin, to realize his true life and destiny. In its central reality it is the divine self-manifestation in the person and work of Christ, including all the special preparations leading up to it and the succeeding apostolic teachings which unfold its redemptive import. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are its permanent record. The true conception of this revelation becomes clear when we look at its distinctive place and relations. It necessarily takes its characteristics from these.

It is a *special* revelation. It is such by the very relation in which it appears. Both by its initial statement of a lapse of human life into a state of sin, and by its whole declared redemptive or soteriological purpose, it necessarily appears as a movement or stage of divine manifestation beyond that *generic* revelation which God's creational work at once furnished, and evermore presents, of his being, thought, power, and will. It has its own distinct and definite place. There is, unquestionably, a primary, fundamental, perpetual revelation of God, in the cosmos itself, in the soul of man, in the intelligence of the race. God has not left himself without declaration or clear witness. The universe reveals him, everywhere from atoms to worlds, forever speaking into reason's ear. A general law of divine revelation is thus to be recognized, through creation and history.

This is to be neither denied nor ignored by Christian theology. It is rather to be emphasized and built upon in forming our conception of the Christian revelation. For this, as a special revelation, rests in and upon the revelatory *principle*, and exhibits an advance to meet the conditions presented in the lapsed humanity for whose welfare the cosmic existence and order are meant. Thus, though not separated from generic theistic revelation through nature, it is yet *distinguished* from it by relations and features peculiar to itself. We are warranted in believing that God was not taken by surprise in man's guilty abuse of the lofty endowment of freedom and his self-enslavement to sin. He foreknew, and always truly knows, both the world and humanity according to their historical progression and conditions; and the revelatory progress, which belongs to providential administration, attends and keeps pace with their developing conditions and needs. The divine revealing of creation passes on and over into the divine revealing of administrative love and activity. Both are connected with and look to the same moral purpose of the world—the first already having disclosed that purpose, the second conserving it and holding open the possibility of its realization.

And this special revelation, reflecting and explaining, now, this *administrational* purpose, to meet these moral and spiritual needs of the race ensnared in sin, and to provide for and secure recovery, must necessarily exhibit peculiar characteristics and adaptations. What revelation there would have been, had there been only a sinless history and development of humanity, we cannot tell. Possibly it would have been simply the creation itself, in its ever-freshly illuminated pages, disclosing the thought, the wisdom, and power of God. Possibly it might have embraced progressively instituted relations of life and fellowship with God, opening evermore clearer and happier vision of his character and goodness, and conferring richer and richer measures of truth. But certainly, the abnormal conditions of mankind, self-surrendered to sin and lost from the way of attaining the high character and destiny designed for them, called for some special and peculiar information, instruction, direction,

and helping divine manifestation. For, besides the new necessities for *recovery*, this very state of humanity, alienated from the divine fellowship and with spiritual intuitions darkened, left the general creational revelation less effective, while the ensnarement in evil made more light absolutely necessary. At the same time only further self-disclosure, beyond creative manifestations, could exhibit God in the fulness of those attributes by whose vision the alienation might be overcome and recovery effected. Though creation itself was a work of love, it was more distinctively a disclosure of wisdom and power than of mercy and spiritual help. It invites no return by assurance of *forgiveness*. It showed no provision for the *regeneration* of life. God must be seen in other than creative attributes. He must add a revelation of *grace*, in a soteriological economy and provisions which shall maintain the world's progress according to his "eternal purpose" of redemptive goodness to the race. The Christian revelation, therefore, though grounded on generic revelation, is *special*. It has an aim continuous with that of the divine creational thought and goodness, but becomes specialized as the advancing providential care and love, which holds the historical advancement of humanity to its rightful opportunity and goal.

And it is thus also *supernatural*. It must be this, too, by its very relation. There is not the faintest reason to think of the divine activity as exhausted and ceasing with the creative form alone. God is *Sustainer* and *Ruler*. The deistic notion of an absolute transcendence in which, after creation, he takes no further concern for creaturely welfare, is as irrational in philosophy as it is contrary to the Scriptures and the whole moral and religious interest of the world. The self-disclosure through the cosmos, both physical and moral, reveals him only in his creatorship. This creatorship issues in a given constitution of *nature*. It furnishes only *natural revelation*—of God as the author of nature and of his ways in nature. But it has no revelatory voice of redemptive goodness and help, no word of information as to the spiritual order of the divine administration over the humanity with which God has crowned this world-system—now

sinning, guilty, wretched, and needing pity and direction. The general naturalistic revelation is not withdrawn, but it is inadequate. The mere energies and uniformities of natural law furnish neither the information nor the spiritual forces for the *soteriological* need. Beyond the creational *natural* provision and directions, a supernatural order of grace and training necessarily comes in, if God's aim of love for the race, made in his image, is not wholly to fail. The *redemptive* administration, the redemptive teaching and redemptive powers are, of necessity, in excess of the simple movement and revealing light of the natural constitution; and they come in with, as they belong to, the providential and governmental goodness and grace of God.

The whole question of supernaturalism in Christianity, agitated these late years with so much hostile endeavor, can be rightly understood only by keeping in mind these fundamental facts and principles. The distinction between the divine activity disclosing itself in cosmic creation, including the human constitution, and the divine activity in the moral administration over the world of humanity, must be kept clear. Unquestionably the distinction itself is real and indubitable. The first, the origination of the world with its established uniformities under physical law, is prior and conditional for the second. The second follows, and concerns the government of the intelligent, free, and responsible beings for whose life the physical world has been created. The forces and movement established by creation are *natural*—even with respect to spiritual endowment. The principles and order of the government are *moral*; and therefore, require, as is self-evident, that the administration be in the undiminished divine freedom that answers to the contingent needs which arise in humanity's use or abuse of its given freedom. The moral disorder, sin, coming by the abuse of this freedom, and crossing the divine aim for man's welfare and destiny, called for light and relief which were not in nature itself, but possible of supply through redemptive or soteriological goodness. *God is as free for soteriological as for creational activity*—for adding a supernatural administration with its spiritual forces and laws as for creating the natural system with its uni-

formities. The moral administration, as already suggested, must be forever *free*—God's freedom acting in relation to man's abuse of freedom. It is precisely in this light that Christianity presents itself. Beyond doubt it is constituted to a *soteriological* design—a design beyond that disclosed in natural revelation or provided for in natural information and forces. Equally beyond doubt is it that the *records* of Christianity present it in precise and distinct conformity with his design. They show God as, after the world's creation and human sin, inaugurating, so to speak, his providential administration with a gracious promise of forgiving mercy and redemptive help, establishing a dispensation of grace and arrested judgment, instituting relations of reconciliation, worship and fellowship, giving clear and wonderful proclamation of the laws of human duty and holy life, and no less wonderful prophetic direction and teaching in spiritual truth, with fore-announcements of the kingdom of heaven on earth—all together a unique economy, developing through centuries to the "fulness of time," when, in the incarnation and work of the divine Son, the redemptory and saving provision was completed for all the ages. Unless the entire Scripture record is utterly false, this aggregate movement, in its characteristic trend and multiform particulars, reveals God as ruling over human affairs in attributes of character and methods of goodness, and with transcendent aims for human destiny, concerning which simply cosmic processes and nature's disclosures have no voice. The movement, based on nature, is in excess of mere nature's provision.

The supposed *strife* between nature and the supernatural comes from misconception of one or the other, and of their relations to each other. When correctly viewed, the strife disappears. The natural constitution of the world continues in its uniformities, affording the place or theatre for human life, with its freedom and possibilities. No special or supernatural power needs to be invoked for the sake of the physical world. But there is something infinitely higher and more important—the well-being, character, happiness, and destiny of men, for whom the earth has been built and the ages of history are given.

There is no strife between divine power moving in the mere natural order, the sphere of science, and that of the divine administrative love, as affording additional truth and saving provision, necessary, in the highest sense, to the welfare and true destiny of mankind. It is not *contra-natural* but *super-natural*; because, without annulling the nature constitution, it introduces, in its own time, according to unchangeable purpose, the soteriological principle, to secure the transcendent moral and spiritual interests of humanity, to which everything else of earth is justly subordinated. The idea, therefore, that supernaturalism is inconsistent with nature is utterly gratuitous and false—as plainly so as would be a claim that the education of a child's mind is contradictory to its original endowment with mental faculties and possibilities. Much rather does it imply the preservation and true use of nature, in carrying into effect the supreme design which ordered the cosmic existence. It prevents the defeat of the end of nature.

To be true to Christianity, therefore, theology can never surrender the supernatural character of the Biblical revelation. Its claim is sustained, not only by the clearly evident *place* of the supernatural in the teleological ordering of history, but by the equally manifest fact that without it the world-existence, history, and aim remain, or rather revert into, an unexplained and insoluble enigma. For, outside of this revelation, the thought of mankind, striving through all the ages to solve the problem of life and destiny from nature's revelation alone, has neither lifted the darkness nor ceased to plead for some satisfying light. The state of the pagan world to-day, as in all the past, is absolute disproof of the ability of naturalism, or the mere human reading of nature's pages, to supply humanity's mighty spiritual and soteriological needs, or to furnish the race with the matchless and saving truth and grace which are given in Christianity. This fact clearly implies that it is just by this supernatural character that the Christian revelation stands as God's true self-disclosure to man. For it is by this very feature, as proved under the testing experience of the centuries of Christian life, certifying its adaptation to the actual needs of the race, that

this revelation has authenticated its unique source—in supplying for the life and elevation of humanity what naturalism, all around the world and from remotest antiquity, has never been able to give. This supernaturalism has been the secret of Christianity's power. It forms the basis of its authority. Christian theology can never, by any concession to anti-supernaturalism, consent to drop Christianity down to the rank of being simply one, though it should be the best, among the world's great natural religions, merely the product of the evolution of religious thought among a particular people. The surrender of supernaturalism means the surrender of Christianity.

ARTICLE VII.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

BY REV. J. H. WEAVER.

There are two ways by which one mind exercises an influence upon another. The one is by appeals, through words, or truth, to reason.

This way leaves the power of choice with the subject appealed to. He can resist, or yield. There is no loss of volition. He can will to accept, or to reject. The truths presented do not affect his personality. He simply disposes of the whole matter as he wills and decides. The other way is through so-called mesmerism and chairvoyance.

In this way, the subject is lost in the operator. There is no responsibility in the person acted upon; he is, indeed, passive; he is like the clay in the hands of the potter. These are the only two ways by which one mind influences another. The one is ordinary, the other is extraordinary. The ordinary is the way in which all moral influence is exerted. The extraordinary is the way of involution and irresponsibility. These are the only two ways in which the Spirit has operated upon man. The ordinary is the way of appeal, through the truth, the word of God; this is the moral way, with all choice, volition, de-

cision, and responsibility retained by the person. The extraordinary way is miraculous and inspirational, in which there is no choice, volition, decision, or responsibility retained by the person. He may even be compelled to do contrary to his own will.

Such was the case with Balaam, who intended to curse Israel, but was made to bless them. Saul prophesied contrary to his own will. Rebellious Jonah was inspired to prophesy. All inspiration belongs to the extraordinary.

In Matt. 10 : 20, we read : "For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you." Here we are taught that the apostles were simply the medium through which the Spirit spoke. They were not the authors of what was spoken, neither were they responsible for what was said. It had nothing to do with their conversion, for they were converted before they were apostles. By inspiration, by this irresistible power of the Holy Spirit, the disputers with Stephen were not able to withstand the Spirit by which he spoke.

Philip was made to join himself to the chariot. Peter bidden to go to Caesarea. Paul and Timothy prohibited from speaking in Asia. John made to hear a great voice, to see the seven-fold vision, and to receive the message of the rest for the dead. Paul was prevented from going to Jerusalem, compelled to preach the Spirit's words, and was bound in the Spirit. Barnabas and Saul were separated from temporalities and sent to Seleucia, and on missionary tours. By inspiration, Bishops were placed in the Church. These are the direct references. But there are other passages that indicate it.

Acts 10 : 38 says, in reference to Jesus : "God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power." He himself said : "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me." John says : "I beheld the Spirit descending as a dove ; and it abode upon him." These references teach that Jesus was anointed by God with the Holy Spirit. In John 3 : 34, we read : "For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God." This is indicative of the inspiration of Jesus. He was

inspired for his work. He received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit. The Father said: "I will put my Spirit upon him." He was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted. "The Spirit driveth him forth in the wilderness." "By the Spirit of God," he "cast out devils." "Through the eternal Spirit" he "offered himself."

He did not go into the wilderness of himself but was taken by the Spirit. He cast out devils by the Spirit. He declared judgment because God had put the Spirit upon him.

Thus was Jesus anointed and inspired for his work. All these cases of inspiration are the extraordinary. They are the direct coming, the immediate contact, with miraculous results.

The following terms, as used in the Scriptures, always indicate the extraordinary:

First: "The Spirit was upon him," indicates the extraordinary. From Luke 2 : 25, 26, we learn that revelation was the result of the Spirit being upon Simeon. "Resteth upon" is a like expression and of similar import.

Second: "In the Spirit" indicates the extraordinary. In Revelation 1 : 10, we are taught that supernatural knowledge was the effect of John being in the Spirit. And 1 Cor. 12 : 1-3, and 14 : 1-2, teach that "spiritual gifts" signify "in the Spirit." And those who were "in the Spirit," and possessed of "spiritual gifts," had miraculous and inspirational power.

Third: "Filled with the Spirit," and "full of the Spirit," indicate the extraordinary. As a result of being "filled with the Spirit," the apostles spoke with tongues; the seven prophesied and performed miracles; Saul proved that Jesus was the Christ; John the Baptist had the spirit and power of Elijah and prophesied; Elizabeth had her "reproach among men" removed; Zacharias prophesied; the communists "spoke the Word of God with boldness;" Peter answered by what power the impotent man was healed; and Barnabas performed miracles.

Fourth: the terms pour, poured forth, and poured upon, when used in connection with the Spirit, indicate the extraordinary. As a consequence of the Spirit being poured forth upon all flesh, *i. e.*, upon representatives of all nations, Israel's sons

and daughters, servants, and hand-maidens, on the day of Pentecost, prophesied, and the Gentiles spoke with tongues.

Fifth: the terms fell and fallen, in connection with the Spirit, indicate the extraordinary. The Cæsareans spoke with tongues because the Holy Spirit fell on them. And the Samaritans had taken no miraculous or inspirational part in the Church, "for the Holy Spirit had fallen as yet on none of them."

Sixth: the terms gift and given, applied to the Spirit, indicate the extraordinary. The apostle in Hebrews classes gifts of the Holy Spirit with signs and wonders and powers. And Luke calls the miraculous endowment on Pentecost, giving the Spirit; and this giving resulted in tongues. And the reference to the Spirit not yet given to the Ephesians, pertains to the pentecostal gift. And Paul's words in 1 Thess., "who giveth us his Holy Spirit," refers to inspiration.

Seventh: the terms, receive, and received, the Holy Spirit, indicate the extraordinary. On that first Sunday night after the resurrection, Jesus breathed on the apostles, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit." And this reception gave them power to retain or forgive sins. The Samaritans received the Holy Spirit as a result of the apostle's power to bestow the gift of God. The apostle's question to the Ephesians, "Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed?" referred to the pentecostal out-pouring.

Eighth: the term comforter, the Parakletos, indicates the extraordinary. This word is peculiar to the 14, and 16, chapters of the Gospel according to John. The comforter was promised exclusively to the apostles, who, by his coming, were inspired. The hearts of the apostles were troubled because the Saviour was taken away.

In the 14th chapter of John, the Master is telling of his departure. But in view of this fact, he says: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may be with you forever." Christ had been to them the Parakletos, the comforter, but now he is to go away, therefore he will send another, who will not be taken from them.

Christ had been with them as their leader, but now the Spirit

was to take that place. The specific work of the Comforter further shows that the term indicates the extraordinary. "But the Comforter, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you." "He shall guide you into all truth, and he shall declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify me; for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you."

The Holy Spirit has never taught all things, and brought all things to remembrance, to any but the apostles. To guide into all truth is to inspire. To declare things to come is to reveal, and inspiration and revelation belonged to the time of establishing the Church and the giving of the Word.

On the day of Pentecost, when the promise of the Comforter was fulfilled, the apostles were miraculously endowed and inspired for their work. The Scriptural terms, therefore, "the Spirit was upon him;" "the Spirit resteth upon him;" "in the Spirit;" "Spiritual gifts;" "full of the Spirit;" "pour forth of my Spirit;" "gift of the Spirit;" "receive the Spirit;" and "Comforter," all signify the miraculous, the extraordinary.

The extraordinary operations in prophecy and miracles have already been noticed. Speaking in tongues has also been considered, and is so evident as an extraordinary operation, that it needs no further emphasis.

Another extraordinary operation of the Holy Spirit is indicated in the promise of the Spirit. Christ nowhere promised the Holy Spirit, which promise did not refer to his inspirational and miraculous coming. The references are in Luke 12 : 12; Matt. 10 : 19; Mark 13 : 11; Luke 21 : 14; John 7 : 38; and the 14, 15 and 16 chapters of John.

The promise referred to the pentecostal outpouring; the coming as the Paraclete; the inspiration of the apostles, and prophecy. The extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit may be summarized as those manifested in inspiration, the anointing of Jesus, prophecy, miracles and tongues; and those indicated by the Scriptural terms noticed, and the promise of the Spirit.

For what purpose were the extraordinary operations? They

were not given to change the moral character, or to convert men. 1. Cor. 13 : 1 says: "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, * * * and if I have the gift of prophecy, * * * but have not love, I am nothing." Here are the extraordinary operations without love, without a change in moral character.

The apostles were converted before they were inspired. Inspiration was not given to make men better. It was given to both good and bad men. The extraordinary operations were to confirm the apostle's preaching by signs and wonders. Hebrews 2 : 3, 4 reads: "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? which having at the first been spoken through the Lord, was confirmed unto us by them that heard; God also bearing witness with them, by signs and wonders, and by manifold powers, and by gifts of the Holy Spirit." Here we are taught that the Spirit was to confirm the apostles' preaching.

God bore witness by signs, and wonders, and powers, and gifts of the Holy Spirit. Mark 16 : 17, 18, teaches the same truth: "And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in no wise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover." The extraordinary operations were also for the purpose of "perfecting the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ." That is, for the purpose of establishing the Church, when the word would be complete, the New Testament given.

To what extent did these extraordinary operations exist in the early Church? Paul says: "Because on the Gentiles also was poured the gift of the Holy Spirit. And they of the circumcision heard them speak with tongues." There were the same miraculous results, whether the Spirit was poured upon the Jews or Gentiles. In Acts 11 : 15, we read: "And as I began to speak, the Holy Spirit fell on them even as on us at the beginning." Here the falling of the Spirit on the Caesareans is said by the apostle to be the same as at Pentecost. And as a result the Cæsareans spoke with tongues. The Holy Spirit was

given by both Jews and Gentiles; to the Cæsareans as well as the apostles. In Acts the 15 and 19 chapters we learn of the Holy Spirit as the common gift to the churches. In Acts 20 : 23, the Holy Spirit is spoken of as testifying in every city. In Ephesians 4 : 11-13, we learn that God placed inspired men and women in the churches to be in them 'till they were, as we have already quoted, builded up and established.

“And he gave some apostles; and some prophets; * * * for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ: 'till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the statute of the fullness of Christ.”

The Church is here likened to the growth of a child. And the extraordinary operations of the Spirit were to be in the whole Church, in its growth, unto a full-grown man. Ephesians 4, and 1 Cor. 12, 13, and 14, chapters teach the same truth. 1 Cor. 13 : 8-11, tells us that the supernatural shall fail; that partial revelation shall be done away when the perfect word of God has come.

“Whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away. Whether there be tongues, they shall cease: for we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away.” Therefore we learn that the Holy Spirit was miraculously and inspirationally given to all churches, to be thus with them until they were built up and established; then the prophecies, miracles, and inspiration were to be done away.

The miraculous gifts in the apostolic churches were imparted by baptism of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and in the house of Cornelius. In all other cases, the imparting was by the imposition of hands.

Only the extraordinary operations are taught in the Old Testament. The word “spirit” is used some 233 times in the Old Testament. Of these passages, some 150 refer to the spirit of man, spirit of jealousy, spirit of wisdom; contrite spirit, faithful spirit, broken spirit; spirit of the heart, spirit of Egypt, spirit of

grace, spirit of the gods, and other similar references. About 100 times is the term "Spirit" in the Old Testament applied to some name of God.

In all these cases the extraordinary operations are taught. There are prophecies of the Seventy Elders of Saul, of Saul's Messengers, of Azariah, of Jahaziel, and of Zechariah. There is miraculous preservation, miraculous endowment, and miraculous deliverance. There is revelation to David, the Israelites, and Job. There is inspiration in judgment, art inspiration, and prophetic inspiration. There are supernatural works, directions, powers, and changes. In no other way can we discover the term "Spirit" applied. Its use is in the miraculous and inspirational. The personality, or idea of a personal Holy Spirit, is not taught in the Old Testament. The Old Version writes the word "Spirit" some 27 times with a capital. In the New Version, 25 of these are written with a small letter. This gives the mind of the translators. They do not consider the term "spirit" a proper name or a distinct personality.

The Psalmist David and the Prophet Isaiah speak of the "holy spirit," but neither holy, or spirit is capitalized by the translators. The word holy is used in the same way as many other modifying terms; as the good spirit, the evil spirit, the free spirit. There is one passage in which "my spirit" of the Old Testament, is interpreted in the New Testament as referring to the Holy Spirit, the third person in the Trinity. Joel 2 : 28, Peter tells us in Acts II., has its fulfillment on Pentecost in the descent of the Holy Spirit. There are also two passages, Isa. 32 : 15; and 44 : 3, which might be so interpreted.

But even in the passage by Joel, in the absence of Peter's interpretation, it would be impossible to know that it referred to the personal Holy Spirit. It was not so understood in the Old Testament, and conveyed no idea of personality distinct from God the Father. On the day of Pentecost, there was the fuller light that gave the fuller meaning.

So we have in the Old Testament what God knew to be a reference to the Holy Spirit, but what we could never know, without the New Testament to be the personal Holy Spirit.

We also have passages in the New Testament that teach us that the Holy Spirit was in the Old Testament, and inspired the prophets; but that idea was never presented in the Old Testament. In Acts 1 : 6, we read: "Brethren, it was needful that the Scripture should be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David." In Acts 18 : 25, we read: "Well spake the Holy Spirit by Isaiah, the prophet, unto your father." But these passages in the New Testament reveal the nature of those in the Old, without which revelation, we would not know this inspiration to be from the personal, Holy Spirit. The Old Testament does not teach a distinct and separate personality of the Spirit, therefore, the operations of the personal Holy Spirit are not taught. He is in the Old Testament, but in the uninterpreted prophecies. And we have only the extraordinary operations of God, or the spirit of God, or the Spirit, as not distinct and separate from God personally, taught in the Old Testament. The New Testament teaches a separate, personal, Holy Spirit, with both extraordinary and ordinary operations. The terms used are: "Holy Spirit," "Holy Ghost," "Spirit of God," "The Spirit," "Spirit of your Father," "My Spirit," "Spirit of Jesus," and "Eternal Spirit."

The Greek is *πνευμα αγιον*. *Πνευμα* is translated Ghost' Spirit, with a capital, and spirit, with a small letter. The sense must determine the rendering. As to Ghost and Spirit, we fail to find any difference in the Scriptural meaning. There is no passage in the New Testament that could not be rendered Spirit, instead of Ghost.

The American revisers say *αγιον πνευμα* should always be rendered Holy Spirit. The revised version, notwithstanding the American members, change Holy Ghost to Holy Spirit only about 15 times, while they translate Holy Ghost some 75 times. In the New Version, *αγιον* is omitted in some cases and added in others. The use of the term depends upon the weight of evidence in the original manuscripts.

In 1 Cor. 2 : 13, *αγιον* is found in Stephens, or the Textus Receptus, and omitted in Tischendorf. The same is true as to

John 7 : 39. Wherever *αγιον* is found, it means the personal Holy Spirit.

In the Revised Version, there are also several changes as to the use of the capital. Spirit with a capital is changed to spirit with a small letter some eight times; and spirit with a small letter, is changed to Spirit with a capital some four times. The sense must determine. When Spirit is spelled with a capital, the personal Holy Spirit is meant. The terms, Spirit and Holy Spirit, are sometimes used interchangeably. For instance, Spirit is used in Matt. 12 : 31, and Holy Spirit in Matt. 12 : 32, in the same connection, in reference to blasphemy. Spirit is used in Matt. 12 : 31, and Holy Spirit in Mark 3 : 29, and Luke 12 : 10, in reference to the unpardonable sin. We learn from the use of the terms, that the personal Holy Spirit is taught in the New Testament, and, therefore, the operations of the personal Holy Spirit are taught. And that whenever the word *αγιον*, or Holy, is used, or the word Spirit is spelled with a capital, in the New Version, the personal Holy Spirit is meant.

Having noticed the extraordinary operations, as well as the use of the terms, what are the ordinary operations? Reproof, John 16 : 8. Begetting, 1 John 5 : 1; James 1 : 18; 1 Peter 1 : 22; John 1 : 12; 3 : 15. Born of the Spirit, John 3. Sheds abroad love in our hearts, Rom. 5 : 5. Causes us to abound in hope, Rom. 15 : 13. Renews us to salvation, Titus 3 : 5. Justifies us, 1 Cor. 6 : 11. Sanctifies us, 11 Thess. 2 : 13. Bears witness with our Spirits, Rom. 8 : 16. These together with some few others, are the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit, which operations are by appeals through the truth.

The word is the "Sword of the Spirit." The word is the instrument, the Holy Spirit is the personality. This relation is so intimate, however, that the word and Spirit are inseparably connected. Without the word, there would be no operations of the Spirit save those of a miraculous and inspirational nature, but miracles and inspiration have ceased. What is said of the word is said of the Spirit.

This is true as to the new birth. John 3 : 5 says : "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit." James 1 : 18 says : "Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth." The same holds true as to sanctification. 11 Thess. 2 : 13 tells us that "God chose you from the beginning unto salvation in Sanctification of the Spirit." John 17 : 17 says : "Sanctify them in the truth ; thy word is truth." The same truth may be shown as touching all the operations.

In every case where the same thing is said of both the person and the instrument, it can only mean that the person did it by means of the instrument. This is a recognized principle in all law and interpretation. And as an instrument, the word is all sufficient. There is no need of immediate impact or contact, "for the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth."

There are no immediate and direct operations of the Spirit. There are no scriptural accounts of conversion without appeals through the truth, without the medium of the word. The doctrine of immediate and direct operation is the doctrine of the Pope, and he claimed to be infallible ; of Mahomet, and he claimed to be a Prophet ; of Swedenborg and Joseph Smith, and they claimed direct revelation. To be under the impression of having the direct and immediate impact of the Spirit is to be either inspired or deluded. The idea of the direct and immediate operation depreciates the Scriptures. Spiritual influence through the word is intelligible, while a direct contact of the Spirit is not. Direct contact creates direct feeling ; but the moral nature is moved entirely by faith. And faith comes by hearing the word, therefore, there must be the word as the source of testimony, for "by grace we are saved through faith." If there be no medium, there is no operation, and no faith. This is the case where there is no Bible. If there are other operations than those through the word, what are they, and how may we know them ? How does the Spirit speak to us, other than through the word ? How does he convict us of sin without the word ? How does he bear witness with us without the word ? If the Spirit operates upon us without the word, what

is the necessity of the word? All religious consciousness is located in the spirit of man, and there is no evidence outside the Bible sufficient to lead one to faith in Christ. This is proven by all peoples without the Scriptures. 2 Peter 1 : 1-3 tells us that, "All things pertaining to life and godliness, are given unto us through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Verily, the Spirit operates only mediately, through the word of God, upon the hearts of men. To operate immediately and directly would be to dwell personally in us individually. This he does not do, but dwells in the Church as founded upon the word; the Church as built upon the teachings of the apostles and prophets and Christ; the Church collectively as the body of believers.

To dwell in a person would be to take miraculous possession of him. The Spirit is appropriated to the heart by faith that comes by hearing the word. Separate from the word, he dwelt in the apostles to inspire them. He enters our hearts in his teachings and truth, and not he himself, personally. 1 Cor. 3 : 16 says: "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" The temple here spoken of refers to the Church collectively, and not to the individual Corinthians. The apostle is addressing the Church, and all his terms of address are plural. Believing Christians together, and not separately, constitute the dwelling, the habitation of the Holy Spirit.

In Ephesians 3 : 20, 22, we read: "Being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom each several building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye are also builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit." This passage does not teach individual temples, but a building together for a habitation of God. 2 Cor. 6 : 16 says: "We are a temple of the living God; even as God said, I will dwell in them." Here again we have the collective idea. Hebrews 3 : 6 says: "But Christ as a Son, over his house; whose house are we." The plural sense again is set

forth. The first letter of Peter 2 : 5, says: "Ye also as living stones, are built a spiritual house."

Here we have the putting together of the believers to make the spiritual habitation. In 1 Cor. 6 : 19, we read: "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit which is in you? The same thought is given in Ephesians 5 : 30, where it is said: "We are members of his body." The unity is in the body of Christ, which is the Church. Dr. Lange says: "Elsewhere Christians themselves are called members of Christ's body, the Church its totality, the head of which is Christ. But here their bodies are spoken of as essential parts of his personality."

In this passage, there are two distinct ideas: the one is the sense in which the word body is used as to number. The apostle has reference to the personalities that made up the collective Church. The body, singular, of you, plural. "Holy Spirit in you;" in you the plural, the collective Corinthians, whom he was addressing. The other idea is the sense in which the word body is used in its true application. The apostles speak of a body in connection with meats, the temporary, animal nature, that must perish. He also speaks of the body as a member of Christ, to be raised. The latter body, to be spiritualized, is referred to as touching the question of a dwelling for the Spirit. In all these passages, the temple, house, habitation, where the Spirit dwells and abides, is the collective body of believers, the Church. The Spirit does not dwell in us as individuals, or in our individual bodies. But to us as individuals he appeals through the truth. Through the word he presents himself to us individually. By means of the word, he impresses himself upon us. In the word he is ever with us. In the truth he abides with us. It is for us to be led and guided by him. To pray for his presence is not according to knowledge of the word. To ask for a baptism of the Spirit is to ask for miraculous power, or ability to speak in tongues.

The Spirit is always as near us as we will let him come. As well pray for the word as pray for the Spirit, for they are inseparable.

We are exhorted not to reject, tempt, grieve, vex, quench, do despite to, or blaspheme the Holy Spirit. There is no precept or command to pray for his coming or presence. David said, "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me;" and we read in Luke 11 : 13, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." These passages refer to the extraordinary of the early Church, and not to the ordinary after the Church was established. The burden of prayer should be that our hearts be receptive of the Spirit, rather than for his coming and presence, for he is here, in the Church, pleading with us through the word, the truth. The Holy Spirit is a person in the Trinity of God. To address him in prayer and praise is scriptural and fitting; but to beseech him to come down upon us, and abide with us, is unscriptural and redundant. It may almost be considered arraigning him. Rather, the prayer comes from him. With us he strives and pleads. We answer his prayer.

The Spirit through the living word imparts new life within, and leads again to Christ, the Lord, those lost in the paths of sin.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE QUESTION OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

BY REV. EDGAR SUTHERLAND, A. M.

Language is a medium of communication. Its use is to convey ideas and thoughts from one person to another. I once tried to teach a Chinaman Bible truths regarding God. The Chinaman knew very little English and I, less about the Chinese language. On inquiry I found that the Chinaman could not read his own language very well. How to convey Bible truths to this Chinaman, that was the problem. From the little knowledge I had of the Chinese, I knew that the heathen Chinaman has not a very definite conception of sin. Missionaries find it very difficult to translate the word sin into the Chinese language, for the Chinese have no word corresponding to it. It is I think, translated bad man; at least, that was the Chinaman's paraphrase of it. If I should tell the Chinaman to repent and believe on Christ, he, probably, would not get a very definite idea of what I meant. Then this occurred to me. The Chinaman has great reverence for his parents. Here was a starting point. I could tell the Chinaman God was his heavenly Father; Christ the Son of God; our heavenly Father is pleased when we obey, but displeased when we disobey; that God sent his Son to die for us disobedient children, and that, for Christ's sake, he will pardon the penitent. In this way I could convey some little idea of Bible truths. It might, however, require some teaching of the law to make the Chinaman see himself a great sinner in God's sight.

None of those now residing on this earth have passed beyond the veil of death that hides the future world from view. Christ, as a messenger from the realm beyond, came to reveal the will of his Father, and, also, something regarding our future. How can he tell us of things we have not seen? How did he? By living the perfect life, by working miracles, by dying for us and

rising again, also, by his teachings. And how did he teach? Often by parables—exhibiting some spiritual truth, by supposed facts from nature and human life with which the people were familiar. An Esquimo lady visiting this country, said: “I could not tell my people the things I have seen in these United States.” And why? How would she tell them about an engine and a train of cars? She would have to liken it to a train of sleds, drawn not by dogs, but by a peculiar sled. How would she tell them of the machinery in our numerous factories? It would be an impossible task. And why? Because of their lack of knowledge regarding machinery.

And I may ask, why has not Christ told us all about the future? It may be an impossible task, because of our limited knowledge regarding future realities. Nevertheless, Christ has made some things plain regarding the future life. He has told us the wicked will be punished. And why did he die, if men were not lost? If all would be saved, how explain his mission to earth? He says: “The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.”

The language Christ uses in describing the future punishment of the wicked is often, we think, highly figurative, and must necessarily be so, since we have not seen and not experienced the future lot of the wicked. But granting that the language descriptive of future punishment is often highly figurative, what must be the condition of the wicked? “Unspeakably dreadful,” nothing less. The language Christ uses conveys that idea and only that. “Where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched.” “But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.” These are not impassioned utterances, they are rather the cold logic of facts.

The Bible descriptions of hell bring out clearly two facts of which we have some knowledge: First, hell is a place where the wicked are; Secondly, the wicked are in great torment.

Hell is a place where the wicked are. “Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.”

“Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God. Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.” We know something of what it would be to live in such company here. What must it be to live in such company in the future forever?

The wicked are in great torment. This statement is borne out by the Scripture passages just quoted, also, by the following: “Where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched.” “And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever.” The torment of the wicked seems to be due to the fact, that the wicked are lost in their own sinfulness. I have seen men who seemed to be in the power of some wicked habit. I have seen them wring their hands, and heard them cry out in anguish, “I am a lost man.” An immortal soul created in the image of God to have dominion over self, the animal world, and nature! Yes; an immortal soul has lost its kingdom, and is ruled over by most vicious tyrants, the evil appetites and passions. The mind reels, the victim beholds gloomy spectres, he remembers his evil deeds. He is lost, and he knows it, but does not discern a way of escape. If this be but a foretaste, as it were, of the future condition of the lost, what must it be to be lost?

Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that hell is a place where only the wicked are, and that their torment is due to their being forever lost in their own sinfulness. Let us suppose that hell is that, nothing more. Can you conceive of greater remorse and torment? Here is one who has believed hell to be a literal lake of fire. He has feared it as a dreadful place, and and so lived as to escape it. Has the Bible been a safe guide for him? Has it misled him by saying: The wicked shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone? Another teaches a child that hell is a place where the wicked are, and that the torment there is caused by people being lost in their own sinfulness. The child has good and kind parents. What does it know about wicked people? What does it know

about being lost in its own sinfulness? If I should thus describe hell to a child, would I not be a deceiver, a liar? And why? you ask. Because I gave the child no adequate conception of punishment in hell. The child has probably been burned, it may have cried over the pain caused by the burn. It knows what it would be to burn in the fire. It knows, if people burn in hell, it must be a dreadful place, and the Bible did not deceive the child, when it told the child the wicked will be cast into a lake of fire.

But some one says: "God is love." An earthly father would not cast his son into everlasting punishment. A father has a wicked son. He loves his boy dearly. He has sacrificed nearly all his wealth for him. He has chastised him, but all is of no avail, his son will not reform. He is not only injuring himself, but he is leading his brothers and sisters into evil. He is bringing sorrow and misery into the other homes. What will the father do with his son? What can he do with him? Shut him up where he cannot injure others. This description of a disobedient son is only a picture of the wicked in society at the present day. Why has God suffered the wicked to afflict the righteous? Undoubtedly for wise reasons. I may mention two. How are the wicked to be reclaimed? Who have been sent to warn the wicked, angels or men? Angels were sent with messages of warning and comfort to God's chosen servants, but the prophets to warn the wicked. Who are sent to warn the wicked to-day? Men; and often men who know from a past life the lot of the wicked. Again, Christians are not perfect. It is through affliction that they are often led to forsake sin. The Psalmist said: "Before I was afflicted I went astray." "Every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." But, God "will not always chide, neither will he keep his anger forever." Death brings a separation of the wicked from the righteous. Lazarus could not be sent with a drop of water to cool the rich man's parched tongue, because of the great gulf between them. One of the acts in the great judgment scene, is the separation of the

wicked from the righteous. "And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats." I know of persons who died cursing and swearing, and saying they knew they would be damned. If a man is wicked here he will be a wicked man in the future world, and that seems to be the most natural supposition. It is also the teaching of the Bible. What will the judge of all the earth do with the wicked, the lost? Will he allow them a place in heaven? So far as we can see, it would mar the blessedness of the righteous. Again, would the lost be happy in heaven? On earth, the wicked seek their own company, they are not happiest in the company of those who fear God and do his commandments. "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved." Would the lost be happy in heaven, in the presence of God where the saints do his will perfectly? To me, it seems, they would be more wretched than in hell among their own company. Will the Judge of all the earth shut up the wicked in a lonely cell? It is an old saying that even misery likes company. May it not be, that in shutting up the wicked in hell, God has done the best possible thing for a lost soul?

Yes: some one says that may be true, but God will not leave the wicked in hell forever. But what authority has any one for such a statement? It rests on mere supposition: God is love, therefore he will not punish the wicked forever. Such a supposition contradicts what Christ said: "Where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched." "These shall go away into everlasting punishment." Again, if the punishment of the wicked is due to the fact that they have come under the power of their own sin, are lost in their own sinfulness—"verily, verily I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin"—how can their condition be changed? Only by their overcoming sin. Will that be possible in the future world? It seems probable that it will not be. If we suppose that, as on earth, sin gains a greater power over the sinner the longer he serves sin, the sinner's reformation in hell seems more improba-

ble than on earth. If we suppose that when death, the dissolution of soul and body, comes, sin can gain no greater dominion over the lost than it has attained while the soul inhabited the body, then it is most reasonable to suppose that there can be no reformation, but that the soul's character is eternally fixed. If we suppose that at death the soul's character is fixed, and this is Bible teaching, "Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed"—then it must either remain as it is, or go on rising to greater heights, or sinking to lower depths.

Men have looked at God's sovereignty, and said, it was decreed that some, the wicked, should be damned. Men have looked at God's marvelous love, and said all would be saved. May it not be true, that man, a free moral agent, a responsible being, has been left too far in the back-ground. To the rich man, Abraham said: "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented." Justice has not been offended. The rich man had his good things in his lifetime. He had his choice, "what he wanted." And now he is only reaping what he sowed. In the parable, when the day of reckoning came, the servant's well-being and reward depended, not upon the number of talents he had received, but upon the use he had made of them. The horse on the prairie, when he is hungry and well, unless something frightens him from his meal, will eat, must eat, cannot do otherwise. He is not a free moral agent. A man is in a well-filled market, he is hungry and well, he may satisfy his appetite, or he may decide to wait until he returns home. Man is a free moral agent, he has the power of choice, he can choose between good and evil. But why, you may ask, did God give man the power of choice, if he may use it for his own destruction? Ask why God created beings above the brute. Deprive man of his free moral agency, and you make of him a brute. Nebuchadnezzar is deprived of his reason, a brute's heart was given to him and he ate grass like oxen. May not this be an explanation of the heathen idea that the soul of a very wicked man will re-appear again in some animal? A free moral agent! What awful respon-

sibilities, to what heights one may rise, to what depths he may sink! God is love, therefore, no hell! I will change the proposition. It may be God's love that shuts up the wicked in hell, and, in so doing, it may be that the Judge of all the earth has done the best that possibly could be done for a lost soul.

ARTICLE IX.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A. M.

The findings of Archæology are evidencing facts which necessitate changes of view both in Higher Criticism and traditional orthodoxy. Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, and Egyptian antiquities were at first hailed as certain vindications of the traditional view of Scripture narratives. Chronological evidences were produced corroborative of the antiquity of the history of the Hebrews. Names of patriarchs were found to have philological antiquity and record, and kings associated with Abrahamic narratives were not legendary characters, but living actors in political history. Literature was something which did not wait till the age of David or Solomon for its birth and development, but was manifested prevalently through all Western Asia as early as the days of Abraham. It is no more a question whether Moses was able to write. The query would now be, if there were no literary remains of his, why a man in his position, so powerfully controlling political and religious life, did not write. But while Archæology has destroyed some of the assertions of the Higher Critics, it has also brought alarm into some ranks of theological conservatism. It has proved too much, and a new adjustment of theological opinion has to be made to meet new facts. The discoveries made by decipherment of Assyro-Babylonian tablets of great antiquity evince the fact that the creation narratives of Genesis

are not peculiar to the Hebrew race, but are the common property of the great Semitic family of races of which the Hebrew is a member. Chaldean epics whose themes have their roots in the early Assyrian age, epics not unknown to Abraham, recount the stories of creation, paradise, and the fall of man. The Tree of life, and the Serpent, the particular features of the Genesis narratives, have their similitudes in Babylonian legends. They are Semitic family traditions. The Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh tells the story of the Deluge in manifold features similar to the particulars of the Genesis record. It proves that the accounts of Genesis were not the product of Hebrew fiction or imposture. But the mode of revelation and inspiration must be differently viewed. We are not forced to the alternative, *nisi historia sit, fraus scriptoris*. An advanced step, however, is to be taken. The creation narrative in Genesis cannot be a special revelation transmitted from Adam solely by traditional Hebrew descent to Moses, nor a sole, spiritual revelation from God to Moses to be reduced to historical record. The supernaturalness, however, comes in, not in the mere fact that there is a Genesis record, but in the nature of the Biblical record. The significance after all does not lie in the similarity of the Biblical and Chaldean accounts, but in the specific divergences between the two. The agreement is surprising, but the variations are more so. The supernatural element manifests itself in the Biblical conception of Cosmogony, Anthropology, and especially of Deity. In the Babylonian epic the gods and the universe emerge from chaos. Matter is essentially and inherently evil, and in conflict with the gods. In the Genesis account is the clear conception of the pre-existent God, omnipotent and supreme. Light appears on command, matter is divinely made and architectonically framed into an orderly universe. Man is made in the image of God, an image spiritual and intellectual.

The Chaldean account represents light as issuing from the conflict between chaos and the gods, and matter as intractable in the hands of relatively helpless artificers. The one has lofty conceptions, spiritual, dignified. The other bristles with idolatrous degradation. While the Biblical record is not a peculiar

nor an entirely supernatural revelation to Moses, nor the invention of the Hebrew mind, the Hebrew conception of the traditional Semitic Cosmogony is divinely illumined, and manifests superhuman elements in its composition. Deity is spiritually apprehended; matter is not self-existent nor divine. There is no antagonistic dualism between Deity and chaotic matter. The narratives are common to the Semitic races, but the conception of the Hebrew mind transcends the traditional inheritance. It is reproduction under divine superintendence.

The lack of inventiveness and originality in the Hebrew race is used by Professor Margoliouth to show the supernatural origin of the Hebrew Scriptures. In his "Lines of Defence of the Biblical Revelation" in the October and November numbers of *The Expositor* he shows how the uninventive mind of the Jewish people was incapable of producing such a work as the Bible. The poetic imagery such as we find in the Vedas, and the varied religious conceptions original with some oriental peoples, are entirely wanting to the Jewish mental life. "The Indian can start an idea and the Jew cannot. The whole of the work at which we have glanced—points, accents, Massorah, Talmud, grammar, lexicography—is borrowed; there is scarcely a trace of originality anywhere. The Jews have in religious matters no ideas of their own." In all their literary productions subsequent to Canonical Scriptures the Jew is a borrower both of materials of thought and forms of record. "Until Jewish history merges in biblical history, so far back as it can be traced, *originality* seems absolutely to fail the race. All their non-biblical literature is borrowed (at any rate in form) from Mohammedans or Christians; their idea of a canon from the Greeks; their pointing MSS. for different purposes from Romans and Syrians." "The desire of Israel appears to be to resemble others. Other nations have a king, so they want a king. The fact that the institution is not altogether desirable does not count. Other nations are idolatrous, whence they display an unreasoning attachment to idolatry; no amount of preaching is of avail. How are we to reconcile with this most patent want of originality the

extraordinary phenomenon of such a race having produced a literature which, after once having taken its place at the head of the literature of the world, has no intention of quitting that post? The lost literatures that come to light rarely have any value of their own." "The Bible itself explains this problem by the theory that the best of Israelitish literature was communicated to its authors from *without*—that it was the result of special favors conferred on privileged members of the race. 'Men spake as they moved.' The nation which of itself could do nothing for science or philosophy, which could not observe and could not experiment, which could not compile a grammar nor invent a metre, produced the books which, owing to the profundity of their contents, 'the first man did not fully know, and the last man has not sounded to the bottom.' Truly this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

The conception in general of this kind of evidence is doubtless valuable, but may be, as used by Professor Margoliouth, carried too far.

God evidently did not choose the Hebrew race to be the recipient of divine revelation because of its supposedly mental obtuseness. He did not take the bad or inferior to show what good he could produce by it. There was something original in the Hebrew that made him an object of divine choice as God's "own possession," and that originality was the keen perception of holiness. The genius of Israel in an idolatrous age, and amid idolatrous peoples, was the acute consciousness of righteousness, the deep discernment of moral distinctions. This made the Hebrew people spiritually akin to God, and conferred on them the most distinguished originality. The culmination of this keen sense of holiness was reached in the Nazarene, who was consumed by the divine passion for righteousness. The uninventive Hebrew recorded an inspired book because of his spiritual affinity to the subject of revelation.

He recorded the traditional narrative of Cosmogony with Monotheistic and spiritual discernment because he was capable of relatively fine moral distinctions. His genius, if not in character, yet in conception, was the sense of righteousness.

Evolution can give no history of beginnings. Its effort to reach ultimate causes has been a bootless search. God and creation stand unmolested and untouched. Evolution cannot go beyond phenomena, and phenomena are movements which do not show their primary cause.

Evolution as a science is a wonderful and orderly system of thought. It has done much, incomparably much, for our view of the world. But beyond what is seen it cannot go. Its life is in phenomena. The trend of science now is the absolute separation of metaphysical philosophy and natural science; not one denying the validity, nor doubting the conclusions of the other in its own sphere, but each respecting the other's province and results. An absolute and final philosophy evolutionary as to origin and end of being is coming to be recognized as an impossibility. And systems like Herbert Spencer's must be laid aside as utterly inadequate as a science of the unity of all truth and knowledge.

Looking first at metaphysics in relation to theology we find it taking a trend which may be called modified Hegelianism. Divine revelation begins by assuming the existence of God. But since man has grown to be such a disciple of logic he is anxious to find the lost thought-link between God and man, and by his logic prove the existence of God.

The Ontological argument as presented by Anselm does not bridge the chasm between thought and existence. As Anselm states his argument we have the idea of limitless perfection, the idea of a being greatest and most perfect of all existences. But if existence itself were lacking to the object it were less perfect than other realities, and hence it could not be our highest conception of being. Existence then is a necessary attribute of God, else our highest thought would be incomplete. But we have the thought of that which is complete and perfect, hence God, our highest thought, must have existence. But this is a leap from thought to existence. We can argue from thought to thought, and from existence to existence, but not from thought to existence. Having an idea of anything with whatever perfection it may be clothed, does not give that idea objective re-

ality. Descartes and Kant added to the content of the idea the truth that the thought of God is a necessary thought. But this does not answer the question, "Why is the thought of God a necessary thought?"

Man's study of man has led him to deeper thought of God, so that by penetrating the thought-power of his own being man gets closer to God. We cannot know anything without first having a distinction between subject and object. The knower must be able to distinguish himself from his own states and the thing known. The mere succession of nervous states caused by a succession of impressions effected on the sensorium from without may be a state of thrill, a state of nervous reaction and consciousness. But states of consciousness are not a consciousness of states. A stone receives the blow of a hammer and there follows a state of action and reaction through the particles of its whole being. Instead of a hammer the sun's rays may smite the stone, and there follows another state of motion in the particles. But the stone does not distinguish between itself and the sun or the hammer. There is no consciousness of states, much less a state of consciousness. Whether the matter acted on be as delicate as the sensitive-plant, or refined and electrical as nerve tissue and fibre, it is matter still and cannot distinguish between itself and the thing acting on it. Recoil is not consciousness. Without this distinguishing between subject and object there can be no self-consciousness. There is need of a third element as a ground for self-conscious personality. There must be spirit, as well as sensorium and disturbing cause. That which is necessary to man to be the distinguishing power between subject and object and make him consciously reflective is the soul or spirit, which is not material. His whole nervous organization, his sensorium as subject, and the disturbing factor causing impressions on the sensorium as object cannot evolve personal consciousness. Soul or spirit is an essential factor to make the distinction between subject and object and make the self-conscious creature. Suppose there is no external stimulus to the sensorium, but man begins the

action of thinking upon subjects the knowledge of which has already been acquired through experience. There are two things present, the self and the thought, but what is the third element to distinguish between subject and object, between self and thought? An automatic or involuntary movement of brain particles cannot explain it. There must be a standing ground for thought. The ultimate principle must be an absolute consciousness, a unity which underlies all. Without relation to this unity we could not distinguish between our thinking self, and our mental object. Mind cannot differentiate itself and become two subjects. The Absolute Consciousness is necessary to have distinctions of subject and object and to exercise reflective thought at all. This Absolute Consciousness is God. The standing ground of reflective consciousness is the existing, eternal Spirit of God.

But here is the danger of subjective Pantheism, the denial of the permanent individual spirit of man. It seems to infer that man's reflective being is part of God. It is however not a necessary danger.

I have a time-piece, full jeweled, a gem of perfection in construction, and marvelously correct in keeping time. But suppose over and above that watch there was a self-consciousness of the watch, would that self-consciousness be the watch? Certainly not. There is a self consciousness in man free from the matter of his organism. There is a free ground of Absolute spirit to effect the unity of man and his thought. When self-consciousness becomes subject in opposition to its own thoughts as object, the unity of the two is the Absolute Consciousness, without which there could be no distinction between subject and mental object, and no reflective thought possible. The ultimate principle of being is God, the necessary ground of all human thought. God is the absolute Unity to which all thought must be referred.

Hegel says: "The soul when it begins to philosophize must first of all bathe in the pure ether of the one substance, in which all that it had previously held for true is submerged." Malebranche expresses it on this wise, "We see all things in

God." These expressions now find an interpretation different from the pantheistic and become a reflection of an earlier statement made, not scientifically, but in living truth by a previous writer, who says: "In whom we live and move and have our being."

Anselm's Ontological argument was the beginning of the answer, and his conclusion is so far true when he says, "No man can deny God's existence without contradicting himself."

The present tendency of natural science in its relation to metaphysics and theology is the severance of metaphysics from science. The Ritschlian theology is the attempted separation of metaphysics from religious conceptions. The latest type of science is the more legitimate and essential separation of metaphysics from natural science. The prophecy of progress in the study of nature now is from Monism to Spiritualism, and from Spiritualism to Theism. Rev. F. R. Tennant in the April number of *The Journal of Theological Studies* writes on this subject under the title, "The Theological Significance of Tendencies in Natural Philosophy."

Materialistic and agnostic opposition to theology has been the result of a false method in science. The metaphysical use of such terms as force and substance has made a philosophy out of science and carried it beyond its province. The proper method of natural science is description and not explanation. "It has only gained its pretended concreteness and contact with the real world by a parasitic connection with metaphysics. Its concepts, such as force, mass, atom, ether, have become hypostatized or objectified by use of the categories of cause and substance, of which science should know nothing. It is only in this borrowed metaphysical dress that Science is available for the anti-metaphysical positivist theory of knowledge."

"Science, however, can save itself from this extremity by avowing its abstract nature, by renouncing every claim to be philosophy, by ejecting its metaphysical accretions, by professing only to *describe* and not to *explain* the course of nature. And this step science has already begun to take." "Science, there-

fore, waives its right to speak upon ultimate reality, to offer any explanation or interpretation of things. It becomes only a pictorial memory system instead of a key to the hieroglyphic literature of nature. Those who would exploit the results of science in the cause of naturalism must now reckon with the fact that science cannot supply a philosophy without being metaphysical, whilst in allowing itself to be metaphysical it becomes obscure as science." The author hopes to see, through the severance of these fields of knowledge and research, an end to the "conflict" between science and theology. But the base of conflict will then be on the bridge between the two separate shores. The human mind is not satisfied with dualism in any realm of knowledge, nor will the agnostic mind be content to admit the results of theological research, and rest satisfied with descriptions of nature, and renounce explanation. So long as there is a *Diabolos* there will be human conflict.

The Expository Times for last November contains an article by Agnes Smith Lewis on "What we have gained in the Sinaitic Palimpsest."

This Syriac version of the four gospels found by Mrs. Lewis in 1892 was probably written near the end of the fifth or in the early part of the sixth century. Several centuries later the manuscript had been covered over with biographies of women saints. The recovered text is relatively free from interpolations or emendations to make it correspond to existent variant Greek texts, and is regarded as one of the purest sources for textual criticism. The writer enumerates about ninety variations from the standard Greek texts, many of which must be taken into consideration in textual revision, and some of which necessarily will modify any future revision of the New Testament. One variant reading of serious import is that of Matt. 1 : 15, 16, bearing on the Immaculate Conception of our Lord.

The Syriac palimpsest reads: "Jacob begat Joseph, Joseph to whom was betrothed Mary, the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ." This is one of the "blemishes" that at first gave the impression that the palimpsest contains an heretical

version of the Gospels, or had been tampered with by the Ebionites. But the defence of the version is given by Mrs. Lewis in a statement which appears to her "the most obvious explanation." "The genealogy is purely an official one, having regard only to the social status of our Lord. This view receives strong confirmation from two obvious mistakes which have been detected in it. Jechoniah, of whom it is said, in Jer. 22 : 30 : 'Write ye this man childless,' is here as in all other MSS. of St. Matthew, represented as the father of Shealtiel; and it is said that Joram begat his own great-grandson Ozias. The story of Mary's 'being found with child of the Holy Ghost, when they had not come near one to the other,' and of Joseph's 'being minded quietly to put her away,' comes immediately afterwards in vv. 18 and 19. It is quite inconceivable that an Ebionite scribe, who had already edited v. 16 so as to expunge from it all trace of our Lord's supernatural birth, should have allowed vv. 18, 19 and 20 to stand as they are. I submit that all these discrepancies, together with the expression in v. 21, 'And she shall bear to thee a son,' and in v. 25, and 'she bear to him a son' (instead of 'and knew her not until she had brought forth a son'), may be satisfactorily explained by a consideration of those social customs which have been ever in vogue amongst Semitic peoples.

"Joseph was, without doubt, the foster-father of our Lord, and if any register of births were kept in the temple or elsewhere, he would probably be there described as the actual father. Such he was from a social point of view, and it was therefore no willful suppression of the truth when the most blessed amongst women said to her Son, 'Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing.'" The explanation is one worthy of most careful consideration, and is to be taken into thoughtful account in the solution of the problem.

A re-arrangement of the matter of the fourth Gospel to effect a better chronological sequence of events is a desideratum. Internal evidences have suggested various changes in the position of some chapters, but good external evidences are wanting.

Prof. Bacon in the last Oct. number of *The American Journal of Theology* takes Tatian's Diatessaron as a basis for transposition of the materials of John's gospel. We are not yet ready to accede to a documentary analysis of the gospel, nor to take Tatian's text for a basis of adequate re-arrangement, though the order bear evidence of good judgement founded on possible manuscript authority lost to us. The article by Prof. Bacon is worthy of careful reading.

The same number of the *American Journal of Theology* contains quite a brochure by Professor Julius Kaftan on the subject of "Authority as a Principle of Theology." The difficulty for the reader in grasping the basis of authority as expressed by Dr. Kaftan lies in the peculiar theological conceptions of the Ritschlian school. The terms, Revelation, Love, Kingdom of God, and other religious concepts, do not signify the ordinary evangelical standpoint and usage. Divine Revelation does not mean a supernatural event, or product. It is rather an historical witness of the action of God and of his Christ in the world, a witness to the unfolding of God's will. Divine Love does not have the same ethical content that historical theology is wont to ascribe to it. Its concept is the "Will of love." It is to be adequately conceived only in terms of will. The Kingdom of God is something *Jenseits*, "beyond," a supramundane kingdom. The theoretical avoidance of Metaphysics makes Ritschlianism shy of all philosophical conceptions in relation to divine attributes, and evidences of Revelation. Proof drawn from deep religious feeling and experience is regarded as "Mysticism." Natural Theology is tabooed, and teleological evidences drawn from the world of nature lack authority and usefulness in application to matters religious.

Professor Kaftan is an empiricist, and a member of the right wing of Ritschlian theologians, more evangelical than some others of his school, yet so far embracing Ritschlian conceptions as to make it difficult so to adjust his views of natural science as to make science of value as authority for Revelation. He outlines his discussion under four heads, as follows: "The

idea of authority," "the idea of revelation in connection with the Christian religion," "the authority of divine revelation as understood by Catholicism and Protestantism respectively," and finally "how and in what form the idea of authority can be justified in connection with the science of to-day."

The idea of authority as an indispensable factor is shown in the family with the necessary subordination of its members to one head, and in the civil community for the control of the social and industrial order. The characteristic of authority is "its independence of the inclination and judgment of the individual, who must obey whether he understand the ideal reason of the command or not." Authority in the moral life is of the same nature. Its true validity comes without and apart from the experience and education of the individual. It is the "Categorical Imperative." The teleological contents of ethics are not denied. There is ethical historical development, and significant aid from natural and moral environment, but authority in moral life is founded in the "categorical imperative," the intuitional ground of right and duty. There is no permanency, no unfluctuating ground for the ethics of Evolution.

"This further confirms, what we already found, that superiority to the subjective inclination and insight of the individual is the peculiarly decisive characteristic of authority. Authority is what has validity because it is valid." Moral authority is the peculiarly true authority, self-constraining because it is inwardly recognized. It is the will of the individual coinciding with the intuitional factor, which is the primary and superior element.

Under the second head is shown the superior quality of the Christian revelation. In the Persian and Indian religions "the element of appeal to revelation has extremely little prominence." The Christian religion is "without parallel." The authority, however, which is evinced by this supremacy does not come as a product of value-judgments of the human reason. Mere intellectual conviction produced by comparison of religions, and the assurance awakened by experience have no true weight as authority for revelation. "The blissful experience of the nearness of God" is "mysticism." "The mystic needs no revelation."

Certainty and authority come to the individual "only through the faith which rests on the revelation of God in Jesus Christ." Judgments of comparison, value for character, superiority of ethical conceptions, because they contain the factor of the human reason, have little or no value in forming convictions respecting the authority of the Christian revelation. This historical Christian revelation, however, is non-supernatural, and apart from reason and ethical judgments furnishes a very vague authority for theology.

The understanding of the principle of authority as held by Catholicism and Protestantism is discussed under the third head.

The Roman Catholic Church is the source of declarative authority for religion. The Church is the interpreter of the divine word, and the diviner of its true revelation. In Protestantism the enlightened reason of the regenerate Christian enables him individually to judge of truth and authority. The reason shows itself enlightened by the spirit of God by the subordination and surrender of its own judgment to the Holy Scriptures. But this is reasoning in a circle, and leads to the same ultimate position as obtains in the Roman Catholic doctrinal system. "In other words, the continuity of Protestant thought is broken up at the decisive point and is led back, although with certain modifications, to that of Catholicism. The principle of authority in dogmatics remains in the end the same as it has been handed down from Catholic antiquity."

The content of faith, however, in Catholicism, is a salvation working *ex opere operato*, but in Protestantism it is connected with the moral life, and embraces inward appropriation. But faith, to the Ritschlian, is simple resting on a historical, non-supernatural witness, a factual revelation.

The last division of the discussion argues the principle that science can become available as a source of authority for religion only by theoretic or scientific knowledge developing into a moral power in the individual. In the progress of the discussion as a whole, Dr. Kaftan says: "There is no need of further pains to show that we can make no use of the principle of authority in science." Classification of evidences drawn from the

study of phenomena is simply the attempt of human reason to give religious value to theoretic knowledge. But the theoretic aspect is constantly changing. "Philosophical speculation, as history teaches, is an uncertain matter, and is subject to the greatest fluctuations according to the changeful currents of the intellectual life." Philosophical teaching about objects of faith have no religious force. We are not to depreciate the sober investigation of reality brought to us in experience, but we should avoid an intellectual elaboration of experience. A strong and proper stress is laid on the practical element of life. Unless a moral content be added, a form "given to the authoritative teaching in the evangelical Church whereby it shall appeal to the will, the heart, and the conscience, "the teaching of science cannot furnish religious authority." "Thence it follows that the knowledge of God and scientific world-knowledge cannot be directly bound into one whole; this belongs rather to the idea of the practical moral task of the Spirit, and forms an essential element of it of high importance. * * * A final result is that divine revelation is conceived as a communication of truth which appeals to the will of man, demanding obedience from it and only imparting new knowledge in connection therewith; here we have the principle of authority in its Protestant form."

The purity of faith is endangered by contact with theoretic thought. "It is clear that the naturalistic doctrine of development cannot be inserted summarily into a system of nature-philosophy governed by the Christian idea of God." The materials for theology are exclusively to be drawn from the person and life-work of Christ. While a high religious value is given to revelation by the Ritschlian school, there is no clear admission of its supernatural source. The Christian revelation is simply that which "answers to the portulate of man's highest good."

While Professor Kaftan argues a true relation between science and theology, yet the authority of revelation does not have a full evangelical content. As a resume of theological positions the discussion is most valuable, but for the gaining of a stable

vantage ground for the principle of Authority of Revelation, the discussion is scarcely satisfactory.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

During recent years quite a number of articles and pamphlets have appeared in Germany bearing such titles as "The Faith of Jesus," "What Jesus Believed," "The Religion of Jesus," etc. They represent all shades of belief, from the most conservative to the ultra-liberal. Some conclude that he was little more than a gifted spiritual leader, who gave to certain truths of Judaism a deeper and broader interpretation, which we call Christianity. Others teach that he was the true God-man with confidence in his Father, but not with such faith as man has, that he was the culmination of revelation, and that the "Jewish back-ground" that we see in Christianity is due to the fact that it is the open, perfect flower of which Judaism was the closed and undeveloped bud. Superintendent August Meyer of Luene, contributes an article to the August number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* on "The Faith of Jesus, or the Faith in Jesus," the argument of which is as follows:

Can we speak of the faith of Jesus? The question seems strange because we are accustomed to speak exclusively of faith in Jesus, and because we scent rationalism in it. The Greek expression (*πίστις Ἰησοῦ*) can be translated either by "the faith of Jesus" or by "faith in Jesus." Winer rightly says that in many passages our decision as to whether we shall translate a genitive as subjective or objective depends wholly upon exegesis. *πίστις* is found with the objective genitive, *e. g.*, Mark 11 : 22, 2 Thess. 2 : 13 and James 2 : 1. Consequently the question must be answered by an exegetical-dogmatic investigation

The objection to the expression, "the faith of Jesus" arises from our conception of his person. It is impossible to speak of the faith of God. The word became flesh. He was born a little child, increased in wisdom, had human needs and was

tempted. At all times he led a human life dependent on the Father. When we remember all this we stand before a mystery that we cannot understand. Many have labored in vain on this problem because they held to the philosophical proposition that "God is unchangeable," however, not in the sense in which James says he is unchangeable. This has led to much misunderstanding of Christ's becoming man. It gave us a hazy conception of the state of humiliation. Luther assumed a "double mode of being" for Christ's human nature. We dare scarcely speak of a state of humiliation in the teachings of Brenz. "Both the Wuerttemberg and the North German theologians assume a double mode of existence of Christ." Light was shed upon the problem of the person of Christ when men broke the fetters of this philosophical proposition and began to deal seriously with the doctrine of the Kenosis. Sartorius, Eng. Ed. Kahnis taught that the possession of the divine nature was in no sense laid aside, only the use of it. The divine nature was latent in him. "For we must hold, also with Frank, that no discontinuance of the divine being took place, only that love restrained the bursting forth of the divine being for the sake of the work of redemption." Though there are many opinions held concerning the humiliation of Christ, there is general agreement in this, that on earth Jesus had a human development dependent on God. "Did Jesus believe? We do not ask as yet whether the faith of Jesus was identical with our faith, but whether we in any sense can speak of the faith of Jesus." Faith is, above all, confidence, as we often translate it. "If Jesus could not do anything of himself but followed the work and command of his Father. He did so in faith. The communion with his heavenly Father in continual prayer, since he knew that his Father always heard him, proves that he had faith." Numerous theologians from Luther to Frank have spoken of the faith of Jesus in essentially this sense.

"But is the faith of Jesus identical with our faith"? Seeberg writes (*N. K. Zeitschrift*, 1893, p. 976.): "In our faith there should be, along with confidence toward Christ, conviction as to the reality and efficacy of the objects of faith." Weiss men-

tions as a characteristic of faith, conviction of the truth of the word. But Jesus himself is the truth. He knew the thoughts of his Father not by revelation, but by seeing. Therefore his faith could not receive and accept divine truth as does our faith. We accept God's revelation. Jesus was the object and mediator of this revelation.

There is another and a more important difference between our faith and that of our Lord. Our faith is justifying faith. It brings salvation. Jesus could not know such a faith.

But do the Scriptures anywhere speak of the faith of Jesus? It is clear that faith is demanded of us. It is also clear that we are exhorted to follow the example of Jesus. But it is remarkable that Jesus nowhere speaks of himself as an example of faith. Only Heb. 2 : 13 ascribes confidence toward God to Christ. "According to my opinion Heb 12 : 2 does not belong here." (Likewise Delitzsch and Frank). Hausleiter claims that several passages in Romans speak of the faith of Jesus. His thorough investigation of the use of the names Jesus, Christ, Christ Jesus and Jesus Christ, is somewhat deceiving. "Wherever the name Jesus does not have the predicate, Kurios, it means the man Jesus, the human personality of Christ." When Paul speaks of the Spirit of God waking his Son from the dead, he calls him Jesus, but when he is mentioned in connection with our resurrection, *i. e.*, when he has a religious meaning, the name Christ Jesus is used. When both are found together, Christ is first when the religious relation of the individual to the Messiah sent by God is emphasized and Jesus is first when the historical mediation of the work of redemption is most prominent. "However, the inference that the name Jesus cannot be used when we speak of the Lord's meaning for our salvation, is false." Such passages as 1 Thess. 1 : 10, 1 Thess. 4 : 14, 2 Cor. 11 : 4 and 2 Cor. 4 : 11, 13. In 1 Thess. 2 : 15 Lord Jesus, and not simply Jesus, is used in mentioning the Master without reference to his being the Messiah. Consequently Hausleiter's proposition is false, that "Paul uses the term *πίστις Ἰησοῦ* in order to leave no doubt that he means the faith that Jesus himself evinced in the days of his

flesh." We must therefore approach the examination of these passages without any prepossession in favor of Hausleiter's interpretation.

Meyer examines and rejects Hausleiter's interpretation of Rom. 1 : 17, which makes "the just" refer to Jesus, and also his finding reference to "the faith of Jesus" in Rom. 3 : 21-26. Gal. 3 : 22 likewise refers to faith in, not of, Jesus. He condemns Hausleiter for emphasizing the *Obedientia Activa* at the expense of the *Obedientia Passiva* (Schleiermacher). Meyer concludes that nowhere does Paul speak of the faith of Jesus. Hausleiter characteristically says that this sentence would be Pauline: Christ is faith and he who abides in faith abides in Christ and Christ in him. Yet our faith is not identical with that of Christ. "The faith of Jesus is both confidence and obedience, and mediates to us salvation; our faith is also confidence and obedience, but appropriates salvation." We enter into communion with Christ and have his faith.

If we would compare our faith with the faith of Jesus we must keep in mind what our faith is. "The subject of faith is the sinner, the object of faith is Christ the crucified and resurrected, the goal of faith is the grace of God in justification and the forgiveness of sins." Christ needed neither justification nor forgiveness. But this faith in men leads into fellowship with God and into the indwelling of God. He who has accepted Christ in faith has received the Holy Ghost as the power of a new life, by which he keeps the law inwardly, though imperfectly. But the sum of the law is the first commandment—fear, love and trust God above all else. This trust is faith. This faith is found only in the children of God; only in those who have become the children of God by justifying faith. "This faith was perfect in Jesus, not on the basis of justifying faith, but on the basis of his holy birth and the 'unio' between the Logos and his human nature."

Dogmatics treats of justifying faith. Faith as the principle of renewal, belongs to ethics. "This faith grows out of justifying faith. Therefore Schmid treated confidence in God in ethics, likewise von Hofmann."

"Ritschl goes so far as to declare that the activity of the belief in Providence and of patience in meeting the God-given sufferings, is the form in which the believer becomes certain of his salvation, while the Lutheran Christian bases the certainty of his salvation on the word of God alone, through which the fruit of the reconciling sufferings of Christ is imparted to him, and does not have faith in Providence until he has certainty of sonship and the state of grace."

"Here we see what danger is present when we do not carefully distinguish faith, as far as it is the receiving organ of the grace of God, from the faith in Providence, which expects everything good from God. For then many would be driven to see the certainty of their salvation in faith in Providence."

"Jesus is an example to us in the faith that expects only good from our heavenly Father, but our faith should not rest in the faith of Jesus, but on the work of salvation, on the act of his love, since he yielded himself unto death for us."

Prof. Cornill of Breslau contributes an article to the November number of the *Theologische Rundschau*, on the "Most Recent Literature on Isaiah 49 to 66;" in which he gives the present standing of the Ebed-Jahve and the Trito-Isaiah problems.

From the time when Ewald opened the question concerning "the Servant of the Lord" in 1841, by claiming that 52 : 13 to 53 : 12 was an "oratorium" of some unnamed prophet, who spoke of the death of a former martyr of the time of Manasseh, to the present day, critical investigation of [perhaps more accurately, unbridled speculation concerning], this problem has resulted in raising a number of questions, none of which has received a universally accepted answer. The Servant of the Lord is said to mean God's chosen people, the ideal, the genius of Isreal as seen in such men as Jeremiah, the teachers of the law, the congregation, some great prophet of the past, or some martyr who suffered for the people, the account of whose sufferings and death was made the basis for a prophecy of the coming of a certain ruler who would restore Israel, and some regard the passages that refer to it as nothing less than God's promise of his

Son our Saviour. When we come to the question of the sources of these songs and the way they became incorporated into the book, opinions are just as divergent. They are said to be a former work of Deutero-Isaiah which he himself introduced into the body of his own prophecy, the work of a former prophet or prophets which he used, a chapter of history adapted, some former, some later writings, all later productions of a certain period, all later productions of different periods, etc. Certain critics claim that they were introduced unchanged while others are just as positive in asserting that in their adoption they were greatly changed. One writer assures us that in chapters 52 and 53 two songs of different religious contents were fused into one.

From this it is plain, that, as yet, no definite result has been reached in regard to these most important passages of Old Testament prophecy. The majority of publications have been of a negative character. The problem has been thoroughly stated and the vanity of certain methods of procedure has been shown to the satisfaction of all, save a few of the more extreme critics. However, there has been quite a perceptible change toward more conservative thinking. This is especially marked in the matter of authorship. A number of recent publications reject all theories of strange authorship and claim that all these passages are from Deutero-Isaiah. At present the majority of the critics seem inclined to regard the Servant of the Lord as meaning Israel. But the number of those who hold to the traditional interpretation is increasing. During the last two years some very strong defenses of this position have appeared. They are chiefly from among the younger men.

"That Isaiah 40-66, in spite of an undeniable homogeneity, is not a coherent work by one author, written at one stroke, was felt some time ago, and, if I am not mistaken, at present in scientific literature Ley and the introductions of Driver, Koenig and Strack are the only treatises that hold all of Isaiah 40-66 to be a work of Deutero-Isaiah. On the other hand they pursue very different ways in the solution of the difficulty. The recognition of 40-55, with the exception of the Ebed-Jahve songs and the rejection, or serious questioning of 63-66, are all but

universal. The majority seem inclined to assign 60-62 to Deutero-Isaiah." Ewald postulates two authors, one of the time of Manasseh and the other after Ezekiel. Kuenen is not willing to ascribe more than 40-49, and perhaps parts of 52 and 53, to Deutero-Isaiah. The remainder of the book is made up of portions added after the return from Babylon, some of which were perhaps from the hand of Deutero-Isaiah himself, and the rest from like-minded men and followers of his. Duhm assigns 56-66 to one author, Trito-Isaiah, who wrote just before Nehemiah. Originally 61-66 stood at the beginning, but, in adding it to Deutero-Isaiah, 56-60 was placed first and united by 56 : 1-8. "Trito-Isaiah imitated Deutero-Isaiah and wrote throughout in the same metre, but shows the greatest possible theological and artistic difference, and must be regarded as working under changed conditions." This hypothesis was enthusiastically accepted by Smend, Wellhausen, Eduard Meyer, Hermann Schulz, Schian, Laue, H. Guthe and many others. In other respects the conclusions are almost as varied and as contradictory as those concerning the Ebed-Jahve songs. From one to three or more authors are claimed, and dates vary more than a century. "By summing up the results of these latest treatises on the Trito-Isaiah problem we find that of those who have expressed themselves on the subject the majority agree in the negation, namely, that the entire portion 56-66 does not come from Deutero-Isaiah. Duhm, Littman and Marti regard it as entirely or essentially uniform, while Cheyne and Kusters are most energetic in disputing its unity, and Gressmann claims that the question can hardly be decided." There is like difference of opinion as to whether the punishments spoken of in these chapters, refer to Jews or Samaritans.

Willhelm Moeller, a candidate for ordination, wrote a book on "Historico-Critical Considerations against the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis," which Prof. Orelli honored by publishing with it certain criticisms of his own on the same subject. Though the work shows many weaknesses, it is strong and clear and meets opponents on their own ground with what the critic chooses to

call "unanswerable arguments." The literary-critical method is declared to be one-sided and full of errors, and could just as well bring very different results in very many places.

Jno. Urquhart recently published a book on "The Most Recent Discoveries and the Bible," in which he relies upon inscriptions to overthrow the present attacks on the Scripture and the revelation of the Bible, and in particular, aims at establishing the Mosaic origination of the primeval history. He discusses the results of science, which confirm biblical opinions, the inscriptions that agree with biblical accounts and the consensus gentium. In this consensus of the traditions of different peoples, the author finds sure proof of the occurrence of the events described. When marshalled together in one book, the extra-biblical proofs of the truth of the Bible become overwhelmingly strong.

During last winter's semester Prof. Harnack delivered 16 lectures to the students of all departments of Berlin university on "The Essence of Christianity." About 600 students heard these lectures and more would have been present had the room been larger. A stenographic report with Harnack's corrections was soon published, which has been widely and variously criticized. From beginning to end the lectures show a fervent religious spirit, which is thankfully recognized by all. There is also general agreement that in many particulars they are much more conservative than was expected. Many important parts are unhesitatingly approved by the most conservative reviewers. The book is a beautiful, clear and powerful presentation of the author's position, and no doubt, positively, will accomplish some good in certain cultured, doubting circles. He essays to present the original appearance of the gospel and its true content to the understanding, and on it, measure that which has been developed since the days of the apostles as Christianity, in the Old Catholic Church, in both the Catholic Churches of today and in Protestantism. But naturally this presentation of history becomes an apology. "Harnack does not deal so much

in analysis as in positive establishing, not really in criticism, but rather in a justification of Christianity." And he who came there expecting to hear a condemnation of Christianity or to foster his doubt and hesitation "was virtually deceived."

But though certain portions are excellent and the presentation reverential and powerful, there are many things in the lectures that have called forth severest criticism. Even the review by Schultz of Tuebingen, that appeared in Harnack's own paper, mentions a number of most objectionable features. The review in Luthardt's paper, though heartily approving much that was said, finds many dangerous defects. The following is a digest of this criticism:

Theoretically Harnack's range of sources of knowledge of Christianity in its early state is very wide, but practically it is very narrow. He eliminated John's gospel, "for it is not from John, and does not pretend to come from him." "It is, in general, no historic source in the common acceptance of the word, for the author has used absolute liberty. He transposed events and placed them in a strange light, of himself, he composed addresses of Jesus and illustrated great truths by created circumstances." We naturally ask, how does the author know this? But we hear only that "the fourth gospel is a source of first order for answering the questions, what living visions of the person of Christ, what light, what warmth the gospel unbund." And then he proceeds to the consideration of other matters. Thus we have only the synoptic gospels, and the third of these was compiled from the second and another source, which we also find in the first, which fact "speaks for these two gospels."

Miracles are rejected. But they do not make the accounts unreliable, for miracles, by important persons, were often reported the day after their death, and with the shallow insight into the course of nature of that time, the conception of the miraculous was elastic and the boundary between the real and the miraculous was uncertain. "That the earth stood still in its course, that the ass spoke, that a storm on sea was stilled by a word, we do not believe and will never again believe." In the introduction to his lectures he describes his work as purely his-

torical, but this is dogmatism of the most dogmatic kind. This is uttered as if it were universally accepted. This position is virtually the classification of Christianity as a human phenomenon and the denial of its special claim to be something new in the history of the world, the miracle of all miracles. Of course the entire account of the birth and childhood of Christ is rejected. "You strike everything out of Scripture and the self-given testimony of Jesus that contradicts the individual system and the laws and pre conceptions that generally prevail, and bring together the little that remains to a general picture of Christianity, which eventually has only its frame from this, and its essence and content from the individual thoughts of the artist.'

But what is the essence of Christianity? Harnack says that the whole preaching of Christ is given us in three concentric circles; first, the kingdom of God is come, is here; second, God the Father and the eternal value of the human soul; third, the better righteousness and the commandment of love. Harnack likes to put Christianity in this brief formula: "God and the soul; the soul and its God; Christ requires a decision, God or Mammon, eternal or earthly life, soul or body, humility or self-righteousness, love or selfishness, truth or falsehood." To Harnack Jesus is only a prophet, not a priest, only a guide, not a mediator and reconciler. He rejects very emphatically "the faith of the Church in the merit of its Saviour and his work of salvation." The Church must have the faith of Easter without the facts of Easter. "The essence of Christianity knows nothing of an objective reconciliation through Christ, also nothing of his true resurrection, and likewise nothing of his true divine sonship, which has been received as its foundation from the days of the apostle Paul."

The writer sums up his criticism as follows: "At all events it is a Christianity wholly different from that of the congregation of Christ, at all times, and at all places, not merely a new form for the old truth, a one-sided emphasis of this or that element, a peculiar conception of its true essence, but altogether another Christianity, which lacks everything that goes to make

up the center and star, the root and crown of our faith, which Christianity is not based on facts but on human thoughts and feelings. It is a Christianity that only leans on Jesus and receives from him only that which pleases and suits it * * * that knows nothing of the holy 'must' of his death, and of his resurrection on the third day. It is a Christianity that breaks with the history of the Church and for which, already its oldest confessions are errors, and the words of its apostles, speculations, which even the reformation left as something incomplete, the doctrines of which it regards to a great extent as a fatal legacy, a Christianity that recalls vividly only one phenomenon in the history of the Church, namely, rationalism, which also sees in Jesus only a human teacher, and in keeping his commandments the condition of salvation."

Prof. Holzhammer, of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Seminary in Mainz, recently published a pamphlet on "The Education of the Clergy in Ecclesiastical Seminaries, or in State Universities," ("historical sketch of a century's struggle"). It is evident from the contents that anxiety for the future of his Church called forth this publication. He regards the judgment of many Catholics, that a university training for the clergy is a decided advantage, if not a real necessity, as a great danger for the Church, because it requires a strict ecclesiastical education and training, which, according to his opinion, can be attained only in seminaries. The chief fault of universities is that the professors of theology are first of all officers of the state, and therefore cannot be removed at the caprice of the bishop, as representative of the authority of the Church in matters of doctrine. The second danger he sees in contact with teachers and scholars of other faiths. And the third danger is the many temptations of university life. The contents of the pamphlet are of minor importance. However as a symptom it has a far reaching meaning. It shows plainly that even the small amount of liberty that Catholic theological professors in universities enjoy, as compared with that of other sons of the Church, is very objectionable and that they would do away with it as soon as an opportunity presents itself.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

A Dictionary of the Bible dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M. A., D. D., with the assistance of John Selbie, M. A., etc., etc. Vol. III. *Kir—Pleiades*. pp. XV., 896. \$6.00. 1900.

Vols. I. and II. of this monumental dictionary of the Bible have been already noticed in the *Lutheran Quarterly*. This volume fully sustains the promise made by its predecessors, and at the same time raises high expectation in regard to vol. IV., which may be looked for next year. Should the fourth volume equal its predecessors, the English language will contain a Bible dictionary, which, for learning, devoutness, and sobriety of temper, has no equal in the world. The three volumes now published exhibit the best conclusions of specialists in all departments of biblical scholarship, while a devout spirit and a sober temper preside over the whole. Mistakes there no doubt are, and conclusions are reached which may have to be modified; but, taken as a whole, the work casts all rivals in the shade, and is an indispensable adjunct to every theological library. It naturally increases confidence in the "reliability" of the work when the editors tell us in the preface of this third volume that "the writers have been chosen out of respect to their scholarship and nothing else. The articles have all been written immediately and solely for this Dictionary, and, except the shortest, they are all signed. Even the shortest, however, have been contributed by writers of recognized ability and authority. In addition to the work upon it of authors and editors, every sheet has passed through the hands of the three eminent scholars whose names are found on the title-page," that is, through the hands of Dr. Davidson, of Edinburgh, Dr. Driver, of Oxford, and Dr. Swete, of Cambridge.

And turning now to "Authors of Articles in Vol. III.," we find 114 names. Without any question these authors represent a very large portion of the best biblical scholarship in the world. Three of them, if we mistake not, are Germans, fourteen are Americans, and the remainder are British. Many of them have been long recognized as authorities in their own chosen departments of biblical learning.

We may call special attention to a few of the leading articles in this third volume.

1. *Latin Versions, The Old*, is treated in thirty and a half columns of

about 700 words each, by the Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M. A., D. Sc., Callender. The article deals with the Latin translations of the Bible down to the time of Jerome. Its lists of MSS. is the most complete we have ever seen. The author thinks that the designations "Itala," "Vetus Itala," ought to be abandoned as misleading, as in all probability the oldest Latin translations of the Bible, or from the Bible, were made, not in Italy, but in North Africa, perhaps as early as the first half of the second century. Certain it is that a Latin translation of the Bible, with marked characteristics, circulated in Carthage in the year 250 A. D. These early translations, existing in various differing MSS., are of vast importance to the science of Textual Criticism, which in the last half century has attracted so much attention, and which has yet before it the task of determining many questions concerning the N. T. text. The article before us contains a vast amount of accurate information, and will be appreciated by professors of Exegesis, and by teachers of Textual Criticism. It is important to know how masters of the Latin language understood the Greek words of the New Testament.

2. *Logos* is discussed by Rev. George T. Purves, D. D., LL. D., recently Professor of Exegesis and New Testament Literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. This article bears with it the flavor of the Princeton orthodoxy of the Charles Hodge type. The author first states St. John's doctrine of the Logos, and then discusses the reasons for his terminology.

"St. John's doctrine is that Jesus Christ is the real incarnation of an eternally divine person (elsewhere called by him 'the only-begotten Son of God') who has ever been the medium through whom God (called $\delta\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ in antithesis to the Logos, and 'Father' in antithesis to the 'Son') has exercised his activity in relation to the finite universe, and who as the perfect manifestation of God's nature and will, is called Word (Logos)." Such a definition will certainly satisfy all reasonable demands of the Nicene and the Chalcedonic Christology.

The author finds the origin of this terminology partly in the Old Testament. John may also have been in part influenced by the Alexandrian philosophy, though this "philosophy did not enter constructively into St. John's doctrine." "It is, therefore, perhaps the most probable view that St. John adopted his Logos phraseology because, in *both* Jewish and Gentile circles, the term was familiar. It was a leading term by which religious thought was striving to express the idea, though with much misconception, of an all-comprehensive, all-wise, and directly active revelation of God to the world. * * * St. John's doctrine of the Logos therefore may be said to sum up the biblical teaching concerning the person of Christ, and, in doing so, to represent Christianity itself as the final, absolute, and universal religion."

The article occupies only $6\frac{1}{2}$ columns, but it contains the gist of the whole matter, and presents the Logos doctrine of the Bible in the old orthodox way.

3. *Lord's Day* is treated by the Rev. N. J. D. White, of the University of Dublin. The Keynote of the discussion is found in the following affirmation: "The Lord's Day is, and is not, the Sabbath, much as John the Baptist was, and was not, Elijah." On the one hand the author regrets the rigidity of those who seek to identify the Lord's Day with the Sabbath, and on the other, the laxity of those who would not observe the day at all. He maintains that there is a moral element in the Fourth (Third) Commandment. Experience has shown that excessive multiplication of holy days regarded as in any degree co-ordinate with the Lord's day is fatal to the maintenance of those objects for which the Lord's Day was designed." After showing how the Lord's Day gradually supplanted the Sabbath, the author says: "The Lord's Day is therefore, in an especial sense, the feast of life. The resurrection of Jesus Christ was not merely the rising to life of an individual man, but of human nature. On that first Lord's Day our nature entered on a new life; actually as regards the first-fruits of it; potentially, as regards every Christian in succeeding ages. But besides the life of individual members, there is also the life of the body, and this sprang into birth on the day of Pentecost. Thus, without having recourse to the more or less fanciful analogies of some of the Fathers, we may, on sure grounds, contrast the remembrance of the Sabbath of repose of the Creator of the physical world with the commemoration on the Lord's Day of the beginning of the activity of the new spiritual creation."

We have in this article such a recognition of the divine element in the Lord's Day, and of such a sanctioning and ratifying of that element by Christ and his apostles, as clearly differentiates it from the other six days of the week, and imprints it with the image and superscription of Christ. It is in a preëminent sense the Lord's Day. It has its roots in the deepest physical and religious needs of man.

4. *Lord's Supper* comes from the pen of Dr. A. Plummer, M. A., D. D., Master of University College, Durham, and fills 12 columns. The author exhibits in the original the four accounts of the institution in two groups: Those of Matthew and Mark, which are virtually the same; and those of Luke and Paul, which seem to have a common origin. "The features which are common to all four are the taking of bread, giving thanks or blessing, breaking, the words 'This is my body,' and the mention of the cup." In the celebration of the Supper "the three fundamental acts seem to be, (1) the breaking and pouring, (2) the distribution to the disciples, (3) their eating and drinking; which represent (1) the death of Christ, (2) for the disciples' salvation, (3) which they must appropriate." The author is of opinion that Christ celebrated the first Supper with great simplicity, and did not make use of the Jewish passover ritual. In this we think the author is entirely correct. Indeed we do not know that the later passover ritual was then in existence (see vol. II., p. 635-6), and if it was in existence, it is

not likely that Christ would have used it in a celebration which was to supersede forever the passover. And if we reject, as an "interpolation," the latter part of v. 19, beginning $\tau\acute{o} \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$, and all of v. 20, Luke 22—Westcott and Hort say there is "no moral doubt that the words in question were absent from the original text of Luke" (II., Appendix 64), with whom Plummer, Brandt, Grafe, Blass, Haupt, Schürer, J. Weiss, Wendt, (Sanday, seemingly, vol. II., p. 636), Rietschel (*Liturgik*, I., 241), agree—then it becomes almost certain that "the institution of the Supper formed the beginning of the meal." Or it may be, as some think, that the Last Supper was instituted the day before the Passover. Rietschel, *Liturgik*, p. 234. On either or both of these suppositions, now supported by eminent and cautious scholarship, there could have been little or no ritual. "First there was no form, but the minister used what words he pleased. He would, however, be influenced by the words of institution as well as by Jewish forms; and perhaps he commonly included the Lord's Prayer." p. 148. But even this last is doubtful, since the Lord's Prayer is nowhere mentioned as used by the Apostles, and in the *Didache* it is not employed in connection with the Lord's Supper. When in Jewish Christian usage the eucharist became a part of the Sabbath meal, and in Gentile Christian usage, a part of the *Agape*, always held in the evening, in separation from the preaching service (Rietschel, *Liturgik*, pp. 232, 234, 245 *et passim*; *Real-encyclopädie*, third edition, vol. v. p. 561), elaborateness of ritual in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, was out of the question. Even when about the middle of the second century the eucharist followed the preaching service, the mode was very simple. p. 148. "The ritual in Justin's time was simple, and the rubrical directions were few." Allen in *Christian Institutions*, p. 531.

It needs only to be added that in emphasizing the simplicity of the apostolic and the post-apostolic *Rite*, Dr. Plummer is in full harmony with the teaching of our own Lutheran scholars, and with what the New Testament—there are only ten words common to the four reports of Christ's words of institution—the *Didache*, Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, require us to conclude.

In treating of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Dr. Plummer is essentially in harmony with the views presented by Dr. Luthardt in Article II of this No. of the *Quarterly*. He is not willing that $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$ shall have "the minimum of meaning," neither is he willing to accept "the literal meaning of 'is' as expressing identity" of subject and object; but "probably that common use of the copula which identifies cause and effect, is a part of the meaning." *Κοινωνία* is more than a partaking of, it is a fellowship with, or a cause of fellowship with, Christ. "St. Paul may mean that the cup, when drunk, is a cause of fellowship with Christ's blood, and the bread, when eaten, is the cause of fellowship with Christ's body. * * * It is a means of union with

Christ in that character which is indicated by the broken body and the shed blood; *i. e.*, union with the crucified Redeemer."

The article as a whole will not please all Protestant Christians, but it will be hard to convict it of essential error. Luthardt, of Leipzig, Schultz, of Göttingen, and Schmidt, of Breslau, all Lutherans of recognized soundness, refuse to $\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ the full literal meaning by which it is made to identify subject and object, and yet they maintain the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and, with Dr. Plummer, a true fellowship with him in and by means of the Supper. The article closes with this significant quotation from Luther: *Jam missa, quanto vicinior et similior primae omnium missae quam Christus in coena fecit, tanto Christianior.*

5. *New Testament* is contributed by Rev. J. A. M. Clymont, M. A., D.D., of Aberdeen. The author asserts and vindicates the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament in a way that leaves very little to be desired. His treatment of the Johannean question is characteristic of the whole. "Until the close of the 18th century the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel was never seriously challenged. In some respects it has stronger external testimony in its favor than any of the others; and the whole tone of the book gives the impression that it was written by one who was familiar with the inner life of Christ and his Apostles, as well as with the topography of Jerusalem, and the ideas and customs prevalent among the Jews before the destruction of their capital." It was written at Ephesus about A. D., 85. Its speculative character is due to the place of its composition, and to the fact that Christianity had now furnished material for reflection.

6. *New Testament Canon* is presented in 26 columns by Prof. V. H. Stanton, of Cambridge. This is a safe and admirable article, in which the author shows the gradual formation of the Canon. The reason for accepting some of the N. T. writings as inspired is based in part upon apostolic testimony, in part upon the testimony of Apostolic Fathers and of the early Church Fathers. By the end of the second, and the beginning of the third century in the works of Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus, "we have a flood of light upon the thought and practice of the Church." The author sums up the evidence at this time as follows: "The express statements of the eminent writers just named, and their ordinary assumptions, leave no doubt as to the inspired authority attributed to by far the larger part of our N. T. in the important churches of which they were members, or with which they were acquainted and maintained active relations. In common they recognized (a) our four gospels and none besides; (b) 13 Epistles of Paul, *i. e.*, all which bear his name in our N. T., except Hebrews; (c) the Acts, 1 Peter, 1 John. These form also the class called afterwards by Eusebius 'acknowledged writings.' " The Epistle of James, 2 Peter and 3 John came unto the Canon later, and the Apocalypse still later.

7. *Old Testament*, given in 17 columns, is credited to Professor E. L.

Curtis, D. D., of the Yale Divinity School. The discussion follows the lines of the Higher Criticism as now represented in England and America. The purpose of the article is to describe the growth of the O. T. as sacred literature, and to give an account of its use in the Jewish and Christian Churches. The conclusions reached differ in many respects from those which have become traditional in the Church. Isaiah has been resolved into an anthology of prophecies of various dates, and Daniel has been assigned to the Maccabean period. "The conception of the O. T. has also been revolutionized. Until the the period of modern criticism, the naratives of the O. T. had generally been received as records of real history. But according to the new view they contain myths and legends, and give a partially erroneous conception of the growth of Israel's religion, whose beginnings are not found in the direct Divine communications to primitive mankind and the Patriarchs, but in the common primitive religion of the Semitic peoples, whence by revelation through Moses and the prophets, the legal or ecclesiastical stage, represented in the middle books of the Pentateuch, was reached about the time of Ezra. The O. T. can no longer be regarded as an infallible or, indeed, entirely trustworthy guide in science and history. In these particulars it reflects the limitations of its times." The author also affirms similar limitations in the moral and religious teaching of the O. T.

It goes against the grain to accept some of these conclusions, but we cannot conceive that they will overthrow the authority, or destroy the influence, of the Old Testament as a part of the Book of God, especially since the author closes his able, lucid and scholarly presentation with the following paragraph: "The permanent religious value of the Old Testament resides in the simplicity of its revelation and the freshness of its expression of primary and universal religious truths and experiences. (1) God is revealed not as a philosophical abstraction but as a concrete personality, transcendent and yet thoroughly approachable and ready to enter into the closest fellowship and communion with men, and in loving care, compassion, and forgiveness meeting their deepest religious wants and needs. The O. T. introduces God 'the Father almighty, Maker of heaven and earth,' directly into human life. (2) Man in his true experiential relation to God is likewise described in the careers of the patriarchs and other heroes and worthies of Israel, and in the history of Israel itself. Sin is portrayed, and also return and obedience. Moral precepts and laws of conduct are abundantly given, especially in reference to national and social life. (3) The O. T. is also a book of hope, containing the triumphant note of redemption which is truly fulfilled in and through Christ, and the N. T. believer always finds Christ and his Gospel organically and potentially enshrined in the O. T. Modern Criticism has not impaired these permanent elements. Their authority, which is that of truth, still remains, and the O. T. has been transmuted from the mechanical record of doctrines and of forced Di-

vine manifestations into a book of genuine historic life, an epic of salvation, showing the living process of God's revelation through Israel."

After the careful reading of this article from beginning to end, we exclaimed, "If this is the worst that the Higher Criticism can do in the case of the O. T., there is no just cause for alarm. The foundation of God standeth sure." Some things brought out by the Higher Criticism will have to be accepted, but we venture the prediction that when the contention is a thing of the past, the O. T. will be as potent for good as ever. The view-point may be changed, but the vision will be larger and more beautiful; just as the view-point was changed, but the vision enlarged and clarified, when the theory of the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel-points was exploded, and the Usher chronology was abandoned. The Book, like Jesus Christ, is not less divine because human, for in the Book as in Jesus Christ, the Divine and the human meet.

8. *Philosophy* has for its author the Rev. Thomas B. Kilpatrick, M. A., D. D., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in Manitoba College, Winnipeg, Canada. The author first discusses the relation of Philosophy to religion. Philosophy seeks for the unity of all things, for the principle that will solve the antagonisms of life and experience. "It is essentially the quest for the synthesis of life." What Philosophy seeks, that Religion provides. The two must go together. Philosophy furnishes the forms in which religious experience clothes itself. Hence the two can never in their inner essence be at variance with each other. But the harmonies of life must not be sought in the formulae of thought, but in the verifiable realities of experience.

The Greek philosophy passed through three stages. In the first stage it struggled through materialistic conceptions to a spiritual principle, as the principle of explanation. In the second stage (Plato and Aristotle) it reached the theism of thought, but scarcely attained to the conception of a personal God. In the third stage it degenerated through Stoicism and Epicureanism to Scepticism, which "makes articulate the despair which was brooding over the hearts of men." Then came Neoplatonism, which demanded salvation, "escape from the dissatisfaction of this life, emergence into a higher sphere."

But Philosophy never did justice to Will. Christianity solves the antagonism of Nature by its doctrine of wills, the revolt of man's will against the will of God. The antagonism is solved through Christ. "*Christ is God Incarnate*, not a man who has reached the highest point in a process of *Κάθαρσις*, but God, who in order to effect the reconciliation of man, has entered into humanity, and taken it into union with himself." God approaches man through the incarnation, and bridges the gulf of separation. Man only needs to confess his guilt, and to accept the proffered reconciliation. He is now lifted into sonship, and brought into communion with God. Hence Christianity is a

religion. It brings man and God together. "But it is a religion which provides the unity sought for by Philosophy. It contains, therefore, implicitly the answer to the question raised by Philosophy."

An important portion of the article discusses the relation of Christian experience to Greek forms of thought. The author admits that Greek thought exerted some influence on the conception and the development of Christian dogma, but insists that it was not so great as is maintained by the modern school of historical criticism. Christianity refused to surrender its independence. "In the end the Christian experience was gathered into the Nicene Creed, which, in effect, is this: Christianity, stating, in terms borrowed from Greek Philosophy, that which is too great for any system of philosophy, a truth distinctive, unique, a revelation, not a discovery"—to all of which we may assent, but with the qualification that Greek Philosophy did much to take away the simplicity of Christianity, and helped to gather about it certain metaphysical conceptions that too often have made it look like a philosophy.

Many other articles in this superb volume are justly entitled to attention. But we forbear for lack of space. To say that we are equally pleased with all, or that we endorse everything contained in these articles, would not express our mind, but it does express our mind to say that the learning, candor and piety displayed in these articles, enhances our confidence in Christian scholarship, and in Christianity itself. Only faith in Christianity as an abiding reality, as the absolute religion, as the power of God for the salvation of men, could produce such a book as the one before us. The book, or better, the work of which this book is one fourth part, is thus an immense contribution to the evidences of Christianity.

J. W. RICHARD.

NEW YORK: MACMILLAN AND COMPANY—LONDON: MACMILLAN AND COMPANY, LIMITED.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By Benjamin Wisner Bacon, D. D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Yale Divinity School. 1900.

This work belongs to a series of volumes, under the editorship of Prof. Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, intended to present briefly and intelligibly the results of the scientific study of the New Testament. Each volume is to cover its own field and be complete in itself.

The author is in full sympathy with the present effort to apply the method of historical and literary criticism to the Christian Scriptures. He exhibits a large mastery of the available material and writes with a fair measure of independent judgment. His views tend generally toward the advanced conclusions, though in some directions, especially with respect to the New Testament writings which name their authors, he presents results more conservative than those of the leading critics.

In the direction of further advance, however, his personal study of the anonymous historical books, as he states, has led him to the conviction that our present gospels and Acts are the outcome of a longer and more complex process of growth than most critics admit.

The work is divided into five parts which treat severally of Criticism *versus* Tradition, the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, the Historical Books, and the Johannine Writings. The twelve chapters which discuss these topics traverse in rapid way—sometimes *too* rapidly—most of the points involved in present New Testament criticism. As to results, our author accepts the Pauline writing of the ten special Epistles under St. Paul's name, but holds the Pastoral Epistles to be either spurious or composite, having un-Pauline elements. The authorship and date of Hebrews are unknown. 1 Peter is held to be genuine, but neither 2 Peter, James, nor Jude. The Synoptic gospels are genuine, and their composition is explained under the theories now generally entertained. The Apocalypse is attributed to the apostle John, while his authorship of the fourth gospel and the three epistles credited to him is repudiated. Able as is Professor Bacon's brief discussion, rehearsing the critical views of others and adding his own, it is very manifest that the results of the scientific study of the New Testament as now offered cannot be taken as exhibiting an established critical conclusion. The thing that becomes most impressive in reading these epitomes of results is the complexity of the problem as now developed, the contrariety of views among the leading critics themselves, the immense play and sway of subjectivism in reaching conclusions, the readiness and risk of bold conjecture, and the indeterminateness and fluctuation still manifest in critical opinion. It is plain that the last word in the investigations is not yet said. The signs of breaking with the extremer conclusions are already appearing among the critics themselves, and the disturbing effects upon the authority and trustworthiness of the Christian records are too evident to permit investigation to close without better certified results than these before us. The amount of "errancy" in the New Testament writings, as is involved and paraded in the views as now given, is too great, frequent, crude, and even grotesque, for retention of the Protestant principle of confidence in the Scripture statements of fact and doctrine. Historical and literary criticism has a rightful place and service in respect to the Scriptures, and its true work is to be welcomed, but the history of it in the years gone by should suggest care and reserve in accepting hasty suggestions and premature deliverances. For those who desire condensed information as to the method and its present stage of work, we know of no work better suited than Prof. Bacon's scholarly and interesting volume.

M. VALENTINE.

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

History of the General Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and other States. By Rev. P. A. Peter, and Prof. W. Schmidt. 415 pp.

This is purely a German work. It is valuable inasmuch as it contains the authoritative history of the Joint Synod, its incipency, founding of Seminary, Richtung, its relation to secret societies and other church bodies, photographs of leaders, edifices, etc.

In its *pre-Historic chapter* it claims Henry Melchior Muehlenberg as the pioneer of Lutheranism. The first Lutheran conference west of the Alleghanies consisted of eight German pastors. It was held, Oct. 18, 1812. The first itinerant Lutheran minister in that section was Rev. George Forster, 1805. He and all former missionaries who formed the Synod were commissioned by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

Synod founded. On September 14, 1818, at Somerset, Perry Co. O., the Synod was formed by 8 pastors. Its earlier title was "General Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Preachers of Ohio and neighboring States." In its beginning it barely escaped fraternal relations with the newly formed "General Synod," and again in 1853 a proposition to unite with the same body was defeated on the ground of the latter's alleged "non-acceptance of the unaltered Augsburg Confession as the correct exposition of the doctrines of holy writ." pp. 129. In course of time English speaking Synods were evolved, but the mother synod was unfortunate in neither restraining, nor retaining all its offspring.

For 10 years 1872-1882 Ohio kept house with Missouri, until the question of Predestination sundered the matrimonial relation. The present corporate title is: "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and neighboring States," though it is sometimes called the "Joint Synod of Ohio."

Seminary founded. During Trinity week, 1830, with Wilhelm Schmidt as professor at a salary of \$150.00 pr. annum, the Theological Seminary was established at Columbus, O. It is an interesting fact that through the intervention of Prof. Hazelius this institution received its first 50 volumes from our Seminary library at Gettysburg, and 20 more volumes from the latter as a personal gift. An English-speaking district Synod founded Muhlenberg College at Jefferson. The Theological Seminary at St. Paul, Minn., and a prosperous school at Woodville, O., were also added by the endeavors of the German mother synod. The Wernle Orphans' Home at Richmond, Ind., is another labor of love. At this juncture it is of interest to remind the reader that during the sweet honeymoon of Ohio and Missouri, Professor C. F. W. Walther, dictator of the Synodical Conference, recieved from the Ohioans the *Doctor Divinitatis* degree. This was in 1877. But connubiality became nauseating when Missouri tainted her immaculate garments with Calvinism, and bitter contentions resulted in a speedy decree

of divorce. See p. 217. Maybe, the Master had not been "called to the marriage" and the wine was all of their own making.

Richtung. There is, as might be expected in this work, an abiding over-emphasis of symbolical books—in which it lives and moves—and an under-estimate of brethren that differ. These books are made the interpreters of the Confession *par excellence*, and both stand as the key to the word p. 111. Ishmaelites are they, who believe in the order reversed. But is not this the principle of Rome over again? What a pity that apples of gold must have their settings in pictures of dross. This good book repeatedly speaks of the General Synod as a "new measure body with fanatical and temperance predilections." However, it seems quite remarkable that a Synod so singularly orthodox and exclusive, should in its earlier history have made repeated attempts at union with the Reformed, p. 77; and that the leanings of its English District Synod toward unionism became the subject of bitter complaints, p. 158. Pastoral examination and absolution are required as concomitants of the Lord's Supper.

Dogmatic intolerance of differences in non-essentials, is the stumbling block in the way of union. Fight about right dogma, and you fight about the product of the head. Contend for pure doctrine, and you contend for the pure gold of God, untainted by the touch of man, but adorned by his godly walk and conversation. It saves a soul from death. The book, well written, is a target for Missouri, a standard to Ohio, a despiser of the General Synod, an opposer of the Council, its mother, and a "holier than thou" against all the world. It plainly reveals a particularistic *sui generis* type of our Church—a standing out of 80,000 braves against all Protestantism. We honor its men, their struggles, their achievements. We wish the Synod well, and this book a large sale.

A. HOMRIGHAUS.

Die Frohe Botschaft. Ein Jahrgang Predigten über die altkirchlichen Evangelien, von Pastor Carl Heinrich Rohe. pp. 694. Price \$1.50.

This is a volume of sermons on the Gospel Lessons of the church year, and is published by the above House at the request of the Board of Publication of the Joint Synod of Ohio.

The publication of this volume of sermons and other works of a like nature, by this Synod, is an evidence that the duty to supply our German-American Church with a literature that will meet its distinctive wants, necessities, and condition, is being more and more realized, and the work before us is, in our opinion, especially adapted to assist in meeting the requirements indicated. The book contains seventy-five sermons, and covers the entire church year.

A perusal of its pages will show that the author has studied to show himself "approved of God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." His sermons breathe the spirit of the true pastor and teacher, and they contain the very marrow and fat

of the blessed Gospel. The author's language is simple, yet scholarly, popular, interesting, convincing. Whilst intensely loyal to the Confessions, and therefore eminently doctrinal, there is in these sermons a marked absence of an obtruding dogmatism, which often repels from rather than attracts to, a proper consideration of saving truth. The writer's style is expository, and these expositions reveal a deep insight into the plan of salvation, and an intimate acquaintance with the entire word of God. These sermons will be found to be edifying, instructive, comforting. They are true to Lutheran doctrine and life, and suited to present-day conditions. The volume is an honor to the author, and to the synod under whose auspices it has been published.

R. H. CLARE.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, NEW YORK AND LONDON.

History of the People of the Netherlands. By Petrus Johannes Blok, Professor of Dutch History in the University of Leyden. Translated by Ruth Putnam. Part II.

This volume of Prof. Blok's history covers the period from the beginning of the 15 century to 1559. Politically this was the period of the rise of the Burgundian power which organized and centralized the Netherlands, an important transition time. The closer knitting together of the various provinces inevitably left its mark on society at every point of its character and activities. This makes necessary the full treatment of political events, even in a history that is especially a history of the people rather than of the government. Further, the religious upheaval of the Reformation made it a most stirring epoch ecclesiastically, affecting the Netherlands as it did. Indeed from whatever point one views it, the times were full of interest.

Prof. Blok's treatment is topical. He does not group events about the great men who led them. He rather represses these great ones as having had enough notice from others, preferring to note the development and conditions of the people collectively. While this method has much to recommend it, it must be admitted that a narrative so organized does not hold the attention so well as one wherein the men of prominence stand out more boldly. But the work is full of interest despite the method, and while not likely ever to be a popular one, it must be read by whoever wishes a full acquaintance with the history of the Netherlands. The chapters on Ecclesiastical Conditions, Commerce and Industry, City and Country, and Art, Letters and Science, are especially well done and valuable. The work of translation seems to be most creditable.

S. G. VALENTINE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Reasons for Faith in Christianity, with Answers to Hypercriticism. By John McDowell Leavitt, D. D., LL. D.

This work has a direct and practical aim. It is an appeal to sober

reason against the destructive conclusions of the extreme revolutionary biblical criticism of the day. The author distinguishes Hypercriticism from Higher Criticism. He approves of the aims and principles of the latter, and argues only against its abuse in offering unwarranted results. The principle or method of the author, is, for the most part, that of the *reductio ad absurdum*, showing the falseness of the hypercritical argumentation by the absurdity and incredibility of the implications in the conclusion. It makes plain that the immense, one-sided exaggerations of the critics involve or lead to conclusions that are absolutely precluded by the deeper and demonstrable facts in the case. Some of the chapters present direct and positive evidences for the support of the Christian faith.

The author's familiarity with the scientific thought and claims of our day appears throughout the discussion and is used with good effect. The work is aglow with earnest conviction and rises often into eloquent presentation. In some places it is marred by a too oratorical style—carried over, possibly, from habits of popular addresses. We welcome the book as a well-provided check upon the skeptical tendencies which the abuse of the critical work of our times is unfortunately awakening.

M VALENTINE.

History of the Christian Church. By John Fletcher Hurst. Vol. II. pp. XXVI. and 957. \$5.00

Bishop Hurst is at his best as a historian, and in the department of Church History his best represents a high order of merit. The volume before us contains a history of "The Modern Church." Part I., consisting of 124 pages, discusses the "Heralds of the Better Church." In this part we have a clear and comprehensive treatment of Grosseteste, Wyklif, Hus, Savonarola, German Humanism, and Erasmus. We know of no one book that contains so much information on these pre-Reformation topics. Only the specialist will feel the need of fuller treatment.

Part II., pp. 125–500, contains the History of the Reformation. Here no less than 30 pages are given to Luther, who is assigned "the position of foremost and the leader of all." He would be a very unreasonable Lutheran who should find serious fault with anything in these thirty pages. For Zwingli the author has a warm side, and he shows due appreciation of the greatness of the labors of Calvin. In this second part of his work Bishop Hurst shows himself a master of accurate and comprehensive representation. He has not compiled and pieced together his narrative; but has wrought from within, and has unfolded the scenes of that great religious and political drama known as the Reformation. By thought, study and imagination he seems to have transported himself into the midst of the scenes he so well describes. Hence his descriptions are lively and animated, though his language and style are calm and judicial. A thorough Protestant he is not blind to the

weakness of some of the Protestant positions. A thorough anti-Romanist he is not violent in his hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. It is a rare thing to see a better exhibition of the judicial temper in the historian than appears in these pages. An admirable quality also is the independence of opinion displayed. The author thinks for himself and criticizes freely.

Though by no means always going to the original sources of information, the author seems to have availed himself of the most reliable monographs. And yet, notwithstanding the general accuracy of the work, there are some lapses: Melanchthon's Theological Commonplaces appeared, not in the "latter part of 1521," p. 176, but in the early part of that year. See Schmidt's *Philipp Melanchthon*, p. 74. Professor Williston Walter, in his admirable *The Reformation*, p. 123, has made the same mistake. On p. 176 our author speaks of the Augsburg Confession as "the final symbol of Lutheranism." We know of no sense in which the Augsburg Confession can be considered the final symbol of Lutheranism. Much rather is it to be considered the first and fundamental symbol of Lutheranism. It was not considered final in the sense of an ultimatum even by those who subscribed and delivered it. It is not final in the sense that it is to be regarded as irreformable; though it is the only symbol that in and of itself makes, marks and defines the Lutheran Church, and the only symbol that has had universal recognition in the Lutheran Church. Neither is it correct to say that Melanchthon "approached very near to Calvin's opinions" in the Lord's Supper, p. 177. While it is true that Melanchthon did depart from "the extreme literal view of the words of institution held by Luther," it is demonstrable, and is now conceded by scholars of acknowledged Lutheran soundness, that he did not depart from that which in its fundamental aspects is the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Also it is not sufficiently accurate to say that the Saxon Visitation formula of 1528 "was prepared by Melanchthon, Luther and others," p. 188. It was prepared exclusively by Melanchthon, except that only the preface was written by Luther.

On p. 195 it is said that the Emperor Charles V. "was crowned at Bologna in December, 1529." It is probable that our author copied this error from the Möller-Kawerau *Church History*, III., 103. Gieseler names February 24th (*Church History*, IV., 135), and Baumgarten (*Geschichte Karls V.*, II., p. 703), February 22nd and 24th, 1530, as the time. This last is correct, as shown by the papal Bull of March 1st, 1530. On the festival of St. Peter's Chair, February 22nd, in the chapel of the palace at Bologna the Pope placed an iron crown upon Charles' head; and on St. Matthew's day, February 24th, being Charles' birthday, the Pope "honored him with a gold crown." (See the Pope's Bull in the St. Louis edition of *Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften*, Vol. XVI., p. 629).

It is inaccurate to say that Luther, while residing at Coburg Castle in

1530 "kept up constant communication with the Reformers who were at the diet." At one time for about twenty-five days Luther received no communication from the reformers at the diet.

Writing of "the dogmatic formulation of the Church of England," our author says: "The last official declaration of doctrine was the Thirty-nine Articles of 1553," p. 397. In 1553 were published the forty-two Edwardine Articles. The Edwardine Articles, revised and reduced to thirty-nine, became "the last official declaration of doctrine" in 1571, and are the well-known Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.

On p. 431 Luther is represented as the author of the "Nuremberg services." Luther had nothing to do with the composition of the Nuremberg services, that is, with the Brandenburg-Nuremberg services of 1533, which were the basis of Archbishop Hermann's Consultation, "drawn up by Melanchthon and Bucer" in 1543.

But the most astonishing lapse in the whole book appears on p. 501: "With reference to the Lord's Supper, he (Melanchthon) went over almost to the view of Zwingli." As late as 1557 Melanchthon expressly and by name repudiated Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and declared his adherence to the Lutheran doctrine.

In Part III. we have the history of the intermediate period—pp. 501–740. A vast amount of valuable information about a period too little known and studied, has been crowded into this part.

Part IV. treats of "The Recent Period"—on the Continent, in Great Britain, and in the American Church. Here we have a history of almost every movement in the Modern Church, a veritable storehouse of information about recent ecclesiastical doings not elsewhere to be found in a single volume. In this particular feature the book is almost unique.

We cordially commend this History to all, both clerical and lay, readers who desire to acquaint themselves with the movements of Christianity during the last four hundred years. To add to the value of the book the author has adorned it with twelve maps, a full table of contents, a "Literature" of every chief subject, and an index of nearly forty pages. The style of writing is pure and strong. The criticisms are independent and out-spoken. Even when they provoke dissent, they do not fail to command respect, because they are not made in the spirit of cynicism or bigotry. Taken as a whole—barring a comparatively small number of lapses—the volume is the most important single contribution to Modern Church History with which we are acquainted. It is a credit to American scholarship, which, more and more, is commanding the attention of learned Europeans.

J. W. RICHARD.

Bible School Pedagogy. Outlines for Normal Classes. By A. H. McKinney, Ph. D., with introduction by Dr. Hurlbut. pp. 75.

This book is intended for Sunday School Teachers and aims to furnish such knowledge of the human mind and of the principles of teach-

ing as is necessary to impart instruction pleasantly and efficiently to the pupil. The purpose, certainly, is a most important one and the book is admirably adapted to accomplish the object aimed at. The following topics taken from the Table of Contents will give some idea of the matter of the book :

Human Nature Studies ; Outlines of Psychology ; Classification of Pupils ; Study of Child Nature ; How to Study the Lesson ; Three Approved Pedagogical Principles ; Habit ; and Spiritual Power.

The topics presented are given in form of outlines and so arranged as to make it easy to understand each point by itself and readily perceive its relation to all others. The plan adopted saves space and time and is well suited to the purpose of the book.

In every respect we regard this little volume a most excellent one and any teacher who will properly master its contents will be the better equipped for the important work of imparting Bible truths to the pupils of his Sunday School class.

E. HUBER.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the study of the International Sunday School Lessons for 1901. Price \$1.25.

These notes are not the same as the weekly or monthly Lesson Helps but constitute a volume of nearly 400 pages, well bound and in attractive style. A very brief examination even will satisfy any one that this is a most valuable aid for the study of the Sunday School Lessons for the coming year. A brief outline of a single lesson may be the best way to indicate the character of the work :

1. Links connecting the lesson with preceding ones.
2. The Scripture text—both Old and New Versions.
3. Back-ground of the lesson—giving place, time, parallel accounts, Hymns and Home Reading.
4. Introductory Paragraph.
5. Explanatory notes and comments.
6. Suggestive questions.
7. Hints to the teachers—which really furnish a fine analysis or outline of the passages studied, and supply suitable material for teaching and even for preaching.

There are frequent references also to books that treat of the subjects that come upon the lessons.

The Pictorial Illustrations are a specially attractive and valuable feature of the book. These consist of cuts of landscapes and figures, maps and black-board sketches. The cuts are 89 in number ; the maps of various sizes, 18 ; and the black-board sketches, 52 ; one for each Sunday.

These notes well studied will certainly have the effect to give both teachers and classes a clear and thorough understanding of the portions of Scripture they explain and illustrate.

E. HUBER.

Mrs. Cherry's Sister or Christian Science at Fairfax. By Minnie W. Baines-Miller.

This is a clever purpose-novel. Like all novels with a purpose the didactic element intrudes too insistently on the life-picture. Not that its dialogue and dramatic quality are commonplace, for they are not. But every purpose-novel is not an *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, nor every author a Harriet Beecher Stowe. The book, however, fills a genuine need. So-called "Christian Science" has just enough half-truth in it to demand an answer, and the best answer is to drive its false philosophy and practical curative assumptions to their logical and absurd conclusions. Some wit has said that he had but two objections to Christian Science. The first was that: "It is not Christian, and the second was that it is not Science." It should not be difficult to prove both of his positions, but we must not forget that though there is no consistent biblical standing ground for the theories of the "Scientists," there is a philosophy which furnishes a treacherous foundation for its speculations. It is nothing less than philosophic idealism pushed to its logical conclusion. No less distinguished a savant than Mr. Huxley said at one time: "If I were obliged to choose between absolute materialism and absolute idealism, I should feel compelled to accept the latter alternative." For this philosophical conception, there is no reality in matter save for the inward substance-mind. Christian Science presents this conception of Bishop Berkeley in a very bold and exaggerated form. It denies existence to the world of matter. It exalts this denial into dogma. Upon this rock it builds its Church. Most men will say with Byron:

"When Bishop Berkeley said 'there was no matter,'
And proved it,—'twas no matter what he said."

When one considers how little the average man knows of philosophy, disease and therapeutics, there is small wonder that an assumptious woman such as Mother Eddy is able to win eager, sympathetic and aspiring innocents for her dangerous cult.

Mrs. Miller in her clever story arranges some very trying medical situations for her heroine and her preceptress in the esoteric art of faith-cure, and permits the logic of events to make answer to the wild claims of the advocates of the science. I do not wonder that some turn in distrust from certain medical men of to-day—men who fail utterly to see what great influence the mind has over physical conditions. Every true practitioner uses a *genuine* faith-cure as well as belladonna and quinine. Nature works the real cure after all. Medicine can only assist nature. About eight out of ten ordinary cases of disease, with proper nursing and dieting, will disappear without any drug. Medical men have abused this fact, and the public has found them out. But the Christian Scientist fancies it is his reading of Mother Eddy's bible that does the work—or rather that "mortal mind" is utterly wrong in be-

believing there is any such entity as disease. We commend this strong witty story to any parson whose parish is afflicted with this pitiable substitute for a *true* Christian Science—a real science which places a personal God, an incarnate Saviour and a real suffering body and soul with a genuine redemption for both at the centre of its theological belief.

Systematic Theology. By John Miley, D.D., L. L. D. Vol. II. \$3.00

This book belongs to the *Library of Biblical and Theological Literature* so ably edited by Drs. Crook and Hurst, and has been on our table for some time. We congratulate our Methodist friends on the general excellence of this "Library." Throughout it is both conservative and progressive, scholarly and practical, though in some of its parts it is less influenced by the better phases of German theological thought than we should like to see.

Dr. Miley, who is Professor of Systematic Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, represents what may be called orthodox Arminianism, or the theological teaching that maintains that the Bible offers full and free salvation to all men who repent of their sins and sincerely believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. This fundamental conception is consistently developed throughout this volume, which treats of *Christology*, *Soteriology* and *Eschatology*, and has also three "*Appendices*": I., Inspiration of the Scriptures. II., The Angels. III., The Arminian Treatment of Original Sin.

The work on the Person of Christ is well done. It gives no uncertain sound as to the perfect deity and the perfect humanity of Christ. It is Niceno-Chalcedonic throughout. In the Nicene Creed the author finds a clear and strong assertion of the true and essential divinity of Christ. At Chalcedon the personality of Christ was defined. "The Chalcedonic symbol combines the elements of truth respecting the person of Christ.

There is no better construction of the doctrine. It is true that this symbol has not completely dominated the Christological thought of the Church; yet it has ever held a position of commanding influence, and has furnished the material and the model for the Christological symbols since constructed in the orthodox churches," p. 7. Which means of course that the orthodox churches have accepted the Christology of the Old Catholic Church.

In discussing the Person of Christ the author has simply put the old proofs in his own clear and strong way. The chapter on the *Leading Errors in Christology*, contains strictures on the Lutheran doctrine of the person of Christ, chiefly as the same was developed in the Form of Concord. It is only too true, as the author points out, that Lutherans themselves have not been agreed on this subject, and have not always interpreted the Form of Concord in the same way, as witness the great Kenotic controversy between Giessen and Tübingen, and the modern Kenotic disputes. The author says that modern Kenotism has "no ground in the Scripture, though it assumes such ground," p. 60.

In discussing Soteriology the author lays heavy emphasis on the vicarious sufferings of Christ as the ground of forgiveness and salvation. But he distinguishes between the fact of the Atonement and theories or Philosophies of the Atonement.. Of such theories he names the Arminian the Calvinistic and the Socinian. These also represent types of doctrinal systems. The Socinian system has no Christ equal to the making of a vicarious Atonement. In the Calvinistic system "the doctrine of divine sovereignty and decrees, of unconditional election to salvation, of the effectual calling and final perseverance of the elect, and that their salvation is monergistically wrought as it is sovereignly decreed, require an atonement which in its very nature is and must be effectual in the salvation of all for whom it is made. Such an atonement the system has in the absolute substitution of Christ, both in precept and penalty, in behalf of the elect"—which is the Anselmic theory in the most rigid form of statement as a *quid pro quo*. According to modern Calvinistic teaching the atonement is sufficient for all, but not efficient for all. The Arminian system differing as it does in its fundamental theological concepts from Calvinism, requires a different theory of the atonement. "If the atonement is really for all, and in the same sense sufficient for all, then it must be only provisory, and its saving benefits really conditional. And no other truths are more deeply wrought into Arminianism, whether original or Wesleyan; none have a more uniform, constant, unqualified Methodistic utterance." The following is the author's definition of Atonement: "*The vicarious sufferings of Christ are an atonement for sin as a conditional substitute for penalty, fulfilling, on the forgiveness of sin, the obligation of justice and the office of penalty in moral government.*" In the development emphasis is placed on the words *vicarious*, as endured for sinners under divine judicial condemnation; *substitute*, but in rectoral relation to law and justice; *conditional*, "as a provisory measure of government rendering forgiveness, on proper conditions, consistent with the obligations of justice in moral administration." p. 68.

Theology in general is turning away from the rigid Anselmic and Calvinistic theories of the Atonement, but it can be scarcely expected that Dr. Miley's definition will be widely accepted. The Church seems to be waiting for something deeper, more comprehensive, something that has more love in it. Personally we cannot get away from the declaration of one of our great theologians; *Fons et origo salutis est amor Dei*. To our mind the love of God, without his justice being ignored, ought to figure more largely in our conceptions of the Atonement. It may be, as Dr. Miley affirms, that we are compelled to philosophize on this subject; but is it not safer and wiser to adhere more closely to the fact of the Atonement through Christ, who entered once into the holy place and obtained eternal redemption for us? The *quomodo* has never been satisfactorily explained. In his discussion of the theories of the Atonement our author thinks there is place for two, and

only two: "A theory of absolute satisfaction, according to which the redemptive sufferings of Christ were strictly penal, and a fulfillment of an absolute obligation of justice in the punishment of sin;" "a theory of conditional substitution, according to which the redemptive sufferings of Christ were not the punishment of sin, but such a substitute for the rectoral office of penalty as renders forgiveness, on proper conditions, consistent with the requirements of moral government." p. 112.

Justification is regarded as a central doctrine, not only in Lutheranism, but "in the great Wesleyan evangelism." But justification is not treated as strictly forensic; though in thought the author seems more nearly correct than in terminology, since with him justification is a change of *legal states*, is purely objective and "effects no change in the interior moral state"—thus in essential agreement with the Lutheran position, especially since he places justification before regeneration, and regards the latter as "definitely the work of the Holy Spirit."

The chapter on the Church contains much that is common to Protestants in general, and union with the Church is insisted on both because "the divinely instituted means of grace are mostly within the Church," and because every Christian should take part with the Church in evangelizing the world. The means of grace are three: First, the word of God, "as read and studied privately and also as heard in the faithful preaching of the truth." "Among all the divinely instituted means for the accomplishment of the mission of Christianity the chief place is assigned to the preaching of the Gospel."

Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two other means of grace, are treated from a fairly conservative Reformed standpoint.

The work, considered as a whole, might be designated a *theologia positiva*. It does not have in it much speculation. The author's purpose seems to be to set forth in a plain and positive way what he conceives to be the evident teaching of the Scriptures. Opposing views are fairly stated, and reasons for their rejection are offered; but there is very little that may be properly regarded as polemical. Its scriptural character and irenic tone are qualities that will commend the work to all who are in quest of a safe and practical guide in the study of some of the most important doctrines connected with the Christian faith. It is profitable to study books on theology that have been written from points of view other than our own. Opposing views make us think, and lead to inquiry for the reasons of our own faith.

J. W. RICHARD.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Forms of Ministerial Acts. Published by the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States.

This hand-book of "Ministerial Acts" appears in accordance with the orders for publication given by the General Synod at York in 1899. It exhibits the result of the labors of the Common Service Committee un-

der resolutions adopted at Canton, O., in 1893, modified by some amendments made at the York Convention. With the Committee's preface the forms make a neat volume of 150 pages. The publication house has done its work well, and with its characteristic care and good taste, has given the forms a setting at once convenient and attractive. They are thus sent forth for free use among the pastors of our churches.

It is proper to note some things revealed by examination. It is to be regretted that the Committee, while inserting in the first form for infant baptism the amendment adopted at York, changing the baptismal questions from the child to the parents or sponsors, so as to remove the implication that the infant brings faith with it to baptism, they did not harmonize with this change the language of the *prayer*, which contains the same false implication. As it now stands the form still presents its erroneous teaching, and fails of adjustment to acceptable use. The amendment to the form of ordination adopted at York required the language of the questions to be so changed as to secure a pledge to the word of God and to the Confession in the exact terms of the constitution of the General Synod. It is regrettable that in the effort to make the change better care was not taken to give that language correctly. The verb "to be" is used instead of "as," and "the Church" instead of "our Church"—to the injury of the English and change of sense. It is remarkable, also, that the same errors appear in the formula for setting apart deaconesses. These mistakes ought, by all means, to be removed.

M. VALENTINE.

An Exposition of the Gospels of the Church Year By Dr. E. J. Wolf, Prof. of New Testament Exegesis and Church History in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. Octavo. Cloth. pp. 914. Price \$4.50.

This work is the outcome of a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Wolf to the students of the Theological Seminary in which he is a professor. The lectures themselves are based upon Nebe's splendid exposition of the Gospels of the Church Year—but are far from being a mere translation. The portions of Scripture that are expounded are of course choice ones—being all taken from the four Evangelists and together constituting a pretty full account of the teachings and doings of our Lord during his life on earth.

Prof. Nebe, whose Evangelical Pericopes contribute so large a part of the material of this volume is one of the foremost exegetes of Germany, and his work so freely employed by Dr. Wolf is admitted to be a most valuable exposition of Scripture.

The material gathered from Prof. Nebe's books is farther enriched by numerous selections from other first-class commentators. One of these is Luther himself, who has been in the world's balance for over three centuries and a half and never been found wanting. Another is Dr. Heinrich Meyer of whom Dr. Dale of England said, that in the prepa-

ration of his lectures on Ephesians he had him ever by his side, hesitated very much to differ from him, and when he did so was not quite sure but that after all Dr. Meyer was right.

The other commentators from whose writings Dr. Wolf makes frequent extracts, such as Bengel, Hoffman and many more, are not unworthy of the company into which they are introduced, and contribute not a little to the interest and profitableness of the volume we are considering.

But whilst it is true, as Dr. Wolf himself says, that his book is not an original one, yet it is very evident that he has done much and important work himself and shown great diligence and good judgment in gathering together from the best sources so much material that is so well calculated to throw light upon every passage under discussion.

The excellence and satisfactory character of these expositions will best appear in the use of them. Let any passage of Scripture be carefully studied and then let this volume be consulted on the same passage, and one will be both surprised and delighted to find that the very points regarding which he had difficulty are satisfactorily explained—and the very information that he felt to be needed was furnished in full.

The style of the book is perfectly clear and simple and the arrangement is orderly and logical, and whilst the work is expected to be used chiefly by ministers and theological students, yet an account of the qualities just named we are persuaded that it will prove interesting and profitable also to the unprofessional reader who is earnestly concerned to attain a better knowledge of the Word of God. We heartily commend it.

E. HUBER.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN PUBLICATION BOARD, PITTSBURG, PA.

The Real Presence, or Why do I Believe in the Lutheran Doctrine of the Lord's Supper? By William Dallman. 1900.

The sub-title of this pamphlet expresses the distinct aim of the author—to prove the Eucharistic Real Presence as held in Lutheran theology. The type of Lutheran presentation is that which has its completed formulation by our dogmaticians of the seventeenth century. Rev. Dallman has, in concise way, arrayed the Scripture and historical supports with force and impressiveness. We cannot but feel that still better results would have been attained had he drawn somewhat from the profound, elucidating and enriching discussions of our recent conservative confessional Lutheran theologians of the fatherland.

M. VALENTINE.

AUGSBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism. Based on Dr. Erick Pontoppidan, by Rev. H. U. Sverdrup, formerly pastor of Balestrand Parish, Norway. Abridged edition. Translated from the Norwegian by Prof. E. G. Lund, D.D., Minneapolis. 1900.

Pontoppidan's larger explanation of the Small Catechism, in an abridged form, has long been used in the Church of Norway and in the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. The epitome made by Sverdurp received royal authorization in Norway. It is from that epitome Dr. Lund has given this translation, at the request of the Publishing Committee of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. The English text of Luther's Small Catechism is the version recently made by a Joint Committee of the General Synod, General Council, and the United Synod of the South. The text of the Catechism is first printed separately, for convenience in memorizing, and then again in connection with the explanations.

It is not surprising that this explanation of the Catechism has had such wide and lasting popularity. It has many and marked excellences. In some places, however, it is not beyond improvement. It would be better, for instance, if it were not so negative as to the divine authority of the Sabbath. It could be improved, too, by a better adjustment of the explanations under the questions 212, 213, 217, 219, 223, 224, 226, 344, and in 29 and 31 of Summary of Saving Truth. M. V.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Kutrze Gestenlehre.

This little book whilst it is based on a large work on Gesture by Professor Bacon, is yet to a great extent the fruit of practical use, the principles and rules embodied therein having been adopted and tested by the author in his classes in college, and according to his own statement were found to be correct, simple and easily understood.

Illustrations of the different kinds of gestures are furnished and the sentiments they are fitted to convey are pointed out. That appropriate gestures are a decided help in giving expression and especially force to the thoughts, feelings and purposes of a speaker, no one is disposed to gainsay, and the little volume before us is well adapted to impart the necessary direction and instruction on the subject. Its author is Prof. August Crull, of Concordia College, in Fort Wayne.

E. HUBER.

HINDS AND NOBLE, NEW YORK.

Songs of all the Colleges.—There are no songs that so delight the man who has once been a college student as do college songs. There is a ring about them and a uniqueness that bring back the days at *Alma Mater* when the one object of life seemed to be "to drive dull care away." This new collection is a very fine one, and very comprehensive as it includes not only the songs that belong to individual colleges but those that are the common property of all colleges. We were very glad to find that, while this collection contains very many new songs that are unusually bright and catchy, the old ones that have sung their way into the hearts of students all over the land are not missing. It will certainly

be welcome in all homes and colleges where good music is enjoyed. The book is very artistically gotten up.

P M. BIKLE.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

The Atlantic Monthly for December is rich in choice contributions. Among the best, if any distinction may be made, are: "The Story of a New England Town;" "War as a Moral Medicine;" "Washington the City of Leisure;" "The Maintenance of a Poet;" and "The Dominance of the Crowd." The fiction of this number needs no higher recommendation than to say that it is contributed by Sarah Orne Jewett, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Florence Wilkinson, Eliza Orne White and John Buchan. No magazine offers so fine a prospectus for 1901 as does *The Atlantic Monthly*. Its readers are to be treated to another serial by the now famous Mary Johnston. "Andrey" is its title and the scene is laid in Virginia. The most important series of papers that will appear in the magazine during the year will be a group of scholarly and unpartisan studies of the Reconstruction Period. Only representative men will contribute to this series—among whom are Woodrow Wilson, Thomas Nelson Page, Hon. Samuel McCall and Hon. Hilary H. Herbert. There will also be during the year a series of descriptive papers dealing with the "National Life." This series was begun during the past year and attracted wide attention. Among others who will contribute during the year to the pages of this strongest of American magazines is John Burroughs, Authur T. Hadley, W. D. Howells, Henry James, Hamilton Mabie, Horace E. Scudder, Bradford Torrey, Henry Van Dyke and Frederick J. Turner. This is a fine prospect and yet it is only a hint of what the readers of the *Atlantic* may expect.

PERRY MASON COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.

The *Youth's Companion* was never better than during the year just closed, but there is promise of even better for 1901. Statesmen, diplomats, travelers, trappers, and writers of many vocations will be among its contributors. Among them we can give such well known names as Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary Gage, W. D. Howells, Paul Leicester Ford. The *Companion* spares no effort nor expense to make itself most acceptable and entertaining in the hundreds of thousands of homes to which it goes every week. Happy is the boy or girl—young or old—who has the good fortune to receive this excellent paper. It is interesting, instructive, inspiring.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

APRIL, 1901.

ARTICLE I.

EDWARDS' DOCTRINE OF THE WILL.

BY PROFESSOR L. A. FOX, D. D.

Edwards' treatise on the Freedom of the Will was written in defense of the Calvinistic doctrine of foreordination and election, but it won for its author a conspicuous place in the history, not only of doctrines, but also of philosophy. Sir James Macintosh said of him: "This remarkable man, the metaphysician of America, was formed among the Calvinists when their stern doctrine retained its vigorous authority. His process of subtle argument, perhaps unequalled, certainly unsurpassed among men, was joined, as in some of the ancient mystics, with a character which raised his piety to fervor." Fichte, the younger, saw only a sketch of his theory of virtue, but was so impressed that he said: "This solitary thinker has risen to the deepest and loftiest ground which can underlie the principles of morals." Dugald Stewart regarded him as the equal in logical acuteness of any disputant bred in the Universities of Europe. He still holds this reputation in England. A recent writer in one of our best encyclopædias calls him "the greatest metaphysician and divine in America."

The fervor of his piety, to which Macintosh alludes, has impressed all the students of his life and works. Dr. Noah Porter says: "He was at once a scholastic and a mystic—a scholastic in the subtlety of his analysis and the sustained vigor of his reasoning, and a mystic in the sensitive delicacy of his emotive

tenderness and the idealistic elevation of his imaginative creations, which at times almost transfigured his Christian faith into the beatific vision." It was this combination of gifts that made him the greatest American preacher of the eighteenth century. His style was heavy and involved, his voice was without music, his manuscript was closely read, but his lofty thought and his intense spiritual life made his sermons highly instructive and impressive. He began the "Great Awakening," which swept over the American churches. His character was so pure that those who have criticised his theories have uniformly approached their task with feelings of reverence akin to awe. His religious nature was awakened in early childhood. The pious Puritan boy in the severe New England atmosphere of that day was forced to struggle with the sternest doctrines of the Calvinistic system. While yet a youth he had in one of his spiritual exercises a conception of God's absolute sovereignty that profoundly moved him. He surrendered himself to it, and that idea became the dominant principle of his subsequent thought and life. It gave vigor to his self-discipline, to his preaching, to his pastoral administration and even to his logic. It stimulated his philosophic genius to its greatest activity and summoned it to its greatest efforts. He believed in it with his whole heart and followed it boldly to its last logical consequences. It carried him dangerously near the doctrine of fatalism.

He was by training and habit, as well as by nature, a theologian. Born in a parsonage, 1703, he was prepared for college by his father and sisters. At thirteen he entered Yale College from which, four years afterwards, he was graduated. Here for a short time after graduation he was tutor. The college was as thoroughly imbued with the Calvinistic spirit as the home. Having entered the ministry he was the successor of his grandfather, Rev. James Stoddard, as pastor at Northhampton, Mass., where he remained for twenty-three years. He was then called to Stockbridge. During the six years of his ministry at this place he wrote most of his books. Twice elected president of Princeton College he at last accepted, but died two months after his inauguration. His life work was in the sphere of religion.

He had philosophic talents of a very high order which revealed themselves by his precocious interest in Locke's "Human Understanding," and in his remarkable philosophic notes written at the age of sixteen. But his philosophic work was wholly subordinate. With him philosophy was merely the handmaid of theology to illustrate and defend the doctrines of revelation, but never a guide into saving truth. He was a philosophic thinker on religious themes rather than a philosopher. Having only a secondary interest in it, he never worked out a system of philosophy and for this reason, acute and profound as he was, he fell into inconsistencies in his discussions of philosophic subjects.

In his defense of Calvinistic doctrines he introduced ideas from his philosophic speculations that proved, in the hands of his successors, fruitful germs. He was the founder of that modified form of Calvinism known as the New England Theology. Dr. Hodge, in one place, minimizes the difference between this new type and the original system, but Dr. Fisher in his *History of Christian Doctrine* devotes a long chapter to it. It was characterized by its new method and new doctrines. Speculative forms gave a new setting to old beliefs and made them look at least like new dogmas. The way was opened for widely divergent tendencies, and in his school were found men as widely apart as Hopkins and Finney. Even Unitarianism found in it, if not its root, at least a most congenial soil. His philosophic works have a two-fold and a permanent interest. They challenge alike the careful student of philosophy and the student of theology.

His first regular study in philosophy was Locke's epoch-making book on the *Human Understanding*. He read it when he was thirteen with the avidity, as he says, with which a miser gathers up handfuls of silver and gold. Even at that early age he dissented from some of the positions taken by the author, but the effects of that system are seen in all his subsequent work. He got from Locke his idea of freedom, power and identity. Like Locke he was a utilitarian, or Hedonist. His reading in philosophy was not wide. He knew something of Reid. He

was acquainted with Berkeley's theory of perception. But he says he had not read Hobbes, and we may be sure that very little of the contemporary philosophical literature came into his western home. The fundamental principles of his philosophic theories were drawn from Locke and Berkeley. He combined elements of sensationalism and idealism. This is not, as it seems at first, impossible. Hobbes was a materialistic idealist, and so also more recently was Prof. Bain. Wendt, the greatest authority in physiological psychology, is in his philosophy an idealist. It was easy for Edwards, who had no system, to hold ideas that were ultimately irreconcilable. Here we have the primary source of the errors into which he fell.

His faulty philosophy permitted him to push both his philosophic and theological theories into extremes. He took Locke's doctrine of the will, but he carried it into necessitarianism. He gave it a far wider scope than Locke, and while the matter hesitated and modified, the pupil worked on without the slightest misgivings. He took Locke's doctrine of personal identity. He held with his master that it consisted in consciousness, or rather, memory, but carried it so far as to deny the necessity of identity of substance. He said that God could give an absolutely new creation the consciousness of one just annihilated, and thereby they would be identical. He maintained this not only as a possibility but also as the real fact. With Berkeley he held that spiritual beings are the only beings, but in his doctrine of causality he exposed himself to the charge of pantheism. In theology he started with Augustinianism as moulded by Calvin, but he went far beyond his predecessors. They held that Adam had in Eden the power of contrary choice, but that he lost it for himself and his posterity in religious things. They believed that there was a very great difference in the power of the will before and after the fall. Edwards denied that there was any essential difference. "His conception of the will admits of no such distinction. In the room of an acquired slavery he teaches a determinism belonging to its very nature. Freedom is as predicable of man now as before he sinned, of religious morality as of the affairs of worldly business, of man

as of God."* Every act of the will in civil affairs, in the commonest events of life, of saint and of sinner, is necessitated. In regard to predestination he was an extreme supralapsarian. In respect to creation he threw out suggestions which Dr. Emmons developed into the absurd idea of continuous creation. Hodge states it thus: "God creates everything at every moment."

Edwards brought to the discussion of the freedom of the will a defective psychology. It has been often noted by critics that he divides the mental faculties into the Understanding and the Will, or the cognitive and motive powers. Under the will he puts the feelings. This was the fault of the psychology of the age. Putting faculties so wide apart as appetite and affection on the one side and volition on the other under the head of will exposed him to confession of thought. He distinguished between desires and volitions in his formal definitions, but he confounds them in his discussion. Even while defining he has no clear conception of their difference. "I do not suppose that will and desire are words of precisely the same signification; will seems to be a word of more general signification extending to things present and absent; desire respects something absent."† The distinction is true. Desire is more general than will. We must desire at least two things in every act of choice. We may desire what we know is impossible, while we can will only what we believe to be possible. Both desire and will respect the absent. Desire includes actions and things, but the will is limited to one's own actions. He makes choice and volition identical. "The will is plainly that by which the mind chooses anything. An act of the will is the same as an act of choosing or choice." But choice is only one of the elements of will. It consists of choice, purpose and effort. That he is not clear in his conception of what the will is becomes further manifest from his fuller definition. He jumbles intellectual acts, feelings and volition together. "So that whatever names we call acts of will by—choosing, refusing, approving, disapproving, liking, disliking, embrac-

*Fisher's History of Christian Doctrine.

†Freedom of the Will, pt. I. sec. I.

ing, rejecting, determining, directing, commanding, forbidding, inclining or being averse, being pleased or displeased with—may be reduced to this of choosing.” Surely one to-day can approve the steadfast patriotism of Washington and severely disapprove the treachery of Conway, but his will can have nothing at all to do with either. We may like or dislike the production of a pupil without any choice in the matter. It comes under the will only when we choose to express or conceal our feelings, and in what form we will do it, if we decide to let him know our opinion of his effort. Edwards stumbled upon the threshold. He has no place for attention. He does not seem to have thought of any possible relation between the will and attention, while the direct power of the will over our own actions is through the attention. This is true of both mental and physical action. We can think of one thing or another by directing the attention. When there are two impulses, the one very strong and the other very weak, we may, by concentrating the attention upon the weaker, so strengthen it as entirely to suppress the other. He makes preception necessary. He overlooked the fact that the will by directing the attention or removing the sense affected can control the perceptions. They are not absolutely necessitated. These examples are sufficient to show the defects of his psychological analysis.

His metaphysics were fundamentally wrong. Over-awed by God's sovereignty he ruled out of existence secondary causes. He could not conceive the idea of a created substance as a centre of force. Spontaneity had for him no meaning. God is the direct causal agent in everything, and there can be no real being but God. The soul of man is not self-active, but is merely the channel through which God exerts his force. It is upon this false metaphysics that his doctrine of necessity and of election ultimately rests.

We may get a general estimate of a theory by seeing its logical consequences. Premises are wrong when the conclusions are false. Edwards' theory of the will leads to necessitarianism. Dr. Hodge protests against putting him in the same class with Hobbes, Hartley, Priestley, Belsham, Collins and the

French Encyclopædists. He thinks that Edwards was wrong chiefly in using the word necessity instead of certainty, and that this error made him use the language of Hobbes. The protest must be admitted, if we consider the grounds upon which they rested their argument. Hobbes was a materialist and Edwards was not. But from different starting points they reached the same result. Bain agrees with Hodge that Edwards has been misunderstood. He says: "His definition of cause is correct; his only error was in retaining the word necessity with its irrelevant and misleading associations." "He did not draw the obvious inference that the word necessity should be discarded from the controversy."* Edwards was aware of the various meanings of the word, and takes great pains to define it. At one place he regrets the necessity of using it. But if it did not express his idea better than any other, why does he so persistently employ it? It carries with it the idea of some form of irresistible force, and the main point of his argument is to adjust the ideas of such a force and responsibility. The choice is necessitated; it cannot be otherwise than it is, and yet because it is choice the individual is responsible. The charge of necessitarianism is maintained, not alone upon the word necessity, but upon the whole trend of the argument. Prof. Bain and John Stuart Mill regarded him as a champion of determinism. The necessitarians, not only of his own day, but in every age since, have numbered him among themselves.. Dr. Bledsoe† of the University of Virginia in an acute review renews the charge from the camp of the Arminians. Dr. N. W. Taylor, from Edwards' own school, admits it and criticises the argument.‡ Dugald Stewart saw clearly the real meaning of the book and lamented its effects. "I am afraid Edwards' book (however well meant) has done much harm in England as it has secured a favorable hearing to the same doctrines which since the time of Charles have been generally ranked among the most dangerous errors of Hobbes and his disciples." A number of Calvinists like Dr. Fisher have given up the attempt to defend his system

**Mental Science*, p. 419.

†*Theodicy*. ‡*Moral Government*.

and concede that he was a necessitarian. Almost all philosophic writers, who without any dogmatic prepossessions have given it a careful examination, so regard him. As evidence, we may take the *Ency. Brit.* The author of the article on Jonathan Edwards says: "He fell into not only determinism but necessitarianism

Edwards stoutly denies that he is a fatalist. At the end of his book he states the conclusions which, as he believed, followed from his doctrine of the will. "Hereby it becomes manifest that God's moral government over mankind * * * is not inconsistent with a determining disposal of all events of every kind and throughout the universe.' Indeed such a universal determining providence infers some kind of necessity of all events, such a necessity as implies an infallible previous fixedness of the futurity of the event. Moral certainty does as much ascertain the futurity of the event as any other necessity." "As it has been demonstrated that the futurity of all future events is established by previous necessity, either natural or moral, so it is manifest that the Sovereign Director and Disposer of the world has ordered this necessity either in designedly acting or forbearing to act." "From whence it follows that as God designedly orders his own conduct and its connected consequences it must necessarily be that he designedly orders all things." "These things which have been said obviate the chief objection of Arminians against the Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity and corruption of man's nature." "They take off the main objections of Arminians against the doctrine of efficacious grace and at the same time prove the grace of God in a sinner's conversion to be efficacious, yea, and irresistible too, if by irresistible is meant that which is attended with a natural necessity." "God does decisively in his providence order all the volitions of moral agents either by positive influence on permission." "The things which have been said do likewise answer the chief objections against the doctrine of God's universal absolute decree, and afford infallible proof of this doctrine and of the doctrine of absolute eternal personal election in particular." He distinguishes between the positive efficiency of God and his permissive providence, but it is only a temporary concession.

The causes which are immediately operative in the permitted acts are ordered by God, and all comes back at last to positive efficiency. This is what he started out to prove and for these he is personally responsible. But his premises lead to far wider conclusions, and, when they are not accepted by him, these must be set down to the account of the system. Dr. Tappan, professor of philosophy in the University of New York and Chancellor of the University of Michigan, a Calvinist, wrote in the first half of the present century a searching review of the treatise on the will. With fairness he states Edwards' positions and then with relentless logic he follows them to their conclusions. These are the results: 1. An absolute, unconditional necessity both individual and general. 2. Every volition or event is necessary and necessarily the best possible in its place and relations. 3. If that which we call evil be evil in reality, then it must be both necessary evil, and evil having its origin in infinite wisdom. 4. The creature man cannot be blamable. 5. There can be nothing evil in itself. 6. The system of Edwards is a system of utilitarianism. 7. No individual can make an effort to change the habitual character of his volitions. 8. All exhortations and persuasions which call upon a man to better himself, to think, to plan, to act, are absurd. 9. Divine commands, warnings and rebukes, when obeyed and yielded to, are obeyed and yielded to by the necessary force which they possess in relation to the state of mind to which they are addressed. 10. The sense of guilt and shame and the fear of retribution cannot have a real and necessary connection with any volitions, but must be regarded as prejudices or errors of education from which philosophy will serve to relieve us. 11. Nature and spirit, as causes or agents, cannot be distinguished in their operations. 12. Sensations, emotions and acts of intelligence, both intuitive and ratiocinative, are acts for which we are as really responsible as for acts of volition. 13. The system of punishment is only an accommodation to the opinions of society. 14. There cannot really be any calamity. 15. There really can no more be folly in conduct or error in reasoning and belief than

there can be crime and calamity considered as evils in themselves. 16. The system is a system of fatalism. 17. It appears to me that Pantheism is a fair deduction from this system. These are the conclusions which Dr. Tappan drew from the premises of Edwards. Without stopping to examine the arguments by which he maintains his propositions, let us note the significance of the fact that with his theological bias he felt compelled to make them. If necessitarianism is not the real meaning of the system of Edwards, why is it that so many in every age and under such widely divergent influences—Necessitarians, Arminians and Calvinists, theologians and philosophers—have so understood it.

Edwards started with definitions, and, like a great many other philosophers who pursued the same method, found himself in company with necessitarians and fatalists. Kant put the freedom of the will among the antinomies. He demonstrated both the thesis and antithesis: There are free causes, and liberty is a mere illusion. He gave up the problem as insoluble by the speculative reason. With him a considerable number of metaphysicians agree and remand the question to psychology. But Prof. William James, who studied it from the inductive side, says in italics: "The fact is that the question of free will is insoluble on strictly psychologic grounds."* McCosh seems to surrender the solution altogether. "We can produce the separate proofs of the two separate truths [freedom of the will and the universality of the law of cause and effect], and when looked at apart, these proofs are acknowledged to be irrefragable. Should it be demanded of us that we reconcile them, we assume that we are not bound to offer a positive reconciliation."† But whatever philosophers and inductive psychologists may decide about it, the world knows that the will is free. Kant assumed it as a fact given in consciousness and made it the basis of his argument for the existence of God. McCosh held that it is established by a proof so clear that the principle of causality could not overthrow it. Necessitarians assume it in practical life.

*Psychology. 1-456.

†Divine Government, p. 279.

Zeno, for example, was flogging a slave, who said: "Stop, it was fated to me to steal." But the fatalist, continuing the strokes, replied with more wit than conviction: "Yes, and it was fated to me to flog you." Philosophizing is an act of freedom, and without freedom of the will, philosophy would be impossible, and therefore every attempt to prove necessitarianism assumes as a fact its contradictory. Necessitarianism in all its forms is necessarily self-destructive. If we are not free we are nothing but machines endowed with consciousness. We cannot be responsible, conscience is a lie, and all life save the mere sensations of pleasure and pain is a delusion. There can be no true foundation for any kind of government or of ethics. If we know anything we know we are free. Edwards, in trying to confirm the doctrines of Calvinism, proved more than he intended and was driven into opposition to a universal primary conviction of mankind.

It is frequently said that while Edwards was wrong he made valuable contribution to the discussion of the will by exposing three great errors. One of these errors is the self determination of the will. No one now will speak of the self-determining power of the will as an independent entity, as Calvin did, or as an independent faculty. The inter-dependence of the mental faculties is taught in our elementary psychologies. The representative is dependent upon the presentative, and the presentative is dependent upon the representative. The feelings are dependent upon cognition, and cognition is dependent upon the feelings. The will is dependent upon both feelings and cognitions, and both of them are in turn dependent upon the will. This is so well understood that it is absurd to speak, as men did some years ago, of an absolute self-determination of the will. But this is due more to a better psychology than to the argument of Edwards. This, however, was not the point of his assault. He says explicitly: "I take it for granted that when Arminians speak of the will as determiner, they mean the *soul* in the use of that power." He denies, therefore, that the mind has any power of self-determination. Here is a radical error. He compares the mind's control over its actions with its control over its own body. It determines its volitions, as it does the

movement of its limbs, by an antecedent volition. The mind chooses to walk and the feet necessarily move. It chooses to choose, and choice necessarily follows. But is there no difference between the mind and the body? Is the relation between the mind and will the same as that between the mind and body? If the mind by choice necessitates the movement of the body, which is non-ego and instrument, does it in the same way determine the activities of the will which is an integral part of itself? He says further: "If the will determines all its own free acts, then the soul determines the free acts of the will in the exercise of the power of willing, or choosing, or, which is the same thing, it determines them of choice, it determines its own acts by choosing its own acts." The soul or mind determines itself through its own will. The will is the power to choose; its only function is choice. If the will determines itself it must choose to choose before it can choose. The first choice necessitates the second choice, just as choosing to walk necessitates the movement of the legs. But that first choice had to be preceded by a prior choice which necessitated it, and that by still another. He claims to have driven the advocates of the self-determining power, not only of the will but also of the mind, to one or the other of two absurdities. They must admit an event without a cause or a series of choices *ad infinitum*. As we wade through the five sections of Part II. in which he forces us upon the horns of this dilemma, we cannot help thinking of Stilpo trying to prove that a wall cannot be torn down: "As long as it is a wall it is not torn down and when it is torn down it is not a wall." Even while Zeno, the Eleatic, was proving that an arrow could not fly through space his own pen was moving over the face of his parchment. But this argument is not so impregnable as Edwards believed. Admitting for the moment that one must choose to choose, it is not true that the anterior choice necessitates the whole fact in the subsequent choice. I decide to go either to New York or New Orleans. I must choose between the two places and I determine to do it at once. I choose to make the choice. But nothing in any of the previous choices necessitates my choosing, say, New Orleans. The choice be

tween the two alternatives is free. But, secondly, it is not true that the mind must choose to choose before it can exercise the power of choice. Circumstances either external or internal may necessitate *a* choice but not *the* choice between the alternatives. I am compelled to choose between going on or stopping this writing. Circumstances compel the mind to make the choice, but they do not compel me to choose continuing to write. A cause may awaken and even necessitate the activity, but the will determines itself in the particular line of that activity. Edwards confounded things psychologically distinguishable. He did not see the difference between the cause of volitional activity and the cause of the direction of it. The distinction is like that between thinking and thought. There can be no thinking without thought. When thinking ceases, thought is gone. But we distinguish between the mental activity in thinking and the thought. In thinking of any subject the thought is changing while the thinking goes on. The same distinction is found in consciousness. We cannot be conscious at all without being conscious of an object. If there is no object there is no consciousness. Continued consciousness requires a change of objects. An incessant roar ceases to be heard. We distinguish between the mental activity and the objects awakening it. The object may be purely subjective, as a memory or an imagination, and therefore have no existence outside of the mental modification, but the distinction between consciousness and object remains valid. It is not true, then, that what necessitates some act of choice necessitates the particular action chosen. If we apply Edwards' argument to the first act of self-consciousness, we find ourselves in a similar dilemma. We must know two objects before we can distinguish between them. If one does not know what are the marks of the genuine coin, he cannot distinguish it from the counterfeit. If one does not know self he can not know that he is not non-self. But in the first act of self-consciousness the ego distinguishes itself from non-ego. There must have been a previous act of self-recognition, but in that previous act there was the same difficulty and so on ad infinitum. If not, there was a first act of self-consciousness without a cause. But despite the logic, there was in every one

of us a *primum cognitum* in which we came by the same act to a consciousness both of self and the not-self.

Choice in its nature implies self-determination, and if it is necessitated or determined by anything outside of self it is not choice. If the cause is outside of self it must have a preceding cause, and that a cause, and thus on back until a fatal chain encircles all things. In determining itself between alternate actions, the cause is in the will. The event, limited if we will to the mere purpose, is neither one of an infinite series nor one without a cause. The mind is, within its sphere, an originating cause.

If the mind is in no degree nor in any sense a self-determining personality, not merely because it is a creature but primarily because it is mind, as Edwards held, then God is not self-determined. What can in no degree exist in the human mind simply because it is mind cannot exist in the Infinite Mind. An infinite expansion can not add an absolutely new element. God was compelled to choose between creating the world and not creating it. If his will was not self-determined in the act of choosing, God was fated. He was under an iron necessity to which he might consciously and even cheerfully submit, but still there was the necessity. God's will is a cause because it is will, or there is no cause but fate. Edwards' dilemma applies to God's will as well as to ours, and in overthrowing self-determination in human personality he overthrew the very doctrine of God's sovereignty which he started out to prove. In mowing down Whitby and Clarke he cut off his own legs.

His argument against the doctrine of indifference was more successful. He exposed the error by pointing out the consequences. If freedom consists in indifference we may as readily choose the wrong as the right, the evil as the good. Indifference in morals is itself sin. With the growth of moral preference there would be a decay of moral responsibility. Those confirmed in depravity and those established in virtue would be alike beyond the range of morality. Satan would no longer be wicked, and God would not be holy. Moreover, choice is impossible in absolute indifference. The difference may be exceedingly small, but if there is none at all, one could not

touch any spot upon the chess-board. Still further, character consists in fixed preferences. The saint is a saint because he is so in love with the holy that he abhors sin, and the demon is lost to virtue because he is habitually in love with the base and mean. The doctrine of indifference is absurd.

Dominant preferences, the habitual attitude of personality towards the moral universe, persistent inclinations are constituent elements of character. Moral judgments are based more upon character than upon transient motives that leap suddenly into power and carry one momentarily out of the usual circle. All theories of the will must reckon with character, under penalty of being incomplete and false. Affections and desires spring out of character, and will, therefore, is in some degree dependent upon it. The acts of the will are expressions of character and in some sense are determined but not constrained by it. The will is not necessitated by character, for we can, through the will, change the character. The character of Satan was holy, but by one supreme act of the will he became the Devil. The will maintains in some form an essential independence of character. Even when the character is fixed, as in the angels, and saints and God, the will is not necessitated. It is said that it is impossible for God to lie, but his holy character does not compel his holy will. He is under no constraint either external or internal. His will is perfectly free in its holiness, and it is holy because it is free. When we say that he is necessarily holy we use the word necessarily in its truest and most general sense, and when thus applied every trace of the idea of compulsion from any source whatever is wanting. Character, being devoid of constraining power, does not destroy responsibility. It does not diminish in any degree whatever the freedom of the will. This is so manifest that it is not easy to see how men like Clarke could, even under the stress of controversy, fall into language that conveys the idea that liberty of indifference is essential to freedom of the will.*

*Closely related to this subject is responsibility for inherited character. We can understand how we are responsible for the character we ourselves have formed, but how about the nature with which we are born? This is the real problem of Augustinianism. Its discussion falls under the subject of Original Sin.

The other theory which Edwards is said to have exposed is that of Contingence. But it was not a difficult task that he assumed. No one except Epicurus and a very small number of atheists ever thought of any event occurring without a ground or reason. The question is not about *a* cause, but *the* cause of volitions.

It is often very difficult to determine just what Edwards means. He uses language that is common to all our theology. There are a number of chapters to which an Augustinian of the Lutheran type may subscribe. As we read we think the word necessity is unfortunate, but we are willing to accept it as he defines it in many places. We are frequently tempted to think that he has been misunderstood. But we find, as we proceed, that these familiar words have a new setting and the old language of theology takes on a new meaning. Those chapters to which we had subscribed must be read again in the light of the whole book. There is a peculiar ambiguity running through the discussion. There is some unavoidable ambiguity in the terms necessarily employed in treating of the will, but in no other writer on the subject are there so many ambiguous expressions. This may seem a strange charge brought against one whose logical sublimity and power of acute analysis has been so generally admitted and greatly admired. It is stranger still, when we recall the extraordinary pains he has taken to define, explain and illustrate the meaning of his terms. But if it is not true, why is it that men have differed so widely as to the real bearing of his theory? While his friends see little else than the old time Calvinism, is it mere perversity in others that finds necessitarianism and even fatalism? Why did Bledsoe, the profound professor of Mathematics, accustomed to acute logical analysis see in Edwards' freedom of choice nothing but freedom from external restraint, and Hodge the great professor of theology, find nothing worse than an unfortunate use of the word necessity in place of the word certainty? This charge is not new. It was brought very soon after the publication of the book. It is implied in Dugald Stewart's criticism. But the charge means more than a fault in style. Ambiguity in terms exposed him to

the use of the ambiguous middle, or the fallacy of four terms. Acute as he was, Edwards deluded himself by the double meaning of his terms. Will, cause, necessity, liberty, motive, etc., have one meaning in his major and another in his minor, and though nothing logically followed he proceeded to draw the conclusion of universal necessity.

The ambiguity of his definition of will has been noted by a great many students of his theory. We have already seen how he puts under the power of choice approving and disapproving, liking and disliking, being pleased and displeased with. Here is ample room for fallacy. He speaks of choice as the determination between actions, but in the end, as many have noted, he resolves choice into desire. A doctrine of necessity that might be true of desire is not true of choice.

The central point of the problem of will is in the nature of cause. When the word is applied to volition, what is its precise meaning? Edwards understood the importance of this question, and we should have expected a clear, precise definition. But instead of that we have one that is the most general possible. It is "the ground or reason" of an event. He admits that this meaning is more extensive than is sometimes used. "The word is often used in so restrained a sense as to signify only that which has a positive efficiency or influence to produce a thing or bring it to pass. But there are many things which have no such positive productive influence which yet are causes in that respect that they have truly the nature of a ground or reason why some things are rather than others, or why they are as they are rather than otherwise." "A cause is *any antecedent* either *natural or moral, positive or negative*, on which an event, either a *thing* or the manner and *circumstance of a thing*, so depends that it is the ground and reason either *in whole or in part* why it is rather than not." He distinguishes in a general way between natural and moral causes, but adds that "moral causes may have as real an influence as any cause whatever." Here he draws his line around a very wide field and includes a great many things which have nothing in common except that they

are grounds and reasons for other things. There is a very great difference between physical causes and moral motives, between gravitation and a moral inclination, except that they are grounds and reasons for consequents they differ *toto coelo*. When a man begins a long argument on a subject so abstruse as the will with definitions as vogue as this, he is in great danger of "trading terms" without detecting it. The change of terms may occur even in a short syllogism. Here is an example taken from an able treatise on psychology :

Whatever is caused is necessitated,
A volition is caused,
Therefore, A volition is necessitated.

The major is true of physical causes. A volition has a moral cause. If this is not the meaning of the premises they beg the question. If we write out fully the terms the fallacy is apparent.

Whatever is physically caused is necessitated,
A volition is morally caused
Therefore—————

The danger is increased manifold when the argument runs out over more than one hundred and fifty pages. We read of the cause of volition and we are perplexed to know whether the influence is at bottom like a physical force or not. We are still more puzzled when we try to determine whether it is positive or negative. Does the volition come because the positive force has been withdrawn, as the withdrawal of the sun is the cause of frost? Is the moral motive the cause of the whole volition or only a part? Can a mere negative be a real cause? Hundreds died annually from smallpox before the times of Venner. That vaccination was unknown may be said in a general way to be the reason of their deaths. But can it be said that this was the cause? Can the non-existent be a cause even though its non-existence be a ground or reason of something why it is and not otherwise? In the end of his argument Edwards' conclusion rests upon the idea of positive power as the characteristic element of causality. If not, how could he get as one of the consequences the doctrine of *irresistible* grace? Somewhere and somehow the ground and reason of choice has been transformed into a force that strictly necessitates the volition. The

constraint may be outside of consciousness, but still it is nothing but constraint, a rigid necessity.

He distinguishes between necessity in the popular sense and metaphysical necessity, and between natural necessity and moral necessity. In the popular sense "a thing is said to be necessary when we cannot help it, let us do what we will." Philosophic necessity, as he defines it, is, certainly, the fixed connection between the subject and predicate of a true proposition. He reduces natural and moral necessity to the same thing when he says that they differ only in the nature of the terms. "The difference does not lie in the nature of the connection but in the terms connected." In natural necessity the terms are of natural things and in moral necessity they are of moral things. But necessity does not consist primarily in the way we think about the things, but in the relation of the things themselves. Are moral things bound together by precisely the same kind of ties of necessity as physical things? He does not tell us this anywhere as he proceeds with his argument, and we find at last that he means that they are. The distinction was only formal and tentative, and not real. He distinguishes between natural and moral inability. Dr. Emmons and others thought this was an important discovery in theological science. Edwards said a sinner has the natural ability to be a Christian, but not the moral ability, and his natural ability makes him responsible. We can understand how a man has the natural ability to abstain from external acts of sin and perform the outward acts of worship. He may use the words of prayer, but that is not praying. Natural and moral ability in the inner and essential nature of both morality and religion are the same. Without moral ability one has no ability at all to love God. "Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out." But coming to Christ is precisely the thing a man without moral ability has no ability whatever to do. This fallacy is a weak justification of God's justice when in the exercise of his absolute sovereignty he damns the sinner for not doing what it was absolutely impossible for him to do. God withholds his grace, and he is the cause of the man's being eternally miserable.

The special case he takes to define necessity does not cover up what was his real conception. If he meant nothing more than certainty, we ask again why did he not take the clearer and better word? Then we would have to distinguish only between objective and subjective certainty, or between the reality of the fact and our personal conviction. But besides these two meanings of certainty, which he has confused, we have in addition all the ambiguity of the word necessity. We are thinking only of certainty, but we are haunted by the shadow of that dreadful word. He often leaves us uncertain whether he is talking about philosophic or popular necessity. He has used necessity instead of certainty because it better expresses his idea that God is such an absolute cause that there can be no place left for secondary causes. God can be absolutely sovereign only when he knows infallibly the future. He cannot know what will be unless he knows the entire range of causes. He cannot know the causes unless he decrees them. When he decrees he becomes himself the efficient agent. In this we find the reason for the charm that the word necessity had over him. Certainty as the equivalent is quietly dropped, and we end in the grasp of grim, horrible necessity.

He says that the will is determined by the strongest motive. The ambiguity of that expression has been repeatedly pointed out, but the word motive is ambiguous. Mackenzie says it is not less ambiguous than intention, and that under intention we include immediate and remote, outer and inner, direct and indirect, conscious and unconscious, and formal and material purposes. Even after we have clearly discriminated between motive and intention, we are left still to make the distinction between that which impels and that which induces. A motive is an idea of something to be accomplished. That end does not exist. It is not therefore a cause exerting a power or influence of any kind. The idea has no objective existence. It is merely a subjective reality dependent upon the mind and even upon the will for its existence. No power or influence can pass over from it to determine the choice. But Edwards somehow confounds the future objective fact called motive with the real motive in the

mind, and speaks of it as determining the choice as light does vision.

It is universally conceded that Edwards' philosophic defense of Calvinism is the ablest that has yet been made. But it failed, Calvinists themselves being judges. No purely philosophic ground for the Calvinistic system has been found. Many who believe the theology say that the doctrines of God's sovereignty and man's free agency are, with our present light, irreconcilable and that they hold both as matters of faith. We accept their confession as to their own inability, and agree with them that their conception of God's sovereignty is irreconcilable with any true doctrine of man's responsibility. We know both by reason and Scripture that man is responsible and we give up the doctrine that contradicts it. We believe with our whole heart in God's sovereignty, but our view of it does not compel us to receive a doctrine of election such as Calvin taught. We believe that God can govern the universe, because he knows infallibly past, present, and future events, but that for an infallible foreknowledge by his infinite intuition it is not necessary that he should be the efficient cause of everything. Even in total depravity, such as exists in the finally lost, the will has all the freedom necessary to responsibility. God punishes the sinner because of what he does in the exercise of his own will, and not, as Edwards taught, for what God does, through the instrumentality of the sinner's will.

ARTICLE II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HALLE PIETISM IN THE PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JULIUS FRIEDRICH SACHSE.

No phase in the religious history of the Germans in the American colonies has received less merited attention from the student and investigator, than the influence exercised by that religious movement of the eighteenth century known as "Halle Pietism," and by the institutions which make the saline city on the Saale so famous, the chief factor in which was the Rev. August Hermann Francke.

How widespread and salutary the benign influence of German Pietism was in the Province of Penn and in the adjoining colonies, especially after it had been divorced from all visionary extravagances and had been reduced again to a basis of evangelical moderation, has never been written.

As Pennsylvania was the great objective point for almost all German emigrants, so the Province also became the centre of religious activity, whence emanated almost every religious movement, both orthodox and sectarian, of the Germans during the colonial period, and thence spread to every colony in which Germans had settled. It was chiefly due to the actions and teachings of the Halle institutions and the leaders there, that the tide of Sectarianism was checked in the western world, and that regularly ordained clergymen of the Lutheran Church were sent here to organize congregations, and to minister to the Germans and their offspring, who on account of the lack of such teachers were fast verging towards rationalism. How great were the results achieved, is shown at the present day by the flourishing Lutheran congregations and churches in almost every city, town and hamlet, where there are any number of descendants of the German settlers of the eighteenth century.

The influence of German Pietism of the Halle school in the western world dates from the day when Magister Johannes Kelpius and his band of forty followers landed upon these shores on St. John's day, June 24th, 1694, and established themselves upon the banks of the romantic Wissahickon. Prominent among whom was Daniel Falckner, Heinrich Bernhard Köster and, last but not least, Johann Gottfried Selig, the secretary of the celebrated father of German Pietism, Phillip Jacob Spener. This community although somewhat imbued with chiliastical and mystical notions was still sound in the orthodox Lutheran faith.

The labors of Köster and, later, of the Falckner brothers to establish the regular orthodox worship as founded upon the unaltered Augsburg Confession are matters of record. Among the evidences left to us is a little book, issued by Kelpius, "Kurtzer Begriff oder leichtes mittel zu beten." This was printed on the Jansen press toward the close of the seventeenth century. It was intended for the use of German families as a means of urging them on to inward prayer. This was the first High German prayer book that is known to have been printed in America. A unique copy of the second edition of this book is in the library of the writer. It was afterwards translated into English by the celebrated Doctor Christopher Witt, the last survivor of the community, under the title: "*A Short, Easy and Comprehensive Method of Prayer. Translated from the German, and published for a farther Promotion, Knowledge and Benefit of Inward Prayer. By a Lover of Internal Devotion.*" This version also went through several editions by different printers, and spread its benign influence far and wide among both German and English, even being received as a text-book by the Quakers.

Then we have also the Devotional book by Justus Falckner, printed in low Dutch; "*Grondlycke Onderricht Van Sekere Voorname Hoofd-stucken, der Waren, Loutern, Saligmakenden, Christelycken Leere.*" This was printed by William Bradford in New York in 1708.

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century many appeals were sent to Halle, as the chief orthodox centre

in Germany, for aid and assistance, as well for Ministers as for Bibles and devotional literature. Some of the latter found their way to Pennsylvania, and were eagerly sought for at high prices by the Germans. This was especially true about the Halle Bibles, which with the devoutly inclined were looked upon as the standard version.

The repeated and urgent appeals sent to the "Fathers in Halle" for regularly ordained clergymen were for some reasons not answered as promptly as were those for Bibles and Testaments and Luther's Catechisms. The congregations at Philadelphia, Providence and elsewhere, all applied to Halle for assistance; but it was not until after the fourth decade of the century had begun that the prayers from America were answered, and a young pastor was sent to Pennsylvania. The selection was a providential one, and for all ages to come the name of Heinrich Melchoir Mühlenberg will stand out prominently as the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in the western world.

With the advent of Pastor Mühlenberg the connection with the Halle institutions became close and intimate. It cemented the bond between the Germans in Pennsylvania and the Fathers in Halle, as the leaders there were called. How this intercourse was kept up and accentuated by the arrivals of the Reverends Handschuh, Brunholtz, Heintzelman, Schaum, Kurtz, later by the grand Kunze, so rich in spirit and mind, Schmidt the earnest seeker after truth, and so down to the venerable Helmuth, is well known, and how the influence and teachings of these men sent out by the Francke institution—call it Halle Pietism if you will—spread far and wide and exercised its benign influence in these western wilds, is all a matter of history.

Other proofs of the great influence of the Halle institutions among the Germans in America are to be found in the fact that when Christopher Sauer and his sectarian associates in Germantown proposed to publish an American version of the Holy Writ in the German tongue, their prospectus distinctly stated that it would be an exact reprint of the 34th edition of the Halle version.

Then again we have the tribute to the memory of the elder

Francke printed by the Ephrata Community in 1750: "*Das Gedachtnüß des Gerechten August Hermann Francke Seliges Absterben.*" No greater evidence of the widespread recognition of the Halle Pietism and its influence could be presented than this acknowledgement from the chief centre of sectarianism in the province.

It was not alone in religious spheres that the Halle influences made themselves felt, but it was in the domestic life also. The "Medicamente" of the *Franckische Apotheke* were as well known to almost every German family in the province as were the Bibles and Catechisms. Large and regular consignments of these remedies were sent in care of the clergymen laboring in America, and upon their arrival were quickly disposed of to the settlers, who placed great faith in their virtues.

The books and pamphlets published by the Halle Institution treating of the bodily health and its preservation became household authorities of almost equal importance to the settler as was his Bible and catechism. There were but few German families in Pennsylvania, orthodox or sectarian, during the latter half of the eighteenth century whose homes did not contain, and who did not depend upon some of these publications for help and reference in times of sickness. These issues ranged all the way from a single leaflet, "*Abgekuerzte Beschreibung,*" setting forth the virtues of their universal panacea, the *Essentia Dulcis*, to the "*Hoechst Noethige Erkentniss des Menschen,*" a book of over 1300 pages, with a preface upon the "divine solicitude in the discovery of different powerful medicines, and how it also occasioned the editing of this tractate."

Scarcely less than the religious influence of the Halle institutions, were the political ones, during our transition from colonial vassalage to sovereign independence. If the writer mistakes not, every clergyman sent out by Halle was loyal to the patriots, and espoused their cause during the revolutionary period. A claim that cannot be made by either the Episcopalian or German Reformed churches.

How even the military arm felt more or less of the Hallenser

VOL. XXXI. No 2. 24

influence will be apparent when we recall the fact that General Peter Mühlenberg finished his education at the Francke Pedagogium. Then after the independence of the colonies was gained and a stable form of government assured, by the adoption of the federal constitution with George Washington as the first president, it was another graduate of the Francke orphanage, Frederick Augustus Mühlenberg, who became the first Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives. How much his rulings and political career were influenced by his early education at Halle can now well be surmised. Certain it is that the chief training for his famous life and career as statesman and pastor were the results of the teachings of the younger Francke and his successor.

To show how the Halle influences even spread into the field of science and philology, it is but necessary to refer to the name of another, Henry Ernst Mühlenberg, who also was a graduate of the Francke Institution.

In closing this paper the writer will call attention to a political incident in our country's history, at a time when the federal government of the United States was on trial. It will be recalled that shortly after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in fact during the first decade that it became operative, three revolutionary movements arose in the country that caused a serious concern to the friends of republican institutions.

These outbreaks are what are known in history as "Shay's Rebellion" in Massachusetts, 1786; the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, 1794; and lastly the so-called "Fries Rebellion" in the north-eastern counties of Pennsylvania, 1798-9.

The last named uprising was confined chiefly to the Germans in Bucks and Northampton Counties. It was during the administration of President Adams. Preparations were made for a war with France—among which were several obnoxious measures, as the "Alien and Sedition Act," and another, laying a direct tax to be assessed and collected by agents appointed by the Federal Government.

It was the enforcement of this act that brought about the opposition of the Germans to the Federal Government.

So strong was this opposition that the Federal Marshals and their deputies were powerless to collect the tax, and preparation was made by the citizens to resist the law, the first overt act being the capture of the assessors. This resulted in judicial action by Judge William Henry; and later, warrants were issued made returnable to the United States District Court. Arrests were now made by the Federal Marshal. The prisoners, however, were rescued at Bethlehem, and the armed opposition to the United States government spread rapidly. There was now no saying what proportions this rebellion would assume; and it was feared that if it should extend to all of the German counties, it might result seriously for the Adams Administration and the Constitution.

To check the growing discontent President Adams issued a proclamation, March 12, 1799, as a mild means to induce the so-called insurgents to return to their duty and homes. This proclamation created much excitement, without, however, having any effect upon the people, who felt they were being unjustly taxed. On March 14th a proclamation by Governor Thomas Mifflin followed. Finally the troops were called out, and we have more proclamations and general orders.

Matters were now assuming a crisis. The United States troops invaded the peaceful glades and valleys of Bucks and Northampton, preceeded by a proclamation by General William Macpherson. Civil war with its horrors and blood-shed seemed imminent. At the crucial moment a new factor enters upon the scene and almost as with a magician's wand the rebellion melted away into thin air, and the soldiers returned to Philadelphia, without the firing of a gun. The constitution and the government were sustained and upheld without oppression or blood-shed.

The reader will evidently wonder what brought about this sudden change. It was a proclamation issued in German, after those of President, Governor and Major General, had all failed. The name signed to it was neither a great civil dignitary nor military hero. It was a plain unassuming clergyman, originally educated and sent to Pennsylvania by the Francke Institution at

Halle—Justus Heinrich Christian Helmuth, the last of the Halle Pietists.

In this proclamation he sets forth the dire consequences of rebellion, asks the Germans to read their bibles and reflect upon their conduct. Then he recites the dreadful consequences of their continued opposition. It closes with an admonition of how his heart bleeds for them, and tells them how his affection for them and the impulse of conscience have compelled him to write to them, and asks them to follow his counsels. This proclamation is dated, Philadelphia, March 28, 1799, and signed with his full name.

Thus it will be seen how another graduate of Halle exercised his influence for the support of the stability of this government at one of the most critical periods in our history prior to the Civil War of 1861-5. This is but another evidence of the influence of Halle Pietism in our National history.

It has been the good fortune of the writer to find a single copy of the above proclamation. It was among the Helmuth papers at the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary at Mt. Airy. Perhaps at some future day a reprint may be made together with a translation.

It has been suggested that probably Gen. Peter Mühlenberg and his brother Hon. Fred. Aug. Mühlenberg inspired the publication of this document. However, even if this were so, it would not affect our argument, as they were both graduates of the Halle Pedagogium.

The above notes by no means exhaust this interesting but neglected subject of the influences of the Halle Pietism in our religious, civil and political history.

ARTICLE III.

GOD'S RELATION TO THE WORLD.

BY REV. J. T. GLADHILL, A. M.

The ways of God are worth finding out. He has revealed himself in the Holy Scriptures. With the aid of the Scriptures we can find out his ways and his government of the world. The Scriptures testify of God. They show the divine purpose concerning the world, and how God proposes to bring about his will. God governs according to a distinct plan. He has not hidden that plan, but shown it plainly in the Scriptures.

In searching the Scriptures we often take the opinions of men, and their conceptions of divine things, rather than the revealed word of God. The Scriptures contain the revelation of God. They also contain some erroneous interpretations of God's dealings with the world. We must be able to discriminate between God's word and the opinions of men.

Our study of God's relation to the world shall be founded upon God's words rather than upon the words of men, though they be inspired to write the word of God. There are some theological doctrines that need a restatement, but speculation must not displace the plain word of God.

I. How does God govern this world? Is the divine government an absolute autocracy? or is it a representative government using agencies or means to an end? The answer to these questions will throw much light on many dark questions of theology. With many the ideal rulers are Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Caesar; and the modern representatives are the Kaiser of Germany and the Czar of the Russias. The thought of to-day would not regard these as ideals, especially, such as to be copies of the divine government. God's is the ideal government. He has taken man into that government, and conferred authority upon him. This appointment is not confined to kings and officials. All men are designed to bring about the divine purpose.

That God made this world for man, seems to be clearly set forth in the Scriptures. "Even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world" Eph. 1 : 4. Since we were chosen in Christ in eternity, it was looking forward to the world, as the place where we are to carry out the purpose of that choice. Our Lord says: "The Sabbath was made for man." It was God's rest day and then designated and sanctified as man's day of rest. The earth was made for man. God gave it to him to be his, and to rule therein.

The creation of the world was by steps to the consummation—man. He was created in the likeness and image of God, *i. e.*, made after the pattern of God, made to occupy the place of God, made to exercise God's authority and power in the world. Then God gave him the first commandment: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." Gen. 1 : 28. The plain declaration of this commandment is: God has given the earth to men. He has given them authority to rule, control, develope, and use all the physical and moral forces of the earth. Neither is there any limitation to the exercise of that power. Men understand that commandment, and are developing science, art and mechanics for the enlargement of their power beyond the help given by the animal creation. This command also includes all the moral forces, and those touching the relations between man and man.

A second commandment has been given to man in the last words of our Lord: "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and disciple all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Matt. 28 : 18-20. This plainly indicates that all spiritual forces and results are put into men's hands. They are to conquer the whole world for God and consecrate it to God.

These two commandments are as broad and far-reaching as

the government of God concerning this world. Whatever God wants or designs of this earth, he has commissioned man to bring to pass. He has not abdicated the throne of this world, but enthroned men, and commanded them to exercise dominion over the whole earth. Man is the divinely commissioned ruler of the earth. The whole tenor of Scripture is to develop this truth, and to show man clearly how to accomplish this work in its particulars.

II. We note God's attitude towards man as the ruler of this earth. The declaration, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world," answers much questioning. It tells where God is, and what his relations to men are. It is not his province to spy out the deficiencies, or sins of men, but to render them all the help that they may desire.

God recognizes human responsibility. That responsibility implies freedom, *i. e.*, moral choice. Good and evil are before men. There is no coercion to determine their choice. Yet God uses persuasion, and presents the highest motives to influence their choices. Men are free to choose or refuse God's law and rule of life. If there were a divine coercion, men would not be free, and if not free, they cannot be held responsible. Man being in the divine image is free, as God is free. Therefore the government of this world is founded upon the principles of freedom.

God speaks of himself as having *come to* man. He stands by men, ready to give any aid they may desire. His attitude is that of Helper, and not to usurp any place he assigned to men. He has come to help, to make efficient, and endow them with power for larger results. The whole tenor of Scripture represents God as near. He knows men, their weakness, their wants, and their need of help. But he does not force this help upon them. He grants just as much as men will ask and will use. Hence the development of knowledge, and of human powers. Man's failure is not God's failure. It is the failure to apply to the source of infinite supplies.

The people who call upon God are the leaders of modern progress and civilization. This progress we call divine providence. It is more than human. It is supernatural power in the affairs

of the world. The miracles of Jesus were the works of the God man. The miracles of the apostles and prophets were the works of God through the human agent. They were willing agents in the divine hands. Modern civilization, with all its acquirements in art, sciences, mechanics, and religious education, is but the hand of God in human affairs. Through these God is said to rule the world. It is a divine government, while the divine hand is hidden. Only human power and wisdom are seen.

Note the use of the word "come" in the Scriptures. If God's rule were direct, he would command man to "go." But he says: "Come unto me; * * * and I will make an everlasting covenant with you." Come to God for wisdom and understanding, for help and strength, for all the elements which make a superior manhood. Divine revelation is designed to assure man that God is near, that he may be used for the perfecting of humanity, *i. e.*, to communicate divine power to men.

God comes to men to persuade them to accept divine help. God advances with his power and shows it to the human understanding. Revelation advances by steps. Each step shows a nearer approach of God, and gives a clearer view of his nature, his character, and his helpful power. God has come in the person of his Son, and in the power of the Holy Ghost.

In revelation he thrusts himself upon human attention. He does not wait on our approach to him, but tells in most forcible language of his nearness, and his readiness to help. He argues, persuades, and declares his purpose to command all his Almighty forces, not for deliverance only, but for helpfulness in the accomplishment of our divine calling. Men did not seek God, but God sought them, and proffered divine power. God saw human need and showed the divine hand which could help, and declared it to be theirs without constraint or limit.

God offers a divine alliance with men for the rule of this world. He will be with us in evangelizing and teaching the nations. We are co-workers together with him in reconciling sinners to God. He gives grace sufficient to overcome the powers of sin, to reform the world, and to present it to God perfect in Christ. This union must be accepted by man. Christ could

do no miracles when hindered by unbelief. God can neither lead nor instruct any people who are not in harmony with him, and who refuse his overtures. "All things are possible to him that believeth." How delicate the union! How wonderful the power that hangs upon faith! Without it, man is only man—the individual—and all his powers and influences drift away from God, and downward to anarchy and destruction.

The mission of the Holy Spirit is to persuade men to take God into their confidence. Man is selfish and distrustful. The Spirit shows him that he needs divine grace for the fulfilment of his task. He shows the divine willingness to aid his creatures in everything. He leads men to faith in God. Then they will sit at the feet of God, and learn wisdom. They there learn the true idea of government. They accept the divine purpose and plan of this world as better, and as having higher ends in view than anything the human mind had conceived. They recognize the process of the divine government, viz., that man's life should be identified with God. In this union man can rule the spiritual, the moral, and the physical world.

III. The government of this world is a divine-human co-partnership. It was God's suggestion and offer. Man accepts it. This is the Christian idea of the government of this world. It is the teaching of the New Testament. The Old Testament prefigured the same doctrine.

The Old Testament Theocracy was through men, the Judges. The people were to follow the leaders. The Judges, or leaders were instructed by the Lord. When affairs in the nation went well men lost sight of God, and men's selfish inclinations became apparent. They thought their own wisdom had done this. God was forgotten, and was set aside. The enemies of the nation took advantage of their fault and weakness, and invaded the land and oppressed the people. Then they again called upon the Lord. He was not afar off, but waiting to be called in to help. He raised up a leader, with whom he co-operated and restored quiet and prosperity to the land.

The story of the kings and the prophets is the same. But

the alliance of God with the prophets was a step forward. They were God's spokesmen. It was the reign of the prophet rather than of the king. It was divine instruction rather than autocratic power. While the prophet spake and acted by the authority of God he was recognized as God's ambassador. Whatever was accomplished was accomplished through the agency of the man. The divine will was shown to the people through the man of God.

The government of Israel as set forth in the Old Testament was a representative government. God's man was co-operating with God, and was teaching the people. This was prefiguring the larger government of the whole world wherein all peoples were not only to be governed, but were to govern the world. This is the New Testament idea of the Church and of the government of the world.

In the government of the world God's relation is mediate. God rules where man will take up that rule. The genius of the divine government through human agency is fully set forth in Christianity. The God-Man is the Divine human King; yet he keeps himself in the background, and rules the spiritual world through his followers. In so far as they fulfil the divine command, the Gospel becomes the power of God unto salvation. When they become disobedient and neglectful of the commands of their Master, the Gospel is not preached, and the kingdom of God is not extended, and divinity is not seen in the affairs of men. The largest spiritual influence is exerted when each and all men receive the Lord and use him, and are used by him in accordance with this co-partnership government of the world. Spiritual power is ideal power. It is where man gives the supremacy to God, and becomes the worker under divine guidance. All achievements and victories in the spiritual world are through men.

God credits to man all that is done in this co-partnership government. Every deed performed in God's name God will reward. God's help and guidance are not taken into the account so as to detract from man's credit. God is not seeking honor and glory, but is giving freely so that man can accom-

plish the most as ruler and developer of the forces of this world. God will sit in judgment and shall credit to man all that has been done, though it has all been accomplished under divine grace. This clearly recognizes that man is free and responsible, and will be so held. If God is the first cause of the good or evil in the world, the responsibility for the same will be his, and he must bear the consequences. But since God holds man responsible, the cause and the action must both be his, as well as the reward or consequence of his conduct. God stands in the place of a helper, and is not responsible when he has not been called for, and his proffered power has been refused. If God were the first cause or actor in the government of this world, the reward would be his. But he is the Rewarder of the actors in this world's affairs.

Divine concurrence with the actions of man is not a correct conclusion of the divine method in the government of this world. It would imply the changeableness of the divine mind, and that God would be helpless before human rebellion. If God has given man dominion over this world and its affairs, that dominion is no longer God's, but man's. God has placed himself where he may be accessible to man, offering a co partnership, or helpfulness, but never usurping the first place, and displacing man, and then holding him responsible for all mistakes and failures. There are no mistakes and failures in God's government. The mistakes, failures and blunders as seen in history and government are positive proofs of human headship.

We should not ask God to concur with our works, but ask him to help, to direct and to lead us, so that we may do that which is pleasing in his sight. The doctrine of concursus is a misnomer, and misrepresents the divine relation to the world and to man. God does not concur in good actions and disapprove the bad. He helps in the performance of the good. The bad deeds are done by men because they have excluded God from their counsels.

God administers special providences through man. If it is true that God has given the world to man, and commanded him to have dominion, and rule over it, and will hold him responsible

for the results, special providences shall also come through man. Special providences are divine interferences in the affairs of the world. As far as these are revealed in the Bible, they have all been ministered through man. There may have been special providences which are not mentioned in the divine word. But where are the witnesses who can testify of them? There have been many events and circumstances that are called providences, but they do not bear the marks of the Lord our God. When we see a result we inquire after the cause. If that cause conforms to the character that God has revealed of himself we may infer that it was divine. Otherwise, we are justified in denying that God was the cause of an ungodly act.

May we not do evil that good may come? St. Paul says he was slanderously reported as teaching such doctrine, Rom. 3 : 8. If St. Paul thought it slander for one to say he glorified the truth of God with a lie, how much more slanderous shall it be to declare that God inflicts an evil providence on the world, or on any of his creatures, though it be to do them good!

The doctrines of grace and special providences are not always distinguishable from each other. Grace is the special favor of God to an individual, and is administered through means. Providence is a special care and provision for an individual, and (as far as revealed) is also administered through means. The opposite of special providence, such as accidents and evils of all kinds, are always through means or causes. It is our conclusion that special providences are from God, and ministered through his usual agencies, men. God and man are co-workers for the welfare of man, and the development of the powers of the world.

This theory of the divine-human government of the world gives a clear understanding of the nature of prayer, and its place in the divine economy. If God holds an absolute control over the affairs of this world, prayer is an injunction without a reason for its exercise, or a hope of results, or as some maintain, it is but a healthful exercise in godliness, and thus a means of grace. When we know where God is, and know his relation and attitude towards man, we are assured that he may be ap-

proached and will help us. There is no exercise of the Christian life more explicitly enjoined or encouraged. There should be some sufficient reason that would appeal to man to pray, and that he may know why he comes to God. The petitions of the Lord's Prayer are direct and encouraging. "Thy kingdom come" is significant. God has that kingdom to give. We are instructed to ask for it. It is asking for the possession of divine power and will on earth. The answer is to be a reality to this world. Unless we so pray we have no assurance that it will come, yea, we are assured that some things can only be obtained through prayer.

God holds position by man's side. He is accessible to all his creatures. He has told them to call upon him. He will answer their prayer. Therein God and man co-operate. God adds his power to man. Man is reassured as he faces the problems of human life, and the destinies he is called upon to bring to pass.

God designed this divine-human association. We see it in the garden of Eden and in all his manifestations to man when revealing himself.

History confirms the truth we are maintaining. The non-Christian world has no evidences of a divine government, or providence. It is the Christian who carries such knowledge to others. The famine relief is an unknown feature in India's civilization. Man was taught this sympathy by God. Such thought of mercy and sympathy was not conceived in the human mind. The suggestion of such sympathy is often confronted with protests.

The nations who know not God have not shown advances in civilization. They have lived without the vitalizing association of the divine Head. They have made little progress in civilization, education, arts, sciences or development of the material resources of the earth. We find little evidence of the divine hand in their history and in their life. They do not call upon him. Paley's watch is not taken to the divine Maker that they may learn its uses. The world was given to man. Only

when man takes God into partnership will he find the wonders that are in his hands.

The nations who once knew God and have forsaken him have gone backward, and have lost the evidences of a divine government and providence.

The people who have taken God at his word, and submitted to his teachings, and lived in harmony with him, have been showing that there is a wisdom and progress which not only surpass the non-Christian nations, but surpass the most progressive past. They are not limited in any sphere of progress. The evidences are clear that God who knows the world and what is in it is taken into the confidence of man whom he has set to have dominion over all the earth's forces, spiritual, moral and physical,

ARTICLE IV.

LUTHER'S RELATION TO DOGMATIC TRADITION.

Translated from Seeberg's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. II., pp. 283-293.*

BY REV. ADAM STUMP, A. M.

So far as they come into consideration for the History of Dogma, we have, in the preceding paragraphs, become acquainted with the fundamental principles of Luther's doctrine. One may say that here everything is new. As no man has done since

*Dr. Reinhold Seeberg was born in Liveland, in 1859. He studied theology at Dorpat and Erlangen. From 1884 to 1889 he taught as *Privat-docent* at Dorpat. In 1889 he became Professor of Theology in Erlangen. After the death of Dr. Frank he taught *Dogmatik*. In 1898 he followed a call to Berlin, where he is Professor of Theology in the University at that place. Besides many articles in various periodicals, he has edited Graul's *Distinctive Doctrines*; and in 1889 he published a second edition, with many original additions, of Thomasius' *History of Doctrines*. In 1895 he published Vol. I. of his *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, and in 1898, Vol. II., from which this translation is made. His standpoint is that of confessional Lutheranism, but he has a mind open to the conclusions of science on all theological questions.

In the references and citations, "E" means Erlangen Edition, "W" Weimar Edition, of Luther's Works.

the days of Paul, Luther understood how to exhibit the Gospel in its entire height and depth. One best understands its origin from this new conception of faith. Faith is not the maintenance of the truth of a dogma, not the theoretic conviction of the correctness of a formula, but the heart's experience of the omnipotence of the love which is revealed to us in Christ.

This experience makes of me a new man, bears me up with the powers and impulses of another world. But this experience also contains within itself the certainty that I am in favor with God, although sinful instincts are still active within me. Then a new life, which is completed by a true evangelical repentance, bursts forth. The dominion of the sacrament of repentance is annulled by repentance itself. In the closest connection with this, by means of the works of the divine calling or the introduction of a new ideal of life, stands the compensation for the works which took place in consequence of the sacrament of repentance. But one may say still more. While Luther thoroughly understands Christianity with its facts and doctrines of faith, all his declarations retain the immediate direction of religious experience. (*There is only one article and rule in theology; he who does not possess and know this, namely, true faith or trust in Christ, is no theologian. Into and out of this article at once flow all the others, and without this one the others are nothing, as Gal. 1 : 3*).

He told what these things wrought in the believing heart, and how the heart perceived them by their effect. In this way he obtained more simple, but also more profound formulae, than those which tradition abundantly offered. He remained in the doctrine of Augustine concerning original sin, or, to speak more accurately, he renewed it; but with him the essence of sin no longer lay in sensuous desire, but in unbelief. He often reproduced the theological and christological formulae of the Ancient Church; but the God whom he found by experience was not the eternal "Substance," but the omnipotent will of love (*Liebeswille*). He spoke of grace, and of its gifts within us; yea, of infused grace, but by it he was not thinking of an added quality, but of the active power of love, which transforms us from within.

The re-discovered Gospel concealed within itself also impulses toward new theological formulae. How carelessly and with what a lavish hand did he sketch such! But the reformation of theology, which he strove to obtain, was not accompanied by the purpose of revising the entire dogmatic tradition. Luther was minded to protect the newly acquired views of the religious life—(faith, justification, grace, works, enslaved will, gospel, law). He never became weary of impressing them upon his hearers and readers. From out of this focus he transformed doctrine. What was contrary at this point was thrust off. Thus fell medieval Semipelagianism, its doctrine of grace, its whole doctrine concerning the sacraments, the hierarchy, the doctrine of works and of merit. But in like manner, under the pressure of the Reformation's thought basis, fell also the fanatical ideas of an immediate operation of the Spirit. On the contrary, Luther conserved that which did not collide with his religious principle. If he would have had to furnish the doctrine of the Trinity or Christology, then he would surely have framed formulae different from those of Nice or Chalcedon. Herein one must not descry connivance, nor entirely calculation, or also only inconsistency. For the sake of the content which they contained, Luther, with genuine historical taste, allowed the formulae to continue. At this point a new question arises: Luther's attitude toward dogma.

However, before we enter upon that, another matter must be made clear. We have just seen that, on account of his reformatory principle, Luther, driven by inner necessity was compelled to annul the medieval doctrines and to replace them with new ones. Faith with its own certainty, its "feeling" and "experience" (Erl. 13, 185, 183) here became both the critical and the organizing principle. But in the decisive hour at Worms, Luther did not appeal only to his religious experience, but also to the authority of Holy Scripture. Thereby a broader canon of doctrine was established for the Reformation. Over against his opponents, one feels that Luther generally appealed to this (canon), and that it also inwardly guided him. (E 28,350: *At first I proceeded very softly, gently, and nicely, with the accursed*

abomination (indulgence) and would very gladly have allowed and helped the papacy to be something; only I desired Scripture clear, pure, and sure; did not yet know that it (papacy) was against Scripture, but only held that it was without Scripture, like any other secular power elevated by men.

Its significance dawned upon him at the Leipzig Disputation. Only divine law, or Holy Scripture, dare rule in the Church: *quod sine scripturis asseritur aut revelatione probata opinari licet, credi non est necesse* (W. 6, 508; 2, 297, 279, 309, 315). Into this wine no water dare be poured (W. 8, 141f, 143f); no lantern dare be held up against this sunlight (ib. 235). God's word, not human doctrine; Christ, not philosophy, shall govern God's people (ib. 144, 146 etc); the servants of Christ shall teach nothing but his word (E. 7, 82). The word itself shall be taught; it shall not be fettered by Romish interpretation (W. 2, 339, E. 11, 31); nor, by ignoring the context, shall its meaning be destroyed (W. 2, 361, 425, 8, 348). When the need for an authoritative norm began to prevail among his adherents, then Luther's view became established. Thus iconoclasts and fanatics were attacked, and from thenceforth the order of evangelical church-affairs took its type. Henceforth it is said: *Thou must lay thy foundation upon a clear, plain, strong passage of Scripture, on which thou mayest then stand fast* (E. 28, 223). From this standpoint one understands his insistence on the *est* of the words of the Lord's Supper.

But this entire method of contemplation, in and for itself, does not yet contain anything evangelical, for it already prevailed in the Middle Ages. Just so is the strict conception of inspiration, which Luther now and then presupposes (*scriptura Spiritus sancti, eigen Schrift des Geistes*, op. ex. 7, 313, 1, 4, E. 27, 244 etc), current in the later Middle Ages. But in Luther's estimation Scripture nevertheless is something other than inspired divine law, as Occam and Biel possibly also thought.

This is proved by a series of observations which lead to another view of Scripture. The end of the Middle Ages places the natural law of the reason on a par with the divine law of

Scripture Since Luther denies this (E. 11, 30, 19, 266), in his opinion revelation is not on a par with the universal content of reason, but has a special positive content. This content is Christ and his revelation. *If I know what I believe, then I know what is contained in Scripture, because Scripture does not contain more than Christ and Christian faith* (W. 8, 236). In so far as the Holy Spirit was active in the authors of the New Testament, he only finished what Christ had said. *As John the Evangelist has written much more than Christ spoke, nevertheless he remains true to one point, in that he thoroughly treats the article of the person, office, and kingdom of Christ, of which Christ himself also speaks* (E. 12, 135f. 138, 141). Hereby, in Luther's regard, the specific content of all the Holy Scriptures is determined. That which is valuable in them as defining their essence, is their relation to Christ. *This also is the true touchstone by which to test all books, whether or not they lay stress on Christ*, (Rom. 3 : 21), *and St Paul will know nothing but Christ* (1 Cor. 2 : 2). *That which does not teach Christ is not yet apostolic, even if St. Peter or St. Paul were to teach it. Again, that which preaches Christ would be apostolic, even if Judas, Annas. Pilate and Herod were to preach it* (E. 63, 157).

In this connection Luther's critical judgments concerning Scripture are very significant. For instance, the prophetic text often falls into confusion ; it is probable that the discourses were first arranged by later redactors (63, 57, 74). Often also did the prophets fail, when they were prophesying of secular occurrences (E. 8, 23). By whom Genesis was written is a matter of indifference (57, 35). The book of Esther would better not be in the canon (op. ex., 7, 195 ; E. 62, 131) ; that Solomon composed Ecclesiastes is doubted (E. 62, 128). The Epistle of Jude is an extract from the second Epistle of Peter (63, 158). The Epistle to the Hebrews is in error, because it denies a second repentance (ib. 155) ; it is likely that it was composed of many parts. James wrote a really strawy epistle "(ein recht strohern Epistle)," for it at least possesses no evangelical quality whatever (ib. 115), that is, he teaches nothing of Christ, and ascribes righteousness to works (156f) ; yea, James is off the track (*Jacobus*

delirat, op. ex. 4, 338; W. 2, 425). Originally Luther did not consider the Apocalypse to be a prophetical or apostolical book, *because Christ is neither known nor recognized in it* (63, 169f). With reference to its author, he remained doubtful also to a later period (159).

He laid much stress upon the testimony of the Ancient Church. In his prefaces (in 1522) Hebrews, James, Jude and Apocalypse, are separated from "the truly certain chief books" (63, 154). But still more weighty with him is the inner canon. The Gospel of John, the Epistles of Paul, especially Romans and 1 Peter, *are the true kernel and marrow of all books. For in these you do not find a description of many works and miracles of Christ; but you find, in a masterful way, depicted, how faith in Christ conquers sin, death and hell, and gives life, righteousness and salvation. This is the true quality of a gospel* (63, 114f; 51, 372). Consistent with this view, the historical mistakes and errors disturbed Luther but little (*e. g.*, E. 14, 319; 46, 174; 50, 308f; 62, 132; also Walch Luth. W. W., XIV., 1208, 1293f). One understands this, when one has grasped his fundamental conception. It also accurately corresponds with the latter, when Luther bases the recognition of the authority of Scripture, not upon its ecclesiastical recognition, but upon the experience of its truth; *therefore each one must only believe that it is God's word, and must experience in the soul that it is the truth* (E. 28, 340; 47, 356)—a reality, and not a mere notion (48, 29).

The ideas which are presented above lead to another conception of Holy Scripture than the medieval formulae, of which Luther made use, permit us to anticipate. Namely, one must guard himself against considering those ideas as the result of the hastiness of a tremendous vigor, from which one magnanimously absolves the Reformer. The fact that they for the most part are expressed in a place much too exposed (in Prefaces to Scripture) is against this suspicion, but, above all, the fact, that they stand in the closest connection with the reformed idea of faith. But then there results a new conception of the authority of Scripture and its inspiration. Its specific content—in the

Old and in the New Testament—is Christ, his office and kingdom. It is this content which concerns faith and which faith verifies by means of inner experience. Upon this thus depends the success of Scripture. Hitherward accordingly must the special working of God, which gives Scripture its peculiar nature, be directed. That is, the testimony of the Holy Spirit in Scripture is the testimony concerning eternal welfare and redemption. Upon this turns its inspiration, and accordingly its religious authority. (Compare the exceedingly characteristic saying E. 11, 248: *As if I were to take Moses, the Psalter, Isaiah and also the same Spirit and produce just as good a Testament as the Apostles have written; but because we do not have the Spirit in such wealth and power, we must learn from them and drink out of their springs*).

On this account it becomes the rule and touchstone, by which all ecclesiastical doctrine must verify itself as evangelical truth (*e. g.*, E. 9, 207, 372; 12, 289, etc). The above quoted sentences concerning the authority of Holy Scripture thereby advance us into a new light. In Luther's opinion Scripture was absolute authority. But if in controversy he also set it as the divine law over against the ecclesiastical law, yet it was thus for him authority only as the primitive and original testimony of Christ and his salvation. Such it is in its essence and nature.

(The doctrine concerning Holy Scripture in dogmatics is to be joined to the above developed ideas of Luther. Moreover, with the captious remarks of Luther on individual ideas in the books of the Bible; with his acceptance of redactors, who arranged many books; with the acknowledgment of mistakes (see yet E. 30, 314, 331)—how could one imagine verbal inspiration?)

But Scripture, thus rated as a second principle of Protestantism, dare not be coördinated with justifying faith. The impelling fundamental idea is faith. And because only the believer understands Scripture, and since it exists only for faith, it (Scripture) is to be subordinated to this (faith) as the principle.

Now for the first time are we able to treat of Luther's attitude toward dogmatic tradition. We have already seen that he

abolished the medieval dogma concerning the sacraments as unbiblical, and that he denied the infallibility of the pope. But what was Luther's position toward the ancient dogma? (See especially his publication concerning Councils and Churches of 1539; in addition, the Three Symbols, 1538, and the other expositions of the symbols). So much is plain, that Luther acknowledged and frequently reproduced the Nicenê doctrine of the Trinity, as well as the Christology of Chalcedon. So also did he treat the symbols of the ancient Church with high distinction, especially the Apostles' Creed, which contained all the chief points of the faith (28, 413f, 346f, etc). (See E. 20, 155: *Here I have a little book, which is called Credo, this is my Bible, this has stood so long and has not yet been overthrown; by this I remain, by this I have also been baptized, upon this I live and die* E. 9, 29: *this symbol also has been composed as a nice short summary for children and simple Christians, from the books of the dear Prophets and Apostles, that is, from the entire Holy Scripture. So that we rightly call it the symbol or creed of the Apostles*). But this does not mean that he believes those symbols or councils, as such, or that he subjects himself to any earthly authority. His freedom already arises from his criticism of the old terminology. *Quod si odit anima mea vocem homoousion et nolim ea uti, non ero haereticus; quis enim me coget uti, modo rem teneam quae in concilio per scripturas definita est?* Just so did Luther take offense at the word "Trinity" ("Dreifaltigkeit"); it sounds cold ("es läutet kalt"), and was invented and discovered by men (E 6, 230, 12, 378).

Nevertheless, later he himself acknowledged that it did not depend upon the fact whether or not the expression "original sin" occurred in Scripture (steht doch auch die "Erbsünde" nicht in der Schrift. E. 25, 291f; 28, 382; 29, 183f). And so in his book "On Councils, etc.," Luther, with masterly historical criticism, renounced every binding authority of the ancient councils also. The highest council is that of the apostles. That enjoined abstinence from blood. But no one any longer guides himself by that. *If we want to adhere to councils* ("concilisch sein") *then we must hold this council above all others, if*

not, then we may also not esteem any of the rest, and thus be free from all councils (25, 240). Just as little are all the decrees of Nice observed (244, 251f). And no council has presented the entire Christian doctrine (261). The decrees of councils are not true, on their own account, but because they repeat the old truth, which the Holy Spirit gave the apostles (266f, 295, 328, 331). Thus councils *have no power to supply new articles of faith, but they shall indeed suppress and condemn new articles of faith, according to Scripture and the old faith.*

Thus at Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, the new articles of Arius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, were rejected (333, 345). There Luther's idea is thus: Only in so far as it agrees with Scripture, is dogma true; in itself no authority attaches to it.

Now, however, is the truth of Scripture one which has been inwardly verified. Conformably thereto one can say, in Luther's sense, that the Holy Spirit produces in us the experience of the truth of a doctrine (of the Apostles' Creed) (E. 23, 249, 267; 20, 148), for we do not come to faith otherwise than when we are inwardly and practically subdued by that which is taught (20, 141, 136, 144f, 22, 15f). In itself the doctrine of the two natures is a matter of indifference to the Christian; he first learns to understand it from the work of Christ (35, 208). Hereby are recognized the rules and norms which Luther applied with the proof of religious evidence. Something is true when it becomes verified by faith and its experience, as well as by Scripture. Thereby the outward legal foundation of doctrine, with reference to dogma, has been removed; the old canon of Vincent of Lerins has been broken. But in principle the legal application of Scripture also has been annulled. Luther's attitude toward the Bible differs from that of Occam. The problems which, in this department, arise in all times by virtue of the progress of historical knowledge, may always be readjusted and solved according to Luther's principles. Let it be here only hinted that his praxis was not always uncontradictory and exemplary.

In conclusion, a question may at least be touched. Namely,

has not the peculiarly religious conception of Luther been hindered on account of his acknowledgement and acceptance of the trinitarian and christological dogma? He who reads his reflections on the knowledge of God in Christ, first of all gets the impression that if the Father was revealed in the words and works of Jesus, then a special divinity of the Son is not to be considered. But on the other hand, Luther has with the greatest vigor declared that even the divinity of the Son was revealed in the Son. He is true God and true man, two natures and one person (E. 7, 185f. 196). His human life and existence, with its deprivations, sufferings and conflicts, are vivaciously and vividly depicted. (E. 13, 307; 10, 131f. 299ff.). But this man was completely under the guidance of Deity. He was "personally present" in him, (7, 185); his humanity seeing and feeling only what Deity permits it to feel and know—hence Jesus is ignorant of the last day (ib.) Because the Spirit stirs his humanity more and more deeply and strongly, it becomes the instrument and house of Deity. During the time while he was suffering and dying, his divine nature lay hidden and inactive, and did not signalize or manifest itself (3, 302; 39, 47f); as Jesus, on the other hand, restrained, as it were, hid his omnipotence. The intimate union of his divinity and his humanity, as well as his vigorous accentuation of the reality and genuineness of the human life of Jesus, is in no way first a product of the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, but forms an inherent part of Luther's most profound speculation: God is revealed in the words and works of Jesus. But in that first series of ideas one seemed compelled to think of the Father; here absolutely, of the Son (comp. 8, 156ff.; 40, 109). One can not solve the problem by supposing a modalistic theory of the Trinity, for Luther regularly reproduced the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity (e. g., Schmalk. Art. Müller, 299, 9, 2ff. etc). Of course, he had western feelings (theologically) on this point. He disliked the term "trinity" because God is the highest unity (die höchste Einigkeit); even triad ("Dreiheit") sounds too much like mockery. Comparison with three angels or men does not accord, for there are no three Gods. *There is indeed in the Godhead a*

threeness ("ein Gedrittes"), but this threeness are the Persons of the only Godhead (6, 230, Comp. Augustine's: *deus ter*, not *dei tres*, B. I : 195). But he had a vigorous consciousness of the absolute unity of God, and this allowed him to see the Godhead in each trinitarian person generally.

God is as completely revealed through Christ (30, 62 ; 45, 295) as through the Holy Spirit in his government of hearts (16, 214). Father and Son are of one essence, one will ("ein Wesen, ein Wille"), one heart and will ("ein Herz und Wille," 57, 305f. ; 49, 144). Where one part is, "there certainly is the entire Godhead" (50, 94). In these declarations there is no contradiction of the consciousness of the Trinity, such as Luther had, and indeed by so much less, as Luther regarded the life of the Godhead not as a substance, but as the omnipotent will of Love. He understood how to unite in himself these ideas with the traditional material of the doctrine of God ; he did not become conscious of the theoretical problems which are based on this intimate union.

ARTICLE IV.

A CENTURY OF BIBLICAL VERSIONS.

BY REV. B. PICK, PH. D., D. D.

When Christ appeared on earth, one version of the Bible (*i. e.*, of the Old Testament) already existed, namely the Alexandria translation or Bible of the Seventy, the Septuagint, which became the source of most of the ancient versions of the Old Testament. This translation originated in the 3rd century before Christ, and was no doubt prepared for the use of those Jews to whom the Greek language had become the vernacular. It also became the first missionary to spread monotheism among the Gentiles, thus preparing the gentile world for the reception of Christianity. This translation was likewise the Bible of the Apostolic Church, and men like Augustine believed in its inspiration. In controversies between Jews and Christians, the Septuagint was appealed to so largely that it was sternly banned by the Rabbis as the "Christian Bible," and the day on which this translation was made, was declared to be as a great calamity equal to that of the worship of the golden calf.*

*The late Dean Stanley accounts for the objection to the Septuagint in the following manner: "It needs but slight evidence to convince us that such a feeling more or less widely spread, must have existed. It is the same instinct which to this hour makes it a sin, if not an impossibility, in the eyes of a devout Mussulman, to translate the Koran; which in the Christian Church assailed Jerome with the coarsest vituperation for venturing on a Latin version which differed from the Greek; which at the Reformation regarded it as a heresy to translate the Latin Scriptures into the languages of modern Europe; and which, in England, has in our own days regarded it in the English Church as a dangerous innovation to revise the Authorized Version of the 17th century, or in the Roman Church to correct the barbarous dialect of the Douay translation of the Vulgate, or to admit of any errors in the text or in the rendering of the Vulgate itself. In one and all of these cases the reluctance has sprung from the same tenacious adherence to ancient and sacred forms—from the same unwillingness to admit of the dislodgment even of the most flagrant inaccuracies when once familiarized by established use. But in almost all these

To counteract the influence of the Septuagint* other translations† were undertaken, of which, however, only fragments are preserved.

The Christians at first adopted the Alexandrian version, but in the second century the Syrian Christians made the Syriac version, known as the Peshito, "the queen of (ancient) versions." Later the Latin Christians procured a Latin version‡ of the Septuagint, which at the close of the 4th century gave place to the Vulgate version of Jerome. This exerted upon Latin Christendom a similar influence to that which the Septuagint exerted upon Greek, and it is directly or indirectly the mother of most of the earlier versions in the European vernaculars.

The work of translation continued until at the time of the Reformation,

The *European* nations had the Bible in :

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Anglo-Saxon. | 6. Bohemian. |
| 2. English. | 7. Provençal. |
| 3. Old Erse. | 8. Gothic. |
| 4. Flemish. | 9. Latin. |
| 5. German. | 10. Greek. |
| | 11. Slavonic. |

In *Asia* the Bible was read in :

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Hebrew. | 5. Armenian. |
| 2. Aramaic. | 6. Georgian. |
| 3. Samaritan. | 7. Arabic. |
| 4. Syriac. | 9. Persian. |

cases, except, perhaps, the Koran, this sentiment has been compelled to yield to the more generous desire of arriving at the hidden meaning of sacred truth, and of making that truth more widely known. So it was, in the most eminent degree, in the case of the Septuagint" (*Jewish Church* III, 286 *e. g.*). There is no doubt much truth in what the Dean said, but the objectionable feature arose after all from the use of the Septuagint in controversies.

*The importance of the Septuagint for textual criticism is increasingly recognized. The late Prof. Hitzig of Heidelberg (died 1875) is said to have always commenced his exegetical lectures by saying to his students : "Gentlemen, have you a Septuagint; if not, sell everything that you have and buy a Septuagint."

†*e. g.*, by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion.

‡The so-called *Old Itala* or, as some would prefer the, *Old Latin*.

In *Africa* the Bible existed in :

1. Koptic (three dialects).
2. Ethiopic.

The Reformation, which encouraged the reading and study of the Bible, also promoted the work of translation, and at the beginning of the 19th century the Bible versions of the Post-Reformation period were as follows :

A. EUROPE.

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|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Basque. | 14. Italian. |
| 2. Dutch. | 15. Karniola or Sloven. |
| 3. Esthonian (Reval Dialect). | 16. Lapp. |
| 4. Erse. | 17. Lett. |
| 5. Finnish. | 18. Lithuanian. |
| 6. French. | 19. Maggyr. |
| 7. Gaelic. | 20. Manx. |
| 8. Nogai (Krim Dialect). | 21. Romansch. |
| 9. Norwego-Danish. | 22. Rouman. |
| 10. Old Norse or Irelandic. | 23. Russ. |
| 11. Osmanti-Turks. | 24. Spanish. |
| 12. Polish. | 25. Swedish. |
| 13. Portuguese. | 26. Welsh. |
| | 27. Wendish (two Dia.) |

B. ASIA.

- | | |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1. Formosa. | 3. Sinhali. |
| 2. Malay. | 4. Tamil. |

C. AMERICA.

1. New England.

These versions, namely, of the Pre-Reformation Period=22

“ “ “ of the Post-Reformation Period=32=54, formed a stock to commence upon in the 19th century. The work of translation was resumed and continued, till the versions reached the number which forms the pride of the 19th century. Some of the old versions were not adopted; others were printed for use till something better could be provided; others, again, have been employed without material change up to the present time.

In the following list it will be noticed that 41 versions have not been numbered, because belonging to former centuries. Some which were published before the 19th century, we did number because they underwent an entire change. Altogether we mention 470 versions, 41 unnumbered and 429 numbered. The latter number shows the work of the nineteenth century. We mention 120 complete Bibles and 119 New Testaments.

But sooner or later the number of Bibles or of New Testaments will be increased. There are many versions which we marked with *p*, meaning in some cases a small portion, but in the majority of cases larger portions of the New Testament. In a great many instances the sign N. T. means only the New Testament complete, but this does not preclude the existence of translations of some of the Old Testament books. Considering all this the work of translation which has been carried on during the nineteenth century is really greater than we imagine. We must also consider another fact, namely that some versions exist in different recensions, *i. e.*, were prepared by different translators, *e. g.*, the French, Breton, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, Polish, Turkish, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, the Hebrew New Testament, Chinese, etc. Each has its special merits as can be seen, *e. g.*, from a comparison of the authorized and Revised English Versions. But these different recensions we have not mentioned *seriatim*. Our main object was to bring before the reader those languages of the more than 2000 languages in the world, into which translations have been made or attempted. It is also noteworthy that in order for the Scriptures to be legible or intelligible to all classes and creeds there are no less than 50 languages which had to be printed in two or more different characters. Take, *e. g.*, the Irish, which is printed in the Erse and Latin characters; Polish in Latin and Gothic, Kazan-Turki in Arabic and Russ; Koi in Latin and Telegu; Sindhi in Arabic, Hindi and Gurmukhi; Hakka in Latin and Chinese; Eskimo in Latin and Syllabic characters, etc.

In conclusion we must state that our list of versions does not claim absolute completeness, but it is the most complete thus far published.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF TRANSLATIONS.

B==BIBLE; N. T.=NEW TESTAMENT; P==PART ONLY.

<i>Language,</i>	<i>Part.</i>	<i>Where circulated, or for whom published.</i>
1. Abnaki	p	North America, Canada.
2. Acra or Gâ	B	East'n part of Gold Coast, W. Africa.
3. Aimara	p	Bolivia, S. A., (N. T. is translated).
4. Ainu	N. T.	Yezo, Japan.
5. Akkaway	p	S. America.
6. Akunakuna	p	Old Calabar, W. Africa.
7. Albanian-Gheg	N. T.	Northern Albania.
8. Albanian-Tosk	N. T.	Southern Albania.
9. Alfuor	p	Celebes, Malaisia.
10. Aliout	p	Arctic Coast, Alaska.
11. Amkarii	B	Abyssinia.
12. Amoy	B	Amoy and Island of Formosa.
13. Anam	p	Cochin, China.
14. Ancityum	B	Ancityum, New Hebrides.
15. Angami	p	Assam, British India.
16. Aniwa	N. T.	Aniwa, New Hebrides.
17. Api, Epi, or Baki	p	Western Epi, New Hebrides.
Arabic	B	Egypt, Syria.
Aramaic	O. T.	For students.
18. Arawak	p	S. America.
Armenian-Anci't.	B	{ For the Armenians of Constanti- nople, Calcutta, Etc.
19. " Modern	B	
20. Armenian-Ararat	B	Russian Province of the Caucasus.
21. Armeno-Turki	B	{ For Americans using the Turkish language with Armen'n character
22. Ashanti or Otshi	B	Gold Coast, W. Africa.
23. Assami	B	Assam, Central British India.
24. Azerbijani-Turki	B	Trans-Caucasia and N. W. Persia.
25. Badaga	p	{ For the Badga Tribe on the Nil- giri Hills, S. B. India (printed in Kanarese and in Tamil character).
26. Bati	p	Bati Islands.
27. Balolo	p	{ Equatorial tributaries of the Kon- go, W. Africa.

28. Baluchi	N. T.	{ Baluchistan and Frontier Districts of the Punjab.
29. Bandalkhandi	N. T.	{ District between the province of Bandalkhand, and the sources of the Nerbudda River.
30. Bangi	p	Kongo Basin, W. Africa.
31. Bashkir-Turki	p	Ufa, Russia.
32. Basque-French (Rabourdine)	{ N. T.	{ Departments of the Pyrenees and Navarre.
33. Basque-French (Souletin)	{ p	{ Departments of the Pyrenees and Navarre.
34. Basque-Spanish	p	{ Provinces of Biscay, Guipuscoa and Alava.
35. " -Guipuscoan	p	{ Provinces of Biscay, Guipuscoa and Alava.
36. Bassa	p	Gold Coast, W. Africa.
37. Batta-Angkola	p	Isle of Samatra.
38. Batti-Mandailing	N.T.	S. Sumatra.
39. Batta-Toba	B	For the Battas of N. Sumatra.
40. Beaver	p	For the Indians on the Peace River.
41. Benga	N. T.	Gabun, W. Africa.
42. Bengali	B	Province of Bengal.
43. " -Musalmani	p	" " "
44. Berber	p	Algeria and Tunisia.
45. Bhatniri or Virat	N.T.	Bhatnira, W. of Delhi.
46. Bicol	p	Philippine Islands.
47. Bierian	p	Epi, New Hebrides.
48. Bikaniri	N. T.	Bikanar, N. of Marwar.
49. Blackfoot	p	{ For Indians on the East of the Rocky Mountains.
50. Bogos or Bilin	p	For the Bilin Tribe in N. Abyssinia,
51. Bogutu or Isabel	p	Solomon Islands, Melanesia.
Bohemian or Czech	B	For Czechs of Bohemia and Slavaks [of Hungary.
52. Bolengi	p	Kongo Free State.
53. Bondei	p	German East Africa.
54. Breton	B	Province of Brittany.
55. Bruj	N. T.	Province of Muttra.

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|-----------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 56. Bugi | N. T. | Celebes, Malaisia. |
| 57. Bulgarian (W.) | B | Bulgaria, Rumalia and Macedonia. |
| 58. " (E.) | N. T. | " " " " |
| 59. Bullom | p | Sierra Leone. |
| 60. Bulu | p | Gabun, W. Africa. |
| 61. Burmese | B | Burmah. |
| 62. Cakchiquel | p | Guatemala, Central America. |
| 63. Cambodian | p | Cochin China. |
| 64. Canton or Punti | B | Canton and Neighborhood. |
| 65. Catalan | N. T. | Province of Catalonia. |
| 66. Chagga | p | South of Kilima Njars, E. Africa. |
| 67. Chamba | p | For a tribe of Rajputs in the
[Chamba State (Punjab). |
| 68. Cheremiss | N. T. | For a tribe on the Volga and Kama,
in the governments of Kazan and
Simbirsk. |
| 69. Cherokee | N. T. | For Cherokee Indians. |
| 70. Chipewyan | N. T. | Canada. |
| 71. Chitonga | p | East Central Africa. |
| 72. Choktaw | N. T. | For Choktaw Indians, N. America. |
| 73. Chunana or
[Sechuana | B | Bechuana and Matabele tribes. |
| 74. Chuvash | N. T. | For a tribe of the mountains in
Kazan, Nische-Novogorod and
Arenburg. |
| 75. Cree Eastern | B | Cree Indians, Hudson's Bay Terri-
tories. |
| 76. Cree Western | p | For Indians in Rupert's Land. |
| 77. Creolese | N. T. | Danish West India Islands. |
| 78. Crimea Turki | p | For Karaite Jews and Tartars of the
Crimea |
| 79. Curaçao | p | Spain, S. America. |
| 80. Dakhani | N. T. | For Mohammadans in Mastas
[Province. |
| 81. Dakota | B | For Dakota Indians. |
| 82. Danish | B | Denmark. |
| 83. Delaware | p | For Delaware Indians, U. S. |
| 84. Dieri | N. T. | Cooper's Creek, S. Australia. |

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|----------------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 85. Dikrele | p | In the region of the river Gabun,
[W. Africa. |
| 86. Dobu | p | British New Guinea. |
| 87. Dogri | N. T. | Northern Districts of Lahore. |
| 88. Dominica | p | Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada and
Trinidad. |
| 89. Dualld | B | Cameroons, W. Africa. |
| 90. Duke of York Is. | p | South of New Ireland, Oceania. |
| Dutch | B | Holland and Dutch Colonies, and S.
Africa Republics. |
| 91. Dyak | B | Borneo, Malaysia. |
| 92. Dyak Sea dialect | p | " " |
| 93. Ebon | N. T. | Marshall Island, Micronesia. |
| 94. Ffik | B | Old Calabar, W. Africa. |
| English | B | British Empire, Etc. |
| 95. Eromanga | N. T. | New Hebrides. |
| 96. Eskimo | B | Labrador. |
| 97. " Hudson's Bay | p | For the natives on Great and Little
Whale Rivers, Hudson's Bay. |
| 98. Esth-Dorpat | N. T. | Southern part of Esthonia. |
| Esth-Reval | B | Northern part of Esthonia. |
| Ethiopit | N. T. | Abyssinia. |
| 99. Ewc | N. T. | Western part of Gold Coast. |
| 100. Falaska-Kara | p | For Jews in the Kara district of
Abyssinia, about Metammeh. |
| 101. Fang | p | West Equatorial Africa. |
| 102. Fanti | N. T. | Fanti, in the neighborhood of Cape
Coast Castle. |
| 103. Fanting | p | New Hebrides. |
| 104. Faté Erakar | | |
| [dialect | p | Faté, New Hebrides. |
| 105. Faté Havan- | | |
| [nah dialect | N. T. | Faté, New Hebrides. |
| 106. Faroese | p | Faroe Island. |
| 107. Fernandian | p | Fernands Po., Africa. |
| 108. Fiji | B | Fiji Islands. |
| Finn | B | Finland |

	Flemish	B	Belgium
109.	Florida	p	Florida, Solomon Islands.
	Formosa	p	Formosa.
	French	B	France
110.	Fris	p	Friesland.
111.	Fuh-Chow	B	Province of Fuhkien, China.
112.	Futuna	p	Futuna, New Hebrides.
	Gaelic	B	Highlands of Scotland.
113.	Galla, Central	B	E. Africa.
114.	Galla, Ittu	p	Haras, N. E. Africa.
115.	Galla, Bararetta [or Southern	p	E. Africa.
116.	Galwa	p	French Kongo, W. Africa.
117.	Ganda	B	Uganda, North of Victoria Nyanza, East Equatorial Africa.
118.	Garó	N. T.	For a tribe in the province of Assam.
119.	Garhwali	N. T.	For a tribe in Himalayas, West of Kumaon.
	Georgian	B	Georgia, C. and W. Caucasus.
	German	B	Germany, Austria, Etc,
120.	“ in Hebrew	B	For German Jews.
121.	Gilbert	B	Micronesia.
122.	Giryama	p	Mombasa, E. Equatorial Africa.
123.	Gitano	p	For Spanish Gipsies.
124.	Gitong	p	East Equatorial Africa.
125.	Gogo	N. T.	For the Wagogo tribe in East Equatorial Africa.
126.	Gond	p	For a hill tribe in Central India.
	Gothic	p	For students.
127.	Grebo	p	Liberia, W. Africa.
	Greek, Ancient	B	For Greek churches.
128.	Greek, Modern	B	For Modern Greeks.
129.	Greenland	N. T.	Greenland (whole Bible is translated)
130.	Guarani	p	Guarani of Paraguay, S. America.
131.	Gujarathi	B	Surat, and province of Gujarat.
132.	“ Parsi	N. T.	For the Parsis in the Bombay Pre sidency.

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| 133. | Gwamba | N. T. | Transvaal and E. of the Limpopo,
South Africa. |
| 134. | Haidah (Hydah) | p | Queen Charlotte Island, B. C. |
| 135. | Hainan | p | Hainan, S. China. |
| 136. | Hakka | N. T. | Province of Kwangtung, S. China. |
| 137. | Hangchau | p | Province of Chekiang, China. |
| 138. | Haranti | N. T. | Province W. of Bandalkhand, India. |
| 139. | Hausa | N. T. | For Hausa tribe, and each side of
the rivers Niger and Tschadda. |
| 140. | Hawaii | B | Sandwich Islands. |
| | Hebrew | B | |
| 141. | Herero | N. T. | Damaraland, S. W. Africa. |
| 142. | Hindi | B | Hidustan, or the upper provinces of
the Bengal Presidency, (also pub-
lished in the Nagari and Kaithi
characters). |
| 143. | Hindustani or
[Urdu | B | For the Mohammadans of India,
(The same is also published in
Roman type). |
| 144. | Hinghua | p | Province of Fuhkien, China. |
| | Hungarian | B | Maggars of Hungary and Transyl-
vania. |
| 145. | “ Wend | N. T. | Wends in Hungary and Carniolia. |
| 146. | Iaian (Uveah) | B | Uveah, Loyalty Islands. |
| 147. | Ibibio or Qua-Ibo | p | Old Calabar District, W. Africa. |
| 148. | Ibo-Isuama | p | Bonny, on the Lower Niger, W. A. |
| 149. | Ibo-Niger | N. T. | A tribe on the Upper Niger, W. A. |
| | Icelandic | B | Iceland. |
| 150. | Idzo or Ijo | p | Brass, Guinea, in Niger Delta, W. A. |
| 151. | Igbira | p | Mouths of Niger and Binué, W. A. |
| 152. | Ilocana | p | Philippine Islands. |
| 153. | Indo-Portuguese | N. T. | For Portuguese settlers and their
decendants in Ceylon and various
parts of the Indian Seas. |
| 154. | Iowa | p | For Iowa Indians, N. America. |
| | Irish or Erse | B | Ireland. |
| 155. | Iroquois | p | For Indians in Provinces of Quebec
and Ontario. |

156.	Isubu	p	Kamerun, W. Equatorial Africa.
	Italian	B	Italy.
157.	Jagatai-Turki	p	The Uzbek and Turkish Tribes of Turkestan and Central Asia.
158.	Jaipuri	p	Jaipur, East of Marwar, and W. of Agra, India.
159.	Japanese	B	Japan (also in Roman character).
160.	“ Colloquial	p	Japan.
161.	Jatki also Multani	N.T.	W. Panjab, between the Indus, Chenab and Ghara Rivers.
162.	Jaunsari	p	Dehra Dun, N. W. Provin's of India.
163.	Java	B	Java.
164.	Jolof	p	A tribe near Bathurst, Gambia, W. Africa.
165.	Judaeo-Arabic	p	For Jews in Yemen, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia.
166.	“ German	B	For Jews in West Europe.
167.	“ Persian	p	For Jews in Persia.
168.	“ Polish	N. T.	For Jews in Poland, Roumania, Galicia and Southern Russia.
169.	“ Spanish	B	For Spanish Jews in Turkey, Etc.
170.	“ Syriac	N. T.	For Jews in the East.
171.	“ Tunisian	p	For Jews of Tunis, Algeria and [Tripoli.
172.	Kabyli (Kabail)	p	Algeria and Tunisia.
173.	Kachin	p	Burma.
174.	Kafir or Xosa	B	Kafir Land, S. Africa.
175.	Kaguru	p	For a tribe of E. Equatorial Africa.
176.	Kamba	p	British E. Africa.
177.	Kanarese	B	Throughout the Mysore, also in the province of Kanara, and as far North as the Kistna River.
178.	Kanaui	N. T.	In the Duab of Ganges and Jumna.
179.	Karel	p	For a tribe in the government of Tver, Russia.
180.	Karen-Bghai	p	For the Bghai-Karens in Burma.
181.	“ Paos	B	For the Paos-Karens.
182.	“ Sgau	B	For the Sgau-Karens.
183.	Karib	p	Stann Creek, Brit. Honduras.

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|------|-----------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 184. | Kashgar-Turki | p | Chinese Turkestan. |
| 185. | Kashmiri | B | Kashmir, N. Brit. India. |
| 186. | Katchi | p | Province of Katch, between the Gulf of Katch and the Indus. |
| 187. | Kausali | p | Western part of Oudh, India. |
| 188. | Kazak-Turki | N. T. | For Tartars in the vicinity of Orenburg, Russia. |
| 189. | Kazan-Turki | p | For a tribe in Kazan, Russia. |
| 190. | Keapara or
[Kerepunu | p | British New Guinea. |
| 191. | Kele | p | French Kongo. |
| 192. | Khasi | B | Khasia Hills, India. |
| 193. | Khondi | p | For a tribe in the Vizagapatam and Ganjam Hills. |
| 194. | Kien-Ning | N. T. | Province of Fuhkien, China. |
| 195. | Kien-Yang | p | “ “ “ “ |
| 196. | Kinh-Wha | p | Central China. |
| 197. | Kirghiz-Turki
(Southern) | N. T. | Siberia and Turkestan, Russia. |
| 198. | Kirghiz-Turki
(Northern) | p | In government of Tomsk, Russia. |
| 199. | Koi | p | For a tribe in South India, on the Godavery River. |
| 200. | Kondé | p | L. Nyása, Central Africa. |
| 201. | Kongo | N. T. | Kongo Free State, W. Africa. |
| 202. | Konkani | N. T. | S. British India. |
| | Koptic | N. T. | Egypt. |
| 203. | Koranko | p | Western Soudan. |
| 204. | Korea | N. T. | Korea. |
| 205. | Kortha | p | Province of Bengal, British India. |
| 206. | Kroat or Serb | B | Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kroatia, Dalmatia, etc. |
| 207. | Kuanyama | p | For a tribe in North Wambo Land, South Africa. |
| 208. | Kumaoni | N. T. | District of Kumaon, W. of Palpa. |
| 209. | Kumuk-Turki | p | N. and N. E. Daghestan. |
| 210. | Kurd | N. T. | Kurdistan. |
| 211. | Kurku | p | Central India. |

212.	Kuruk	p	Chota Nagpur, North India.
213.	Kusaic	N. T.	Caroline Island.
214.	Kwagutl	p	For Indians of Vancouver Island.
215.	Kwangtung	B	South China.
216.	Laos	p	Siam, Indo-China.
217.	Lapp, Quanian	B	Norway.
218.	" Russ	p	Russian Lapland.
219.	" Swedish	B	Sweden.
	Latin	B	
220.	Lenakel	p	Tanna, New Hebrides.
221.	Leptha	p	The neighborhood of Darzëbing, India.
	Lett	B	Livonia and Courland, Russia.
222.	Lifu	B	Loyalty Islands, Oceania.
	Lithuanian	B	Province of Lithuania.
223.	Livonian	p	For Livonians who inhabit West Courland.
224.	Luchu	p	Luchu Island.
225.	Lushai	p	Province of Assam.
226.	Macassar	N. T.	Celebes Islands, Malaisia.
227.	Macedonian		[bania, and Thessaly.
	-Rouman	p	For Roumans in Macedonia, Al-
228.	Madura	p	Malay Archipelago.
229.	Mafur	p	Melanesia.
230.	Maghad	N. T.	Province of S. Behar, India.
231.	Makua	p	Mazambique, E. Africa.
232.	Malagasi	B	Madagascar.
	Malay	B	Malaisia.
233.	" Low or		
	Soerabagan	N. T.	Batavia.
234.	" Samarang	N. T.	Malaisia.
235.	Malayalam	B	Travancore and Malabar.
236.	Malisnet	p	For Indians in New Brunswick.
237.	Mallikolo—Aulua	p	S. E. coast, Malekula, N. Hebrides
238.	" Pankuma	p	" " " " "
239.	" Uripio	p	N. E. Malekula, New Hebrides.
240.	Malo	p	St. Bartholomew, New Hebrides.

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|------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 241. | Maltese | N. T. | Malta. |
| 242. | Malto, or Pahari | p | For a tribe in the Rajmahal district of Bengal. |
| 243. | Mambwe | p | South of Lake Tanganyika, S. Afr. |
| 244. | Manchu | N. T. | Manchuria. |
| 245. | Mandarin, Peking, | B | China. |
| 246. | “ Nanking | N. T. | “ |
| 247. | “ Shantung | p | “ |
| 248. | Mandingo | p | Gambia and W. Soudan. |
| 249. | Manganjia | p | E. Equatorial Africa. |
| 250. | Manipuri | N.T. | Manipur, S. of Assam, Indo-China |
| 251. | Maori | B | New Zealand. |
| 252. | Marathi | B | Bombay Presidency. |
| 253. | Maré | N. T. | Loyalty Island. |
| 254. | Marquesas | p | Marquesas Is., Oceania. |
| 255. | Marwari | N. T. | Marwari, N. of Mewar, India. |
| 256. | Mashona | p | Mashona Land, S. Africa. |
| | Massachusetts | B | For Indians of New Eng. States. |
| 257. | Matabele or Tabele | p | Matabeleland, S. Africa. |
| 258. | Mauritius Creole | p | For Creoles in Mauritius, E. Africa. |
| 259. | Maya | p | Yucatan, Central America. |
| 260. | Mbunda (Kim-
[bundu). | p | Angola country, from Loanda to Melange, W. Africa. |
| 261. | Mendeé | p | Sierra Leona, W. Africa. |
| 262. | Mexican | p | Mexico. |
| 263. | Mic Mac | N. T. | For Indians in Nova Scotia. |
| 264. | Mohawk | N. T. | For Indians W. of Falls of Niagara. |
| 265. | Mon or Pegu | N. T. | Province of Pegu, Indo-China. |
| 266. | Mondari or Kol | N. T. | For the Kole Tribe, Chote Nagpur. |
| 267. | Mongo | p | Equatorial Kongo, W. Africa. |
| 268. | Mongol, Literary | B | Mongolia. |
| 269. | “ Buriat (N). | p | Russian Mongolia. |
| 270. | “ Kalkhas(S). | p | Chinese Mongolia. |
| 271. | “ Kalmuk(W) | N.T. | For Kalmuks of the Don and Volga, in Russia; and Elcuths, Kalmuks, and Soungars of Mongolia. |

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| 272. Moorish or | | |
| | [Magrabi | p Morocco. |
| 273. Mord vin-Ersa | N. T. | { For a tribe on the Volga and Oka
in the governments of Nische
Novogorod and Kazan. |
| 274. " Moksha | p | |
| 275. Mortlock | N. T. | Caroline Island. |
| 276. Moskito | p | Central America. |
| 277. Mota | N. T. | New Hebrides. |
| 278. Motu | N. T. | Port Moresby, New Guinea. |
| 279. Mpongwe | B | Gabun, W. Africa. |
| 280. Murray Island | p | Murray Island, New Guinea. |
| 281. Muskoki | N. T. | Creek Indians, N. America. |
| 282. Mwamba | p | Lake Nyasa, E. Africa. |
| 282. Nahuatl | p | United States. |
| 284. Nama or | | |
| | [Khoikhoi | N. T. Namaqualand, S. Africa. |
| 285. Narrinyeri | p | For natives of South Australia. |
| 286. Negro-English | N. T. | Surinam, Dutch Guinea. |
| 287. Nepali | N. T. | Kingdom of Nepal, N. Brit. India. |
| 288. Neshga | N. T. | Nishkah Indians on Naas River,
N. America. |
| 289. New Britain | p | Bismarck Archipelago. |
| 290. Nez Perces | p | U. S. N. America. |
| 291. Nganga | p | R. Shiré, E. Africa. |
| 292. Ngoni | p | L. Nyasa, E. Africa. |
| 293. Nguna | p | New Hebrides. |
| 294. Nias | N. T. | Malaisia. |
| 295. Nicaragua | p | Central America. |
| 296. Nicobar | p | Nicobar Islands, Malaisia. |
| 297. Ningpo | B | Ningpo, Central China. |
| 298. Niné | B | Savage Islands, Oceania. |
| 299. Nkondi | p | Nyasaland, S. E. Africa. |
| 300. Nogai | N. T. | For Tartars in Crimea and on the
lower Volga. |
| 301. Norwegian | B | Norway. |
| 302. Nsembe | p | Kongo, West Africa. |
| 303. Nubian | p | For Mohammadans about Dongola,
N. E. Africa. |

304.	Nupé	p	R. Niger, South Africa.
305.	Nyamesizi	p	German E. Africa.
306.	Nyanja	p	R. Shiré, E. Africa.
307.	Nyasa	p	L. Nyása, E. Africa.
308.	Nyika	p	For the Wanika tribes, E. Africa.
309.	Nyoro	p	Northwest of Uganda.
310.	Ojibwa	N. T.	For Chippeway or Saulteaux Indians, N. America.
311.	Omaha	p	For the Omahas, United States.
312.	Oojein (Ujaini)	N. T.	Province of Malwah, C. India.
313.	Osset	p	Central Regions of the Caucasus.
314.	Ostjak	p	In governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk.
315.	Ottawa	p	For Ottawa Indians, N. America.
316.	Ovambo or [Ndonga	p	Ovamboland, S. W. Africa.
317.	Pahouin	p	French Kongo, W. Africa.
318.	Pali	N. T.	Sacred and learned language of the Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Lagos, Pegu Ava.
319.	Palityan	p	Hungary.
320.	Palpa	N. T.	Small States N. of Oude, below the Himalayas.
321.	Panaieti	p	British New Guinea.
322.	Pangasinan	p	Philippines.
323.	Panjab Standard	N.T.	North'n portion, province of Panjab.
324.	" Gurmukhi	N.T.	" " " " "
325.	" Urdu	p	" " " " "
326.	Pashtu or Afghan	B	Afghanistan and the Frontier Districts of the Panjab.
327.	Pedi or Sepedi	N. T.	North Transvaal, S. Africa.
328.	Pegu or Talaing	N. T.	Province of Pegu.
329.	Perm	p	Russia.
	Persian	B	Persia, India, Etc.
330.	Piedmont	N. T.	Piedmont.
331.	Pokoma	p	R. Tana, E. Africa.
	Polish	B	Poland, Etc.
332.	Ponape	N. T.	Mikronésia.

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|------|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 333. | Popo (Dahomi) | N. T. | Dahomey, W. Africa. |
| 334. | Popo (Togoland) | p | Dahomey, W. Africa. |
| 335. | Portuguese | B | Portugal and Colonies, and Brazil. |
| 336. | Poto | p | Kongo. |
| 337. | Provençal(Lang-
[uedoc) | p | Southern France. |
| 338. | Quiché | p | Central America. |
| 339. | Quichua | p | Argentine Republic, S. America. |
| 340. | Ranon | p | New Hebrides. |
| 341. | Rarotonga | B | Hervey Islands, Oceania. |
| 342. | Rifi | p | Morocco. |
| 343. | Romansch Upper | N.T. | The Ergadine, Switzerland. |
| 344. | “ Lower | B | “ “ “ |
| 345. | “ Oberland | B | Grisons. |
| 346. | Ronga | p | S. Africa. |
| 347. | Rotti | p | Rotti Islands, Malaisia. |
| 348. | Rotuma | N. T. | Rotuma, Oceania. |
| 349. | Rouman | B | Roumania and part of Transylvania |
| 350. | Ruk | p | Caroline Island. |
| | Russ | B | Russia. |
| 351. | Ruthen | N. T. | Little Russia. |
| 352. | Sagalla | p | E. Central Africa. |
| 353. | Saibai | p | British New Guinea. |
| | Samaritan | p | Samaria. |
| 354. | Samoa | B | Navigator's Island. |
| 355. | Samogit | N. T. | Government of Kovno, Russia. |
| 356. | Sanguir | N. T. | Sanguir Island, Malaisia. |
| 357. | Sanskrit | B | India. |
| 358. | Santali | N. T. | For a tribe in N. W. Bengal. |
| 359. | Sard | p | Sardinia. |
| 360. | Sena | p | S. Africa, Mouth of the Zambesi. |
| 361. | Seneca | p | For Seneca Indians, U. States. |
| 362. | Servia (Servian) | B | Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Etc. |
| 363. | Serelong Chuana | N.T. | Bechuanaland, S. Africa. |
| 364. | Shambala | p | German, E. Africa. |

365.	Shan	B	Indo-China.
366.	Shanghai	N. T.	Shanghai and neighborhood.
367.	Shawanoë	p	Shawanoë Indians, N. America.
368.	Sheetswa	p	Zululand, S. Africa.
369.	Shimshi	p	Pacific Coast.
370.	Siam	B	Siam.
371.	Sindhi	N. T.	Sindh, N. British India.
	Sinhali	B	Ceylon.
372.	Siryni or Zir	p	In the Government of Vologda, R.
	Slavonic	B	For the Russian Church.
373.	Slovak	N. T.	N. W. of Hungary.
	Sloven	N. T.	Slovenians in S. Austria, etc.
374.	Soga	p	E. Equatorial Africa.
	Spanish	B	Spain, S. American Republic.
375.	Suau	p	British New Guinea.
376.	Suchau	N. T.	Central China.
377.	Sukuma	p	German E. Africa.
378.	Sunda	B	Malaisia.
379.	Sus	p	Morocco.
380.	Susu or Soso	N. T.	French Guinea.
381.	Suto	B	Basutoland, Cape Colony, and [Orange Free State.
382.	Swahiti-Mombosa	p	E. Equatorial Africa.
383.	“ Zanzibar	B	Zanzibar.
384.	Swatow	p	S. E. China.
	Swedish	B	Sweden.
	Syriac-Ancient	B	For Syrian Church.
385.	Syriac-Modern	B	For Nestorians in Persia and [Turkey.
386.	Tagalog	p	Philippine Islands.
387.	Tahiti	B	Tahiti, Society Islands, Oceania.
388.	Taichow	N. T.	Taichow, China.
	Tamil	B	The Karnatic and N. part of Ceylon
389.	Tanna	N. T.	Tanna, New Hebrides.
390.	Tasiko	p	S. E. of Epi, New Hebrides.
391.	Tavara	p	New Guinea.
392.	Taveta	p	East Equatorial Africa.

393.	Teke	p	R. Kongo, W. Africa.
394.	Telugu	B	S. India.
395.	Temné	N. T.	Sierra Leone, W. Africa.
396.	Thonga	N. T.	Delagoa Bay, E. Africa.
397.	Tibet	N. T.	Tibet.
398.	Tigré	p	Eastern Abyssinia.
399.	Tigrinya	N. T.	N. Abyssinia.
400.	Tinné or Slavé	N. T.	For Indians on the MacKenzie [River.
401.	Toaripi	p	New Guinea.
402.	Toda	p	Nilgiri Hills, India.
403.	Tonga	B	Friendly Islands, Oceania.
404.	Tonga	p	L. Nyasa, E. Africa.
405.	Toro	p	West of Uganda, Equatorial Afr.
406.	Torres	p	Torres Islands in the South West Pacific.
407.	Tukudh	B	Pacific Coast, N. America.
408.	Tulu	N. T.	For a tribe W. of Mysore, India.
409.	Turkish (Osmanti)	B	Turkey.
410.	“ -Greek	B	Greek Christians, using the Turkish language in Greek characters.
411.	Udipuri	p	Province of Mewar, or Udipur.
412.	Ujaina	N. T.	Province of Malwa,
413.	Ulawa	p.	Solomon Island, Oceania.
414.	Umon	p	Kalabar, W. Equatorial Africa.
415.	Uriya (Orissa)	B	Province of Orissa, India.
416.	Uzbek Turki	p	Turkestan.
417.	Vaudois	p	For the Vaudois, or Waldenses.
418.	Visayan	p	Philippine Islands.
419.	Wanda	p	Central Africa.
420.	Weasisi	p	Tanna, New Hebrides.
421.	Wedau	p	New Guinea.
	Welsh	B	Wales.
422.	Wenchow	p	Wenchow, Middle China.
	Wend-Upper	B	Saxon Lusatia, Germany.
	“ -Lower	B	Prussian Lusatia, Germany.
423.	Werti, Standard	B	China.
424.	“ Easy	N. T.	“

425. Wogul	p	Siberia.
426. Wotjak	p	Russia.
427. Yahgán	p	South America.
428. Yakut	p	North Siberia.
429. Yao	N. T.	Blantyre, East Africa.
430. Yamba	B	Yamba Land, West Africa.
431. Zimshi	p	British Columbia.
432. Zulu	B	South Africa.

ARTICLE VI.

DR. PARSON'S DE USU SACRAMENTORUM.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

The Holman Lecture on Article XIII. of the Augsburg Confession, delivered by the Rev. W. E. Parson, D. D., and published in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. XXX. pp. 326 *et seqq.*, is a combination of diverse elements. Certain parts of it are well written, and cannot be otherwise than instructive to the reader. Facts are presented that all Lutherans should know. But it contains also weaknesses and inaccuracies that mar it greatly.

If the reader takes it up with the expectation of finding a full and clear statement of what our Church confesses in this article, he will be disappointed. And yet, it was just this that we were expecting from a lecturer, especially chosen for this service one year beforehand. Had the lecturer limited himself to one phase of the article considered, though it would have been against precedent, no one would have objected. But when we find the doctrinal content of the article treated so hastily and hazily that we can scarcely find out from the lecture what is really taught in the article discussed, and learn, instead, the author's opinions on a number of more or less remotely related themes, a feeling of disappointment is inevitable.

The author is right in saying on p. 328: "It is not a speculative but a practical study, on which we enter. The dogmatic teachings in connection with the Sacraments fall under the re-

spective articles treating of the Sacraments in detail." But a loose statement in the next sentence contradicts this, and the contents of the lecture do the same. The following digest gives the outline of the lecture, so far as we can reconstruct it.

Introduction: Statement of article and of points clearly contained in the same; assumption that they are all fundamental; function the Sacraments are to perform stated negatively and positively.

1. History of the Augustana.
2. Reason for order of articles 9 to 13.
3. Distinction between Sacrament and Sacrifice.
4. This article is fundamental as well as every other article of the Augustana.
5. The two views rejected in this article.
6. Relation between the Sacraments and the Word, and, incidentally, child-faith.
7. Zwinglian doctrine does not satisfy. Consubstantiation denied: Martineau's tribute to Luther.
8. "The true meaning of the bodily eating as related to the word." Quoted from Dr. Jacobs.
9. Relation of German Reformation to English Church, past and present: Present Lutheran tendencies in English Church: Brief summing up.

It will be noticed that some topics discussed here are somewhat foreign to the subject, and leave the impression of having been dragged in. It would seem, that in preparing this lecture, these topics, some closely, some remotely related to "The Use of the Sacraments," must have appeared so important to the author, that he felt he would be losing a great opportunity if he did not mention them. Accordingly, we hear about a number of things that we would never have expected in a discussion of this article. More than one-half of the lecture is devoted to these incidentals. In fact they occupy so much space, and are made so prominent, that the reader loses sight of what is really being considered, and the thirteenth article itself is made to appear as an excuse for introducing whatsoever other things the author wishes people to hear. The lecture has been read by

several intelligent men of other denominations, but they cannot make out from it what our Church teaches by this article. However, they received certain plain hints as to what the author thinks on a number of other subjects.

From among the many glaring inaccuracies we note the following:

Page 327, in stating the main points "clearly contained" in this article, we find that No. 6 reads as follows: "There is a much higher use which perfects the Sacraments." By "use," as found in this article, is meant beneficent result. Hence we are assured here that a "use," a beneficent result, has something to do with the perfecting of the Sacrament. What does this mean? Can a result have something to do with perfecting that which effected the result? We suspect he meant that there is a much higher use, without which, the doctrine of the Sacrament-mediated grace is imperfect.

Page 328, top of page, we read: "Here, there is gathered up in one brief statement and presented to us the chief use or place of the Sacraments in our Protestant system." This article does not deal with the place of the Sacraments in our Protestant system, but only with their use. Other articles treat of their place in the system, as the two sentences immediately preceding the one quoted, plainly acknowledge. And furthermore, the terms "Protestant" and "Lutheran" should not be confounded. This article deals with the use of the Sacraments in the Lutheran system, not in the Protestant system.

At the foot of the same page the author declares: "The Augsburg Confession, like the Scriptures from which it was drawn, with which it claims to be in perfect consistence throughout, is a mine of truth that cannot be exhausted." The A. C. is not a mine of truth that cannot be exhausted, except in a very limited sense, which is wholly different from that in which the Scripture is a mine of truth. It is a depository of truth which has been mined.

At the bottom of page 329, the A. C. is called, "the document of that century which made Protestantism." This is simply not true. The A. C. had little more to do with making

the German Reformation than an apple has to do with forming the tree on which it grew. Protestantism in Germany made the Confession. However, it had much to do with moulding Protestantism from 1530 on. But when the Confession was first read Protestantism was already a well defined movement, with such strength that Roman Catholic rulers hesitated to use force to restrain it. In fact it was so far advanced that it was able to produce a confession of such excellence, that some men of this late day regard it as fundamental in all its doctrinal statements.

The entire section that treats of the authorship and sources of the Augustana is misleading. It would have been accepted as true 40 years ago, but not now. Modern scholarship has led us to regard Melanchthon as much more than merely a highly cultured, thoroughly trained and obedient amanuensis in the service of Luther. But Dr. Parson disregards this utterly, and strives to leave the impression that the doctrinal content is wholly due to Luther, and that Melanchthon is responsible for the "matchless form" of the Confession and nothing more. The correspondence between Luther and Melanchthon during the days that immediately followed June 25th, when the Confession was read, makes it plain that Melanchthon, in the Confession, took some positions on his own responsibility, concerning which he did not ask Luther's opinion until after the Confession had been read, which Luther had not seen in its final form before it was read, which form differed from the original draft sent Luther May 11th, and to which, in its final form, Luther did not give an unqualified approval. (*Corpus Reformatorum*, 2, 141. DeWette, 4, 62.)

Page 340, top of page, we read concerning the Confession: "It was antagonized as a unit." One need but look into the Apology to see that this statement needs to be modified greatly. Some articles were accepted as a whole, some were rejected as a whole and others were approved in part.

The sixth section treats of the relation of the Word and Sacraments, as means of grace. Some statements here could

scarcely be improved on. But the following is very misleading, to say the least.

"If our Lutheran theology seems to exalt the Sacraments unduly at times, it must be remembered that in so doing we are exalting the Word. This is our conception of the Sacrament, and its relation to the Word. Here is the point of emphasis in our use of the Sacraments. Strictly speaking, there is but one means of grace—which is the Word. So we mean when we speak of the Word and Sacraments as means of grace. As there can be no Sacrament without the Word, we cannot speak of the Sacraments as means of grace in a sense different from that applied to the Word.

"With such definitions and limitations, we can say that the Sacrament is as necessary as the Word.

"With such definitions and limitations, how misleading is a sentence like this from a Reformed source: 'Tenfold more is said in Scripture of the necessity and the efficiency of the Word in the salvation of men, than is therein said or implied of the power of the Sacraments' (Hodge's *Systematic Theol.*, Vol. 3 : 592). This is confusing things that should not be confounded. Whatever is said of the Sacrament is said of the Word, for the reason already given that there can be no Sacrament apart from the Word.

"Is it still objected that we in the Lutheran Church have laid too great emphasis on the Sacraments? In reply we say that our Confession has not introduced anything that is not authorized by the Word of God. It were better to err by over-emphasis of the Word than to fall short by underestimating it."

Page 352, "It follows, therefore, that the more we exalt the subordinate thing the more we are at the same time exalting, what is the chief thing in the Sacrament, the Word of promise it contains."

From out this haze we think we can gather three things, which the author wishes to emphasize: (a). "As there can be no Sacrament without the Word, we cannot speak of the Sacraments as a means of grace in a sense different from that applied to the Word." (b). It is confusing to exalt the word above

the Sacraments. (*c*). By exalting the Sacraments we are exalting the Word also.

"Strictly speaking there is only one means of grace—which is the Word." From the days of the early Church Fathers, we have been accustomed to speak of the Sacraments as the "visible Word." But this designation is only of human origin. It is not found in the Scriptures. Therefore we must be careful how we use it. We dare not try to force scriptural conceptions to fit the human mould. It is not safe to lay it down as a basis for forming or defending doctrines.

This classification, along with the intimate relation that exists between the Word and Sacraments, seems to have lead to serious misunderstandings of the means of grace. We are taught that there is, strictly speaking, only one means of grace, the Word; that the Sacraments and the Word communicate the same grace; that the Word is in every Sacrament, as the constitutive cause and that the Sacraments are the visible Word. It requires only a little stretch of the imagination to conclude that "we cannot speak of the Sacraments as a means of grace, in a sense different from that applied to the Word," that "with such definitions and limitations, we can say that the Sacrament is as necessary as the Word" and that by exalting the former we are also exalting the latter. But without the imagination we cannot arrive at these conclusions, for they are not justified by reason or revelation. Dr. Parson seems to admit this when he says on page 347: "Our Lutheran position at several points illustrates the dictum that it is better to believe too much than too little.

"If it could be shown, for example, that in the matter of infant faith, or in the interpretation of the Sacraments, our theology had now and then gone beyond what is justified by the letter of Scripture, yet we are on safer ground than those occupy who belittle Christ and the Word by an emptying process which deals stingily with what the Lord has given in large measure. To claim that the infant has faith may seem unreasonable, but the claim has some Scripture, many weighty reasons, and a long

array of brilliant theologians in its favor, with the added fact that it is dealing generously with both the divine Word and the divine grace."

It is true that this passage does not say anything about the imagination as a source of doctrine. But what else can these words mean, "it is better to believe too much than too little" when applied in the above connection, and "dealing generously with both the divine Word and the divine grace"? If they mean anything, as used here, they justify the holding of doctrines, or shades of doctrines, not found in Scripture.

In forming our systems of theology, we dare know only revelation as a source, with reason as a subordinate source for mixed articles, and not our imagination. We must use our reason, and in a limited sense, our imagination, as God-given instruments for grasping and stating revelation, and revelation only, not our fancies and theological dreams. Such a method as that indicated by Dr. Parson, is *eisegetical* rather than exegetical. It is used by most errorists. To deal generously with Scripture is to be false with Scripture, as it manifestly is in this instance, and that of infant faith, though in the latter the author tries to hide behind the suggestively indefinite expression, "some Scripture, many weighty reasons, and a long array of brilliant theologians," which "long array of brilliant theologians" is likewise, to a great extent, a creature of the imagination.

The Bible knows the Word and the Sacraments as the means of grace. It knows nothing of the latter as the visible Word. But since the Word of promise constitutes, is always present in, and is the chief element of the Sacraments, speculative theology has designated the Sacraments *verbum visibile*, and the Word, *verbum vocale*. This expression of the distinction and the relation between the Word and Sacraments, though fully justified by the inter-relation of the doctrines concerning them, is of human origin. It is merely man's definition and his classification on the basis of his definition, for the purpose of more fully comprehending and expressing that particular part of God's revelation which concerns the means of grace.

According to this classification, the means of grace are em-

braced under two heads, *verbum visibile* and *verbum vocale*. *Verbum* is common to both. Both kinds of means of grace are Word. The difference is expressed in the descriptive words, *vocale* and *visibile*. They have something in common and yet they are different. Hence we have a genus, *verbum*, that contains two species, *verbum vocale* and *verbum visibile*. In this classification *verbum* is the means of grace. *Verbum vocale* is the Word, as commonly understood. *Verbum visibile* is the Sacrament.

Nothing can be said about the genus that is not common to every species of it. Many things can be said about the individual species that cannot be said about the genus, *i. e.*, about the other species. This is just what Dr. Parson disregards. He insists that we cannot speak about the second species as a means of grace in a sense different from that applied to the first species. He confounds the genus, *word*, and the species, *word*, and, as a result, makes false statements about their being means of grace in the same sense, about one being as necessary as the other and about exalting the Word, the first species, by exalting the Sacraments, the second species; and this confusion leads him to call a statement, made by Dr. Hodge, misleading, which is correct and is not misleading.

In ordinary use and throughout the Scriptures, "the word" is the species *vocale*. When this enters into relation to an element as the constitutive cause, informing a Sacrament, it is still "the Word." It has not surrendered any inherent qualities; but it has assumed a new form of presentation as is expressed in the dogmatic distinction between *vocale* and *visibile*. The word *visibile* expresses particular relations to the subject. When the species *vocale* enters into particular relations in the Sacrament, it is no longer species *vocale*. In this lecture Dr. Parson knows nothing of this distinction. He disregards this distinction entirely, and, as a result, makes very strange statements.

Only the word of grace, the word of promise, goes with the Sacrament. And yet the law is a part of God's Word, and is a means of grace, and as such has certain definite functions to perform. The Sacraments do not work contrition, they do not

convict of sin. Here is something very definite and important said about the "Word" as a means of grace that cannot be said about the Sacraments. If there was nothing else said in Scripture about the "Word" that cannot be said about the Sacraments as means of grace, and vice versa, this would suffice to demonstrate the falsity of the position advocated. In addition, we read that the Word is the power of God; it is spirit and life. It overcomes the world, regenerates, illumines. Faith cometh by hearing, etc.

Dr. Parson thinks that it is confusing to exalt the Word above the Sacraments. What else are we to do? The vocal word is the only source of our knowledge of God and redemption. Without that knowledge there can be no salvation. By it, and not by the Sacraments, the Holy Spirit works conviction and faith in men, through which faith the benefits of the Sacraments are apprehended. And the very Sacraments themselves are constituted by the *vocal* Word. If we want to speak of the Word and Sacraments as means of grace at all, we must speak of them in different senses. And since the "definitions and limitations" neither limit or define, we dare not say that one is as necessary as the other. The Word is an absolute necessity, *i. e.*, there can be no salvation without it. The Sacraments are an ordinary, a relative necessity, *i. e.*, if the individual, through no fault of his, should not be permitted to use them, he can be saved without them. Thus we see from the statements of this lecture that it is dangerously confusing not to exalt the Word above the Sacraments.

We are told that by exalting the Sacraments we are also exalting the Word. By exalting only the visible Word we do not exalt the vocal Word. We cannot exalt the higher species by exalting that which is lower, even though there is a constitutively causal relation existing between them. But we may get them out of the proper relation to each other so that our system will be false.

Dr. Parson's conception of the relation between the Word and the Sacraments seemed to rest exclusively on speculative grounds. His position has been examined from that stand-

point and found wanting. We subjoin the teaching of some *authorities* on the subject, whose orthodox Lutheranism cannot be questioned. A comparison will show that Dr. Parson and all those who share his views, are utterly out of harmony with them, fundamentally incorrect and not only non- but anti-Lutheran.

1. Luther: "Hence upon whom the preaching office is conferred, upon him is conferred the highest office in the Christian Church. He may also baptize, administer the Lord's Supper, and discharge all pastoral duties, or if he does not thus wish, he may abide in the preaching alone, and leave the others, baptism and other subordinate duties, as Christ did, and Paul and all the apostles" (Erl. Ed. 22,151). "Thus we see that more stress is laid on preaching than on the Lord's Supper" (Erl. Ed. 39,209).

2. Thomasius says of Luther's position: "To Luther is the Word the primary means of grace. It also conditions the nature and operation of the Sacraments, for without the Word they would be nothing but 'a mere hull,' 'like a body without a soul,' 'a letter without a Spirit,' 'a scabbard without a blade'" (*Person und Werk Christi*, 2 : 241).

3. Dr. Jacoby represents Luther as teaching that "the valuable, the indispensable, is the Word; the dispensable and subordinate is the Sacrament" (*Liturgik*, 1,180).

4. Bishop von Scheele: "The Word is the most essential and most proper means of grace, from which every other receives its particular character." (In Zoeckler's *Handbuch der Theologischen Wissenschaften*, 3rd. Ed. 2 : 757).

5. Luthardt: "The foremost means of grace in the Church is the word of preaching, which, through its witness of sin (law), and of grace (gospel), is fitted to work penitent obedience of faith, and to serve the Holy Ghost to that end, in so far as it is a true expression of the salvation of Christ, *i. e.*, Scriptural." "Preaching is the first activity of the newly founded Church, Acts, 2. It is more important than baptism, 1st Cor. 1, 17" (*Komp. der Dogmatik*, 9th, Ed., 335,336).

6. Frank: "Hereby is undoubtedly proved the fact which

we had sought to establish, namely, that in the first place the Word effects the human representation of God in Christ, the God-man, and if there should be any other means of grace, the latter will by no means restrict the supreme and comprehensive power of the Word." "By these acts, called Sacraments by the Church, the supreme position of the Word is by no means limited, for their character as means of grace is first stamped upon them by the Word, and the further fruitful unfolding of the gifts here mediated is essentially perfected by the aid of the Word." He calls the Word the primary means of grace, and says that it towers far above the others (*Wahrheit*, Sec. 38, 38).

7. Meusel's *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, article, *Gnadenmittel*: "In so far are our Lutheran dogmaticians right when they ascribe to the means of grace of the Word a certain prerogative over both means-of-grace acts, the Sacraments. But it is going too far when we conceive of the sacrament only as a *verbum visibile*, and do not note that the special conception under which it falls, is not *verbum*, but *actio*."

CONFESSIOAL SUBSCRIPTION.

In the fifties and sixties of the last century no apology was needed for articles on this theme. The stress of the times demanded them. Probably some will think that conditions have so changed that at present there is not only no need for a study of confessional subscription, but that any criticism of present conditions or tendencies must be regarded as unwelcome and harmful agitation, the only result of which will be to hinder true progress. But this is not agitation. On the contrary, it is called forth by an agitation on the part of certain men in the General Synod, who seem to have discovered only within the last ten years what they understand by our form of subscription.

They make no complaint against our present *form* as not sufficing to anchor the man using it firmly to the Lutheran System. The *form* seems to satisfy everybody. But when it comes to explaining this form, a new interpretation has been advanced, that assumes to be the only possible one that will

assure the man using it that he is a Lutheran, and which, by evident implication, teaches that all those who do not have the same understanding of our confessional obligation are, either not Lutheran at all, or very loosely Lutheran.

This movement has been called new because it is only of recent years that we have heard much about it. If its advocates have been among us for any great length of time, say since the year 1864, they have held their opinions in absolute silence. And yet it must be acknowledged that the prevalent understanding of the General Synod's form of confessional subscription has always been just as much opposed to their teaching on the subject as it is now, and in the late sixties and seventies, the prominence given it was much greater. This marked silence in regard to this interpretation of our form of subscription, which assumes to be the true, original and only rational interpretation, is all but absolute proof that it did not exist. For if any holding this extreme view had remained behind, after those who organized the General Council had gone into their voluntary confessional bondage, they abode with us in silence. But this silence has been broken, and now scarcely a week passes that we do not hear something about every article of the Augustana being fundamental. The subject is introduced in season and out of season. It appears in articles to whose general content it is utterly foreign. Every opportunity for mentioning it is improved, and new opportunities are not only sought, but are made, sometimes very awkwardly. It is dragged in on every occasion. It is paraded before us with the greatest possible prominence. It seems that what its advocates lack in strength they try to make up in zeal. In fact their ardor is so great that one cannot help thinking that it betrays the novelty of the position advocated. For if they did not think that the position they hold was new, and therefore needed defense, they would be very foolish to be continually parading it. As a rule that is not the way men defend an old institution that has been attacked. But on the contrary, continued agitation is the common means for introducing innovations. And there can be no denial of the fact, that in this matter the Gen-

eral Synod has been subjected to continued agitation in recent years. The purpose of the agitators seems to be to hold this subject up before the Church continually, so that we will forget that it is new, and will become less wary. For the first step in the adoption of any innovation, whether it be good or evil, is the passive toleration of it.

The history of this movement is brief and its beginnings hazy. It comes after the real or partial defeat of certain measures that are, perhaps, best described as retrogressive dogmatic evolutionism. The new Catechism was adopted only after its extreme features had been eliminated. And the new "Ministerial Acts" likewise surrendered its extreme features. It is evident that there are those among us who are not satisfied with the General Synod as it has been and is, and that they want to change it to something that they think is more desirable, more Lutheran. And it seems that having been defeated thus far in their attempt to raise the General Synod to what they think is a higher and nobler plane of denominational life, they have simply taken up their struggle at another place. This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the names of the most prominent advocates of those old measures with those associated with this new movement. They are the same with few exceptions. And this suggests that it is only a new manifestation of the same tendency by the same men.

The method pursued by those who advocate this new interpretation of our form of subscription is remarkable because of its presumption. They simply assume that it is the only interpretation. With very few exceptions, no attempt is made to argue the matter. No reasons are given. It is merely stated or hinted that every article of the Augustana is fundamental and that those who believe differently are wrong. This is not one of those universally accepted and self-evident truths, that need no defense. It is well known that many of our strongest teachers in the General Synod object to it. And some of those who object to it most vigorously remember very well the understanding of our form of subscription that prevailed at the time of its adoption. If there are any good reasons for this

innovation they ought to have been given. If a new problem is to confront us, the Church should know on what basis it rests, so that it could judge whether it is worthy of consideration or not. But this basis has not been given. We look in vain for some defense of the position advocated. We find only bald authoritative statements that prove nothing. Certainly the opponents of this new measure dare not be considered uncharitable if they conclude that no defense can be made, or that the best defense possible is weak.

Dr. Parson, in his lecture, takes occasion to devote several pages to this question. This is perhaps the most elaborate discussion that it has received. It certainly is the most important consideration that has been given it, for the fact that it was delivered as part of the lecture on the basis of our only endowed lectureship at Gettysburg, and published in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY gives it a prominence that an article in a religious paper does not enjoy. And since Dr. Parson's utterances have been publicly and privately approved by a few persons, and, so far as we know, have received no condemnation from his fellow advocates of this new teaching, we are justified in criticizing it on the basis of his presentation. For if his position is only similar to and not the same as that held by others, they evidently consider the deviations of such minor importance as not to be worth mentioning. His position must therefore be regarded as fairly representative of this new teaching. We state his position in his own words, as found in the fourth division of his lecture.

However, Dr. Parson has changed greatly in this respect. He is altogether a different man from what he was. In fact having known him theologically ten years ago and meeting him now you would not recognize him at all. A person would be likely to conclude that there are two Drs. Parson in the General Synod. The anti confessional impulse had struck him, and for a while it looked as if he wanted to start a revision campaign in the General Synod. Reading a sermon that he preached before his congregation in Washington, in 1890, which was pub-

lished by request, one cannot help thinking of the days of the *Definite Platform*. The change of position as revealed by a comparison of the two productions is quite remarkable, LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. XXX., pp. 336 *et seqq.*, and *The Perfect Doctrine*, pp. 6, 7).

DR. PARSON IN 1890.

"As to these human statements of doctrine, the feeling of the present day is against the rigidity of the older confessions. The Presbyterian Churches are discussing whether they shall revise the Westminster Confession, the general drift of opinion being in favor of revision.

"We might debate the same question: Shall we revise the Augsburg Confession? For it must be that in a statement formulated three hundred and fifty years ago, to suit the thought and necessities of that day, we shall find some incongruities, some things that do not tally with our present ideas.

"It would be a poor compliment to pay our religion to say we had not learned anything from it in three centuries.

"And yet would it not seem more reasonable to do in our century as they did in theirs—make our own statement? Let the old stand as a way-mark in the Church's development. Let us declare in our day our own understanding of the great fundamental principles of Christianity. I would no more take the venerable Augsburg Confession or the Westminster Confession as a basis on which to build up a new statement of doctrinal belief than I would take the more ancient Athanasian Creed for the purpose.

"The fact is, we can trust the

DR. PARSON IN 1900.

"If it should be suggested that this one article, or any other in the Confession, is not fundamental, in the sense that it is necessary to salvation, the reply must be made that it is at least fundamental to the scheme of doctrine held by our Church, since it finds a place in the original statement, re-affirmed by every Church entitled to the name Lutheran from that day to this.

"Our General Synod so declares in her doctrinal basis, receiving and holding the Word of God as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that word.

"The word fundamental is descriptive of the doctrines contained in the Confession. True, it stands before the phrase 'doctrines of the Divine Word;' but it follows the phrase 'correct exhibition.'

"Unless, therefore, we make the doctrines exhibited in the Augsburg Confession the equivalent of 'the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word' and co-extensive therewith we are simply playing with words 'that palter with us in a double sense.'

"The General Synod so intends to declare by its recent action expressing its entire satisfaction with the

Christian consciousness in any age. The Spirit of God, the truth of God in the soul of the believing Church, will bring men into the expression suitable for the time.

"We need not legislate for other times, nor need we be bound by the legislation of others. 'The Word of God is not bound.' "

present form of doctrinal basis and confessional subscription, 'which is the Word of God, the infallible rule of faith and practice, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it,' which is substantially the language used in the York repudiation resolutions by the General Synod in 1864. * * *

"Beside such a statement that the difference between the Holy Scripture and all other writings will be preserved, how exceedingly grotesque appear the vaporings of some of our modern recensionists, who declare, 'we accept the Augsburg Confession only as to fundamental doctrines.' "

We add also the following from the lecture in 1900 :

"In a recent debate, in the House of Representatives at Washington, on a constitutional question, one of the leaders of the House declared with emphasis—'The fathers of our country in building the Constitution did not build a trap,' adding—'they ought to know what they meant, and it ought to mean now what it meant then.'

"The same principle holds in religious matters and in creed interpretation. Until some authorized change is made in our basis, no person in the Church can honestly subscribe our Confession *in part only*. He converts it into a trap with which to ensnare the unwary, when he erects a fictitious distinction between essential and non-essential doctrines, calling some fundamental and others non-fundamental."

The confessional leap made between 1890 and 1900 was gigantic. It was a complete confessional somersault. In 1890 Dr. Parson seemed to have an attack of symbolophobia. Fortunately for him and the Church, it did not last long. But unfortunately it changed to an attack of symbolomania. However, there are other men among the leaders of this agitation who

have made a similar change of position within the last dozen years, and are now condemning men and institutions for being too loosely Lutheran, that they formerly charged with being ultra-Lutheran.

In 1890 Dr. Parson seems to have been groping in uncertainty, trying to grasp two great truths, fundamental to Lutheranism, namely: In using the Confession we must always test it by Scripture, and we accept the faith, not the theology of the fathers. But he was only groping, for when he attempted a statement of his position in this sermon, the Augustana is made to appear as little more than a bit of ecclesiastical history. In 1900 an astonishing change has taken place. Pendulum-like, he has swung to the other extreme, and severely condemns the supposed loose Lutheranism of those who but a few years ago condemned, and rightly, his loose Lutheranism. When we read the sermon of 1890, we tremble lest we will have no Confession left. When we read the lecture of 1900 we tremble lest we shall hear a Protestant dogma of the infallibility of the Reformers.

Dr. Parson's present position, or rather, Dr. Parson's position last May, is, that "the entire Confession is the 'correct exhibition,' " that "we must make the doctrines exhibited in the Augsburg Confession the equivalent of the 'fundamental doctrines of the divine Word' and 'co-extensive therewith.' " If we do not do this, he says, " 'we are simply playing with words that palter with us in a double sense.' " The "fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word" and the Augsburg Confession are "co-extensive terms." This involves two things: (*a*). All the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word are expressed in the Augsburg Confession, and (*b*). All of the Augsburg Confession is made up of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, *i. e.*, all the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession are fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word. The first paragraph of the above quotation from Dr. Parson in 1900 may seem like a *quasi* contradiction of this, but not necessarily so, for we must acknowledge that there are doctrines fundamental to the Christian system that are not fundamental in the sense that a person

cannot be saved without believing them. Hence we are forced to the conclusion that the entire Augsburg Confession expresses the entire body of truth fundamental to the Christian system, no less and no more. Therefore every article of the Augsburg Confession is a fundamental doctrine of the Christian system of truth comprehended and expressed in the peculiar way which is known as Lutheran. Hence only those are Lutheran who accept every article of the Augsburg Confession as a fundamental doctrine of the Divine Word.

The correctness of this conclusion, viz., that in Dr. Parson's view every article of the Confession is a fundamental doctrine of the Divine Word, is plainly shown by his own words. On page 337 he writes: "We are reduced to this dilemma, respecting this article, or any article of the Confession—if the teaching in it is not the true doctrine derived from the Word of God, in perfect consistence with it throughout, then it is not a fundamental doctrine and ought to be eliminated from the list of fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word."

The logic of this position is no less startling. If every article of the Augsburg Confession is a fundamental article derived from the Divine Word, every doctrinal statement in each article is also fundamental. This is a necessary conclusion and it is what Dr. Parson teaches. On the second page of his lecture as printed, just following his analysis of the article considered, we read:

"Each one of the foregoing points is clearly contained in each article of the Confession. As the General Synod has twice declared (at York in 1864, and at Hagerstown in 1895), that the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is throughout in perfect consistence with the Holy Scripture, we assume that every statement of this article is at the same time a doctrine of the Church, and one of the 'fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word,' on which our Confession is declared to be founded."

Dr. Parson states plainly that "every statement of this article is at the same time a doctrine of our Church and one of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word." And since he thinks that the other articles of the Confession should be re-

garded in the same light, he evidently believes that every doctrinal statement in every article of the Confession is fundamental. He knows nothing of fundamentals and non-fundamentals, essentials and non-essentials. "The fathers knew what they meant" in the Confession, "and it ought to mean now what it meant then."

Section 4 of the "Fundamental Principles" of the General Council reads as follows :

"That Confessions may be such a testimony of Unity and bond of Union, they must be accepted in every statement of doctrine, in their own true, native, original and only sense. Those who set them forth and subscribe them, must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense."

The intimate relation between this and Dr. Parson's teaching is very striking, as is also the relation between the general contents of his entire lecture and the works of Drs. Krauth and Jacobs.

As already shown, this interpretation of our form of subscription would bind us to every article of the Augsburg Confession and to every doctrine stated in every article of the Confession. It recognizes no distinction between the faith of the Fathers and the theology of the Fathers. These brethren claim that in accepting the faith of the Fathers we must accept their theology as well. What else can Dr. Parson mean when he assumes that every statement of Article XIII. is a doctrine of the Church and at the same time a fundamental doctrine of the Divine Word?

But all confessions of faith have two elements, a "confession" element and a "faith" element. The faith is founded on the Word of God, and men confess it. When they formulate their Confession they have in their minds certain conditions that their faith must meet. Hence there is a temporal, a local, an individual coloring given their confession. But since the faith confessed is the work of God who is always in his Church working faith, there is something in the confession that is not temporal, or local, or individual, something that remains unchanged and

unchangeable, a faith-content clothed in a form. Dr. Parson and his fellows seem to know nothing of this distinction. They would bind themselves and us to the faith and to the forms of the Fathers. They would have us accept the theology of the Confession as well as the faith. The Augsburg Confession is itself not the faith of the Fathers, but an expression of the faith of the Fathers in the terms and scientific setting of their times.

Such an acceptance of the Confession, consistently and persistently followed out, would torture the true progressive life out of Lutheranism on the rack of a bald letter-orthodoxy. They would say to us: Enter into the theological palace of your Fathers. It is yours. You have inherited it from them—a treasure beyond all price. But you must use the same apartments they used. You must be satisfied with the same theological furnishings. You dare not discard anything, even though it be old and worn out. You dare not introduce anything, even though it be good and useful. In a word, you must live as a slave, and not as a child and as an heir in the house of your fathers. But with our greatest orthodox Lutheran theologian of the century just closed, Frank of Erlangen, “we know ourselves at home in our Church, not as slaves who are servilely bound to the letter of the confessions, much less to the theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but as free and worthy sons, who know the meaning of our fathers, and feel ourselves inwardly at one with them.”

Now the real question that confronts us is not a mere matter of privilege, such as the holding of the other confessions of the Church. A man may accept the entire Book of Concord, and be a good General Synod Lutheran. But so soon as he insists that others must accept it in order to be good Lutherans, he forsakes General Synod principles. But this new position deals with a form adopted by the General Synod and insists that it means and can mean only one thing. And the only inference is that any other interpretation of the form is wrong. These brethren would change the entire confessional attitude of the General Synod by introducing this new interpretation.

By our formula of confessional subscription we “receive and

hold with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Augsburg Confession to be a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word."

There are "fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word." The Augsburg Confession is a correct exhibition of them. That the Augsburg Confession is the equivalent of the "fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and co-extensive therewith" is, perhaps, grammatically possible, but is not necessarily true. The Augsburg Confession may contain some things that are not "fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word," and as a matter of fact it does, as we shall see later. This the General Synod has always recognized. Its official history proves beyond all doubt that it recognized "non-essential features of the Augsburg Confession," and did not regard them as binding.

A striking fact which is at the same time very significant, is that the advocates of this new interpretation never mention the last clause of our form—"and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word." The framers of this confessional obligation evidently had a purpose in adding this clause. If that which had preceeded this had sufficed, they would have left this off. Evidently this clause, which speaks of "the faith of our Church," had some use in defining and could shed some useful light on something, and thus help us to grasp the true meaning of the obligation. The only thing on which it could shed light was that which preceded it. And there is only one interpretative light that it can shed on that which went before. The "faith of our Church" rested in the "fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word," and was correctly exhibited in the Augsburg Confession. We do not accept the Augsburg Confession for the sake of the "exhibition," *i. e.*, for the sake of the formulation of the doctrines, which was determined by the condition of the times, but for the sake of the "faith of our Church," which it correctly exhibits. It is not the outward form in itself to which we subscribe, and which binds; it is the inner doctrinal content. We do not accept the Augsburg Confession because it "*contains*" "the faith of our Church." This statement

would be true with one man and false with another. However, this is the form of subscription of the Wuerttemberg Church, which has always been regarded as thoroughly Lutheran. Nor do we accept the Augsburg Confession in so far as it agrees with Scripture, in order to be Lutherans. This would likewise be a dangerously indefinite assertion. But we accept the Augsburg Confession because it is a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word as objectivized in the faith of our Church, *i. e.*, we accept the Augsburg Confession as our confession of faith (it calls itself a confession of faith), and not as a brief compendium of dogmatics, as some would have us do. In fact, our form of subscription, when analyzed, leads us to the inevitable conclusion, that the faith of the Church is to be distinguished from the theology of the Church, else why add "faith of our Church" as descriptive of the "correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines"?

We shall test the two interpretations by example and by authorities. Is every article and doctrinal statement in the Augsburg Confession a fundamental doctrine of the Divine Word? If so, the new interpretation of our formula of subscription is correct; if not, it is wrong, and the prevailing interpretation is correct.

It says: That this new interpretation is false, is plain from the absurdities into which it leads us in the case of the 11th article. Every article is a correct exhibition of some fundamental doctrine of the Divine Word, and every statement clearly contained in an article is the same. But Article XXV. informs us "that confession is of human right only," to which the German adds, "is not commanded in Scripture, but has been instituted by the Church." Luther declared that he did not know where private confession was taught in the Bible (Weimar Ed., 3 : 98). Dr. Krauth classes it with "ceremonies or ecclesiastical rites, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in God's Word." That is, this article is not a doctrine of Scripture at all, to say nothing of fundamental. In the *Lutheran and Missionary*, Apr. 21, 1864, Dr. Krauth declares plainly that Article XI. is neither

doctrinal nor fundamental, and speaks of the 20 doctrinal articles of the Confession. And if it is fundamental to the Lutheran system, we are confronted with this condition—a human rite is among the things fundamental to the Lutheran system. And if it is one of the fundamentals of our system, no ecclesiastical body *calling* itself Lutheran, is *Lutheran*, for private confession is unknown in our Church to-day. This narrow ultra-Lutheran interpretation of our form of subscription breaks down utterly on the eleventh Article. In fact when strictly applied to it as Dr. Parson wants to apply it to Article XIII. it de-Lutheranizes every one of us, even those who advocate it.

Some one may raise the question that the “power of the keys” is plainly taught in Scripture. But this article does not concern the “power of the keys,” except in connection with confession, of which absolution is most certainly the correlate. It may be objected further, that confession is taught in Scripture, and that since it and the “power of the keys” are to be found there, this Article must be regarded as a doctrine of the Bible. But Article XI. treats of confession only in a certain form, namely, private confession, and it is universally acknowledged that private confession is not based on Scripture, but is only a man-made rite.

This problem of the sense in which our Confession is binding, is by no means new. Theologians and ecclesiastical bodies have discussed it in every age. It is true that there have been many loose Lutherans in the land of the Augsburg Confession, but there are and have been those whose confessionalism has never been doubted, whom the Lutheran Church knows as authorities in matters of Lutheran orthodoxy. With the possible exceptions of Profs. Jacoby and Kahnis, the following quotations are from men of that class. By comparing these statements with the two interpretations of our form of subscription we can see which is the truly conservative Lutheran interpretation when judged at the bar of conservative Lutheran theologians, which is the only known test our Church can have. For confessional Lutheranism is not merely a fact of history, it

is one of the great elements that are making history. If we would know it we must know it by what it is as well as by what it has been. The confessions and dogmaticians of the early days can give us but a partial view, which can be made complete only by studying

THE CONFESSIONAL LUTHERANISM OF RECENT YEARS.

1. Kurtz classes Bengel as belonging to a school "in which Lutheran theology and learning were united with genuine piety and profound thinking, decided confessionalism with moderation and firmness." Dorner says that he is "a theologian of the first rank for the Evangelical Church in general and for that of Wuerttemberg in particular." In Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*, Vol II., pp. 228, 229, Bengel is quoted as saying: "We must not insist upon binding the ministers of the Church to all *particularibus in iis contentis, exegesi* etc. Nothing more is necessary than that the main theses—but not the details, the proofs, the exegesis—be believed, accepted and subscribed to. It is easy for those who are content to live on like the rest of the world to be orthodox. They believe what was believed before them and never trouble themselves with testing it. But when a soul is anxious about truth, and would deal with it as with a precious jewel, then things are not quite so easy. How wrong is it, then, to rush upon just such sensitive souls, to cross-question and to gag and stun them, when we ought, on the contrary, to give them liberty of speech, that they may gain confidence and suffer themselves to be lead aright."

2. Kahnis may be cited here, in spite of his deviations on certain points, because he merely confirms what others say. He adds nothing new. He was recognized as one of Leipzig's great conservative trio, of which Delitzsch and Luthardt were the other two. He shows us what was understood by confessionalism at Leipzig when its faculty was considered the greatest stronghold of conservative Lutheranism in all Germany. *Lutherische Dogmatik*, etc, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, p. 239, he writes: "The normative authority of the Confessions includes only the substance of faith of the same, not the theological setting."

3. Thomasius was leader of Erlangen confessional Lutheranism for a number of years. "Next to Philippi he published the most comprehensive text-book on dogmatics, and thereby won for himself great respect in the Lutheran Church. His *Person und Werk Christi* was born of the spirit of the Lutheran Church." Kahnis in his *Lutherische Dogmatik*, etc., 2nd Ed., Vol. 1., p. 90, quotes him as follows :

"It seems to me that nothing is more necessary for the edification of our Church in our times, than that we first come to an understanding again only in regard to the great ground-work and fundamental thoughts of her Confessions, and, if God so wills, to a harmonious conviction respecting them. However that I thereby mean no mere repetition of old church definitions and forms will be clear."

4. Dr. Seiss says of Dr. Sartorius, *Evan. Rev.*, Vol. 4, p. 10: "Doctor Sartorius is a living German divine, who occupies a high position in the Church. He is a man of profound mind, and a forcible thinker. He has a liberal heart, a conciliating temper, and a firm faith. He is a leading man in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, and a sound Lutheran. Though not exactly of the exclusive High-Church School of Hengstenberg, or Loehe, he is a decided opponent of Rationalism in all its forms. We take him to be a true churchman, but enlightened and moderate in his method of applying his principles. He is in no sense an ultraist, but a faithful student, and a true son of the Church. In a word, he is just such such a man as to deserve a hearing on such a subject as we here find him discussing" In a pamphlet *Ueber die Notwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit der kirchlichen Glaubensbekenntnisse* (p. 39, 40), Dr. Sartorius speaks as follows:

"Compared with the compendious brevity of the Oecumenical symbols, they indeed appear voluminous; because, unlike the ancient Confessions, they do not present the simple statements of creeds, but also give a doctrinal exposition, confirmation and defence of them, and point out and reject such teachings as may be opposed to them. Besides, they also have appended to them prefaces and postscripts, relating to historical matters which are

only of introductory or casual importance, without properly belonging to the symbols. The doctrinal, argumentative, apologetical and polemical parts, of course, belong to them, but without forming the essential obligatory substance of the symbols. Parts, again, consist of mere historical circumstances, or dogmatical deductions, which are of use in discovering the theology, and are even admirable in themselves, but not authoritative to such an extent as that they cannot be otherwise deduced or established. And other portions refer only to oppositions encountered in this form, belonging only to the time in which they sprang up, but which, in other form, must be overcome again. The confessional substance of the symbols in among the incidental circumscriptions is and remains the real *credo*, or *credimus*, or *confitemur*—the truths of faith—the *articuli fidei*."

5. Prof. Palmer of Tuebingen was one of the strongest and most influential teachers of practical theology of the last century. He was a strong confessional Lutheran who had lived through the period of confessional revival. Hence his opinion is that of a man of wide practical experience gained at a time when the definition of confessionalism was being formed. We quote from a translation from him in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. 2, p. 581. Speaking of the confessional obligation required of the clergy in Wuerttemberg, he says:

"Since the year 1827, every minister at his first installation is called upon to pledge his word of honor, that 'in his sermons and religious instruction, he will hold fast to the Holy Scriptures, and that he will not permit himself to deviate from the Evangelical system of doctrines as contained in the Augsburg Confession.'

"Such a form of subscription will certainly never cramp anyone who is not fundamentally at variance with the Evangelical faith. And yet it is sufficiently comprehensive to effect the removal of such as may be in conflict with and give offence to the Church."

"But we must also remember, that it is of the highest importance to the spiritual life of the Evangelical Church, that a certain amount of liberty be accorded, and that therefore many

conflicting views be tolerated, so long as they do not give offence and impair the life of the Church itself. For the gain which this freedom brings to the spiritual life and its development, outweighs by far the injury occasioned by the extravagances of individual instances.

"Nevertheless a limit must be fixed to the exercise of this freedom; and hence the form of obligation must be drawn up in such a manner, that, where it is necessary to avoid disorder and scandal, the refractory individual may be removed from his office by virtue of the ecclesiastical law."

7. Dr. Jacoby of Koenigsberg is described as a positive theologian. For many years he has taught practical theology in the university of that city. In a letter to Dr. Richard, Gettysburg, Pa., dated, Aug. 15th, 1895, he writes :

"The object of subscription for the Evangelical Lutheran clergy in Germany is the preaching of the Gospel, the doctrine of the Divine Word as it is contained in Holy Scripture and witnessed in the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. If then the symbols are designated as the norm for the official preaching of doctrine, they, nevertheless, even as such, have authority only in so far as they contain the doctrine of salvâtion and testify of faith, but not to the extent that their utterances fall in the realm of theology, *i. e.*, speculation. However, it is very difficult to determine which articles bear a religious and which a theological character, or which parts of one and the same article are religious and which theological. For the sake of this principle it must be added that each ecclesiastical body must determine this for itself. But such authoritative decisions are not at hand, and if they were, they would nevertheless be vulnerable, for that which is considered as the content of faith at one time may, at another, be regarded as a theological formation. When in Article XVII. of the Augustana the *Apocatastasis* is rejected, as well as the theory of the final annihilation of the ungodly (I do not say whether rightly or wrongly), this, then, is theological speculation, not saving truth. When in Article XVIII. the ability of the natural man is restricted to *externa*, and all *interiores motus* are denied

him, as *caritas, patientia*, this is a verdict, which by the *ethos* of the Old Testament saints was also pronounced against noble heathen, and is a verdict of theological speculation. Consequently it is hard to determine where saving truth ends and where theological reflection begins. Yet it may be said that if in the course of a long period of time, a church in fact ignores doctrines of the symbolical books, she thereby declares that she has dropped them, as, for example, the greater part of the German Reformed Church has done in the case of the doctrine of predestination, in its original form. Thereby it is not said that the same Church may not later again accept the once cast-aside doctrines. Therefore it must be said that for the practical application of the difference between saving truth and theological reflection, the current opinion of individual church bodies at a particular time is authoritative. If the current opinion is undecided the clergy, as well as the representatives of the Church, must show discreet and mild reserve."

7. Prof. Philippi's liberality in the matter of confessional subscription will be more suggestive than that of any other German theologian of the nineteenth century. Not so much because of his high standing as a scholar and as a professor, but because of his extreme confessional tendency, as shown in his attempt to reproduce the old theology in his great work, *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre*. The other great theologians of the nineteenth century stood for living progress on the basis of the old, he stood for a reproduction of the old. One would naturally expect that he, of all men, would hold to the Confessions, as authoritative in every doctrinal statement, would hold to them "in their true, native, original, and only sense." In his *Symbolik*, p. 320, we read:

"When it is said that only actual material agreement with the doctrine of a particular Church, as the same is declared in its confessional writings, can be demanded of a preacher of that Church, it is already understood that least of all is such an agreement with the letter of the symbols to be demanded that also everything which belongs, not immediately to the doctrine itself, but only to its exegetical, historical or dogmatic ground-

ing, proof and determination, must be acknowledged as irrefutably correct. For instance, not every citation of Holy Scripture which is found in our symbolical books always proves that which it is designed to prove, but it is sufficient, if the doctrine, which is intended to be proved by it, is in general only in the Scripture, and has been proved, or can be proved by other citations." Again, p. 324, he says: "Moreover, that even of teachers only an honest and hearty agreement in all the fundamental articles of the Evangelical doctrine should be demanded, we have already remarked. Even these, in a time like our own when they are making progress, may be treated with hope by the church authorities, if they should express casual doubt about the less essential parts of the Church's Confession. They may decide in special cases to what extent the person offering himself for the ministry is actually in harmony with the essential ground of the Evangelical Confession. To decide this is the business of intelligent church authorities. Under such conditions the very promising and well qualified, in regard to whom according to human judgment and foresight there is any hope for further progress, will by no means be deterred from the ministry."

8. Dr. Zoeckler, of Greifswald University, is not only a professor, but also editor of a church paper that has a wide influence, and is the author of some very important theological works. His chief service in the field of theological literature is his well known *Handbuch der Wissenschaftlichen Theologie*, in which he brought together, in one great work, contributions on all branches of theology from conservative leaders. In it he urges upon the German Church a strictly confessional theology. His position is so strictly conservative that certain others, who are regarded as orthodox, consider him ultra-conservative. His conception of what the expression "confessional theology" means, can be got from the following quotation from his *Handbuch*, 3rd Ed., Vol. 1, p. 15, 16:

"We demand a theology that is governed by the Confessions, or, more briefly, a symbolical theology. As a matter of course the standpoint thus designated does not exclude the right of free

movement and a critical attitude toward the church symbols. Neither does the confessional theologian of to-day need bind himself to the exegetical or historical method of proof, which the authors of these writings used according to the condition of learning in their time; nor do all the details of their dogmatic construction have binding authority for him; nor is he obliged to retain the harsh polemic tones, the anathemas, the 'damnamus' of those doctrinal testimonies of the sixteenth century toward those whose faith was different. The symbols themselves lay no claim to such absolute binding authority even to the letter. They attribute the authority of inspiration to Holy Scripture only."

The Formula of Concord distinguishes between the chief authority of Scripture, *norma normans*, and the derived authority of the symbols, *norma normata*. "And the new theological defenders of the just claim of the Symbols are of the same opinion. Even Dr. Ferd. Philippi [son of Prof. Philippi], in a pamphlet published on the three-hundredth anniversary of the completing of the Book of Concord (*Die Notwendigkeit und Verbindlichkeit des kirchlichen Bekenntnisse*), declares as binding and permanently normative in the confessional documents, not their external, exegetic, historic form, or the details of their lively discussions, but their doctrinal system. And he is not ready to consider this symbolical doctrinal system as beyond all possibility of improvement or development." Zoeckler, p. 16.

9. Dr. Von Scheele, the Swedish Bishop and professor of theology in Upsala, is recognized as a very conservative Lutheran. The fact that he was chosen to contribute the treatise on *Christian Symbolics* in Zoeckler's *Handbuch* classes him at once with the pronounced conservative Lutheran scholars of the day. In Zoeckler's *Handbuch der Wissenschaftlichen Theologie*, 3rd. Ed., Vol. 2, p. 699, we read:

"The Church has defined the authority of the Symbols as consisting in this: they have only *auctoritatem normatam*, while the Scriptures alone have *auctoritas normans*. This was intended to express that, though indeed the Symbols have direct-

ive authority for the ecclesiastical activity, Holy Scripture alone has authority to decide as supreme judge in matters of faith. The degree of binding power that the Symbols possess on the basis of this authority is expressed in the well-known sentence, *quia et quatenus cum scriptura sacra consentiunt*, by which is exhibited the conviction that there is essential harmony between the symbols and Holy Scripture as unreservedly as the relative difference that always exists between human and divine things, as we humbly recognize in this. The symbols have authority for the true Church only as *testimonia veritatis*, while Scripture only, as God's Word, remains *aeterna veritas*, the basis of faith. The normative authority of the symbols, which is throughout biblically conditioned, must also be limited by their relation to contemporary history. The symbols must be understood as belonging to their time, so that we must distinguish between their essential part and the form of their content. Only their actual content must be regarded as essential and lasting, while their form must be considered accidental and capable of improvement, and, perhaps in certain instances, needing improvement."

He speaks again on this subject in his *Theologische Symbolik*, Part II. pp., 80, 81. Dr. Zoeckler wrote the preface to the German edition, in which he welcomes the book in its German dress and recommends it to students. He sees its great virtue in its "excellent combination of confessional definiteness with broad liberality toward those who believe differently." He says that "the author possesses a reverential holding to the traditional spirit of evangelical liberty and a conscientious preservation of the inheritance of the fathers."

Von Scheele says: "In the interpretation of Scripture, even the fathers are denied the right to interpret the Word of God according to their own understanding and caprice, which belongs to no man, since it needs the explanation of no one. For the Holy Scripture possesses ability to explain itself. The interpretation must, nevertheless, be made in harmony with the rule of faith, *i. e.*, in accordance with the content of the clear and most frequently occurring biblical declarations and the prevail-

ing doctrines of the Church of former times, in so far as they do not contradict the Bible. Even the Symbols, to a certain extent the flower and crown of church doctrine, dare by no means be treated as a legal binding fetter, and dare not be regarded as a new yoke that burdens conscience (*non imprimunt credenda*), but only as a free expression for the scriptural faith of the Church (*exprimunt credita*). But a Church that truly claims and wishes to continue to bear the name of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, must stand firmly by this, that its subscription to the doctrines laid down in the Church does not concern the letter, but only *the peculiar type of Christianity* therein expressed, and the reason for this is, we know and we are certain that this type is true and genuine in every essential, and therefore cannot be given up without at the same time giving up Christianity."

10. Bishop Martensen is regarded as the greatest theologian of the Danish Lutheran Church of the last century. He was primate for almost thirty years, and exercised a wide and important influence. Kurtz says that his *Christian Dogmatics* is of a thoroughly Lutheran type. Frank recognized him as a good Lutheran, in spite of certain Hegelian and mystic elements in his system. Luthardt classes him among those who represent revived confessional Lutheranism in the last century. Other leaders mentioned in this list are Sartorius, Philippi, Thomasius and Frank. In his *Christian Dogmatics*, pp. 54, 55, we find the following:

"If, now, we ask in what sense ecclesiastical symbols have a canonical character in relation to dogmatics, the answer is—they have it as being *normae normatae*, or *quia et quatenus cum sacra scriptura consentiunt*. By the first of these specifications (*quia*) we would indicate the essential oneness of church doctrines with biblical doctrines; by the second (*quatenus*) that there is nevertheless a relative difference between the ecclesiastical and the Christian, between the letter of the symbols and their spirit, between form and idea. Accordingly, in announcing that we intend to adhere not only to the oecumenical symbols, but also to the creed of the Lutheran Church, particularly as this is given

in the Augsburg Confession, we mean thereby that we intend to hold to that type of sound doctrine which is therein contained being convinced that we are in this way most sure of preserving our connection with the Apostolic Church. We do not regard the Lutheran Confession as a work of inspiration; yet no more do we regard it as a mere work of man, inasmuch as the age of the Reformation had a special vocation to bear testimony and put forth confessions, just as had those periods of the Church in which the earlier creeds were formed. We make a distinction between type and formula. By the type of Lutheranism, we mean its ground form, its inextinguishable, fundamental, and distinctive features. As we recognize in a man or in a people an inward peculiarity, an impress, which belongs to them from eternity, never appearing in perfect clearness in time, and yet recognizable even amidst temporal imperfections; so we can detect in the Christian Confessions a church individuality, a fundamental abiding form, which, amid change and growth, is constantly reproducing itself; whereas the theological formulae in which this form is expressed are more or less characterized by relativity and transitoriness. To wish to canonize formulae and the letters in the symbols, betrays a defective view of history; for the symbols originated in the midst of great movements of particular periods, and in various ways exhibit the traces of the peculiar theological culture, the peculiar needs and defects of those times. We know very well how scandalously the distinction between 'spirit and letter,' 'idea and form,' may be abused; but this abuse will not prevent its proper and necessary use. And a candid consideration will always lead to the conviction that the chief importance to be attached is not to the formulae, but to the fundamental conceptions of the Church.

"Therefore, while dogmatic science on the one hand holds to the church creeds a relation of dependence, it must, on the other hand, in this relation be free to pass critical judgments on the formulae of the Symbols, and also to exhibit the fundamental ideas contained in these Symbols in a fresh form, corresponding to the present stage of the development of the Church and of theology."

11. Frank of Erlangen was probably the ablest conservative Lutheran theologian of the century just closed. He was a thorough confessional Lutheran, but advocated progress on the basis of the old dogmatic theology. He sought "a new way to teach old truth." In him the conservative Erlangen school reached its zenith of excellence and power. His influence was felt over all Germany, and it was always in the interests of confessional Lutheranism. In a letter to Dr. Richard, Gettysburg, Pa., dated Jan. 9th, 1893, he writes:

"We know ourselves at home in our Church, not as slaves, who are servilely bound to the letter of the confessions, much less to the theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but as free and willing sons, who know the meaning of our fathers, and feel ourselves inwardly at one with them. Hence we know how to distinguish between the substance of the Confession, which is to be ascertained historically by reference to the antitheses, and the many accidental additions, which unavoidably attach themselves to it, and are not obligatory upon us. To these belong, for instance, the explanations of particular passages of Scripture, as Jas., 2., the lugging in of the Aristotelian categories in the article of original sin, and the false citations and the like."

In his *System der christlichen Sittlichkeit*, Sec. 29, thesis at beginning of Sec., we read: "When on the one hand, faith, and on the other, the realization of the blessing of salvation, which faith requires, determines the activity of the congregation, and consequently, of the clergy, there lies therein the necessity of a definite confession, which arises from that internal moral activity of the congregation, and to which the clergy are morally bound. The manner in which the Confession is set forth is determined according to the requirements which are made of faith by the special condition and environment of the congregation. The measure of authority of such confessions, especially for the clergy, grows out of those premises." That is, since we must have a definite confession, for the reasons given above, it is binding, but since the form was due to the condition under which the faith was confessed, in other words,

since the Confession is the expression, not only of divinely wrought faith, but also, to a certain necessary degree, of the moral and theological environment of the confessors, we must recognize in it certain accidental elements, which cannot be regarded as binding. Frank devotes some pages to the necessity of a confession and its binding power for the Church; but he is careful to distinguish between "the outer form," "in which the unseen essence of faith clothes itself, and the faith confessed." He speaks of "human, individual, temporal limitations" of the Confessions, but adds that since the Confession sprung from a living faith, it has something in it that will last. On p. 46, in speaking of the moral binding power, under which the ministry is constituted and maintained, he says: "It is plain, that it is just as impossible on the one hand, that it be bound to fixed and lasting forms, as that, on the other hand, it dispense with its ground-work, from which the common moral activity in the congregation originates. For this thought substitutes a mechanism for an organism, a fiction for a reality, the dogmas of a man for the liberty that God intended."

And now that we may show that the views of the great theological leaders of Germany, are reflected in the official life of the Church there, we quote two representative forms of subscription, made by the clergy at their ordination.

Schleswig-Holstein. "I, the subscriber, affirm and promise before God and upon the Holy Gospel, that, by the Grace of God, in the office of teaching entrusted to me, I will faithfully abide by the true doctrine of the Divine Word as the same is derived from Holy Scripture and is summarized in the unaltered Augsburg Confession, and will preach and teach the same pure and uncorrupted, and with the utmost diligence will avoid all conflicting doctrines, and will administer the Holy Sacraments according to the divine appointment."

Saxony. This form was adopted when the great Leipzig trio, Luthardt, Delitzsch and Kahnis, swayed the councils of the Church in Saxony.

"I promise before God to teach and preach purely, according to best knowledge and conscience, the Gospel of Christ as the

same is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and is witnessed in the first unaltered Augsburg Confession, and also in the other confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

There is no uncertain sound about these quotations. Lengthy explanations are superfluous. That which they say concerning the binding authority of the Confessions is very definite, and the agreement of these authorities with each other is almost absolute. The common teaching of these great confessional Lutheran theologians form a high court of appeal for testing this question. The verdict should be final for the generation in which they live. The teaching of these great men can be summed up best in their own words.

There are certain "details" in the confession that should not be binding on the ministry (Bengel). "The normative authority of the Confessions includes only the substance of faith of the same, not the theological setting" (Kahnis). We need "come to an understanding again only in regard to the great groundwork and fundamental thoughts of the Confessions" (Thomasius). There are elements in the symbols that form no part of the "essential obligatory substance;" "the truths of faith," "The articuli fidei," are the "confessional substance of the symbols in among the incidental circumscriptions" (Sartorius). In Wuerttemberg it is deemed sufficient for a man to subscribe to "the Evangelical system of doctrine as contained in the Augsburg Confession." In the Confessions there are "utterances" in the "realm of theology" that have no authority (Jacoby). Only "actual material agreement with the doctrine of a particular Church * * * can be demanded of a preacher." "Even of teachers only an honest and hearty agreement in all the fundamental articles of the Evangelical doctrine, should be demanded" (Philippi). Only the "doctrinal system" of the Confessions is binding. "Their external, exegetic, historic form" is not "permanently normative" (Ferd. Philippi and Zoeckler). "We must distinguish between their essential part and the form of their content. Only their actual content must be regarded as essential and lasting, while their form must be considered accidental and capable of improvement, and perhaps in certain

instances, needing improvement." The Church that would bear the name Lutheran, must stand firmly by this, "that its subscription does not concern the letter but only the *peculiar type of Christianity* therein expressed." (Von Scheele). By adhering to the Augsburg Confession "we mean thereby that we intend to hold to that type of sound doctrine which is therein contained. We make a distinction between type and formula. By the type of Lutheranism we mean its ground form, its inextinguishable, fundamental and distinctive features" (Martensen). "We know how to distinguish between the substance of the Confession * * * and the many accidental additions that unavoidably attach themselves to it, and are not obligatory upon us." We must distinguish between the "outer form" "in which the essence of faith clothes itself" and the faith itself. To bind a man "to fixed and lasting forms" is substituting "the dogmas of man for the liberty that God intended" (Frank).

CONCLUSIONS.

From the matter presented we come to the following conclusions :

1. These conservative leaders of the Lutheran Church in Germany agree absolutely in recognizing two elements in the Confessions, that are best expressed by the terms "form" and "content." The confessors had faith before they made their confession, and that faith was called forth and sustained by the doctrines of the Divine Word—in fact it was the Divine Word chrystalized and objectivized in the heart-life and thought-life of the individual. But when they sought expression for the doctrines of the Divine Word thus wrought into faith, *i. e.*, when they confessed, they could not free themselves from the terms and science of their day, and from their religious and theological environment. Therefore every confession of faith, though correct, has, of necessity, certain features that must be regarded as mere accidentals, and not as forming a part of the faith-content of the confession.

2. They also show perfect agreement in regarding only the faith-content as binding the person subscribing to the Confes-

sion. This is the "essential" the "fundamental," the "real credo," the "*articuli fidei*." The non-essentials, the "external form," dare not be regarded as binding. They are only the covering for the real essence of faith within. We are to be bound by the faith, of course in the present statement, so long as we do not have a better one, but not by the form. Lutherans of to-day should accept the faith of the fathers, but not necessarily their theology in all its details. In the Augsburg Confession there are essentials and non-essentials, fundamentals and non-fundamentals. In order to be in the Church of the Reformation we must accept the former, but we are not bound by the latter

3. Between this view of confessional obligation and the view advanced in Dr. Parson's article there is a contrast so marked that it is nothing short of an absolute contradiction. These Lutheran authorities say: We accept the Augsburg Confession only as to "the substance of faith," "the essence of faith," "fundamental thoughts," "the fundamental articles," or in language borrowed from the confessional life of the General Synod, They accepted the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition, etc. Dr. Parson says: "Beside such a statement that the difference between the Holy Scripture and all other writings will be preserved, how exceedingly grotesque appear the vaporings of some of our modern recensionists, who declare: 'We accept the Augsburg Confession only as a fundamental doctrines.'" It is absolutely impossible that both of these positions be correct. If Dr. Parson be right, our German authorities are wrong. But if these great Lutheran authorities, than whom no greater can be named in the 19th century, are right, Dr. Parson is wrong, fundamentally wrong, absolutely wrong. In fact he must be so far wrong that his position if wrought into the life of the Church, would substitute for the depth and breadth of the noble denominational life of the great Lutheran Church a shallow and narrow sectarianism, that would make twentieth century church life the slave of sixteenth century theology, so fettered in confessional forms that the faith of the fathers, instead of having a

life of progress toward greater things, would be forced into a living death.

4. The General Council's position on confessional subscription is just as much out of harmony with the position of these great men. And there is no possible way of harmonizing these positions. Each position flatly contradicts the other. The General Council has gone beyond the position of any recognized authority in Germany, and stands for a narrow Lutheranism sectarianized on the basis of the seventeenth century orthodoxy. Theoretically it is well acquainted with the Lutheran confessional revival of the last century; but practically it ignores many of its essential features. To it *the pure Lutheran doctrine* does not extend beyond the seventeenth century. With its "true, native, original and only sense" interpretation of the Symbols, the General Council cuts loose from the present conservative Lutheranism of the Fatherlands, and fosters separatistic narrowness.

5. The agreement of these noted Lutherans with the General Synod conception of confessional obligation is no less marked. In fact about the only difference between the two seems to be that they speak and live in Germany, while we speak and live in America. Not only their thought, but in many instances their language is identical with that of our formula. This means that the General Synod with its present form of subscription, as it has always been interpreted, plants itself squarely on the same basis with the confessional Lutheran Church of Germany. If we are not confessional Lutherans, they cannot be, for they and we regard the Confessions in the same light.

FINALLY.

The situation is simply this: We are invited to abandon nineteenth century confessional Lutheranism for sixteenth and seventeenth century theology, and are criticised for not doing so. Dr. Parson would turn the hands back on the confessional dial-plate to the first two centuries of our Church's history, and would declare that they point to the hour now striking. But the General Synod binds herself to the *faith*, not to the *theology*,

of the fathers, and thus fosters a spirit of progressive conservatism, which is an "excellent combination of confessional definiteness with broad liberality toward those who believe differently," and which exhibits "a reverential holding to the traditional spirit of evangelical liberty and a conscientious preservation of the inheritance of the fathers" (Zoeckler).

ARTICLE VII.

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY.

BY REV. EDGAR GRIM MILLER, A. M.

In both theological and social thought, the present is an age of reconstruction and readjustment. In theology, with us, the problem is not so much with respect to the system of doctrine, or any particular doctrines which have come down to us, as it is in the terminology which in some instances has become antiquated, and here and there liable to misunderstanding. Stripping it of its scholastic dress, and clothing it in modern garb, ordinarily is sufficient. The social readjustment, and the consequent readjustment of the methods of Christian work, are not so easily accomplished. Here it is not simply a matter of terminology, but of new conditions. Old problems come down to us, but so altered in form and relations, as to be practically new, while new ones confront us on every side.

The revolution wrought by the introduction of steam and electricity; the marvels of invention and machinery; the rapidity of transportation of persons and freight; the swift transmission of news; the consequent change in the manner of men's life and way of thinking; the bringing into close relations every type of man and life, putting them under new conditions with no time for adjustment or assimilation; the liberation of thought, the tremendous strides in science; all these have created problems which the Church has never had to meet before, and which require a large readjustment of the thinking, as well as of the methods inherited from the past. Old methods which served

their purpose a century or even a generation ago, utterly fail to meet the requirements of the present, and they impose grave and urgent social problems which the Church must meet and solve, if it is to do its work aright.

As Christians we can meet them with an unfaltering faith in the gospel as the key for the solution of them all. The Church is established on a rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. We accept all the truths and teachings of Jesus Christ as unfailingly and unalterably true. But we must remember that it is as easy now as it was in the days of the Master's ministry to teach for doctrines the traditions of men, and that, with respect to such traditions, whether they be human interpretations of Scripture, or long established, time-honored customs of the Church, they are proper subjects for rigid scrutiny and may be modified or changed for better adaptation to advancing conditions in the Church's mission. The revelation of God has been progressive—first the barest outlines of his character and of human duty, then, gradually, fuller and more spiritual, until the Law and the Prophets were completed by the teaching of Christ. On the night of the betrayal a promise was given, that the Spirit should lead the Apostles and their followers into all the truth, as they should "be able to bear it." It was that promise which made Christianity a living thing, adapted to all ages and all peoples. God's word, in the divine plan, was made to Christians what the world has been to the human race. The world was an unexplored field with mines covered, and nature, in her workings, one vast mystery. As men have been able to use them, her secrets have been revealed to the study and labor of man. Things that our forefathers passed by unnoticed have become our richest heritage, because we have read their meaning and value. The world has not changed, but knowledge of it has grown; the fear that came of ignorance has passed away, and our understanding of it, and methods of dealing with it have been adapted to the wider knowledge and new conditions. So the Scriptures have revealed richer and richer depths of truth as men have studied them, and the need for those truths has arisen. The wisdom of Christ has

been justified, and has shown itself more precious, as we have learned its fuller meaning and wider application, and read with modern eyes the message which it holds. The Reformation did not change God's word. No more will the sifting of the later statements of his truth. The essentials will stand, as they have stood, unshaken; and though some wood, hay and stubble of human interpretation be burned away in the testing by fire, the precious building material will be but the more firmly evident and assured.

With this understanding of the temper of our study, our next step is a clear conception of the sense in which we speak of the Church, and an inquiry into its proper function and limitations. There are a number of terms which need to be defined

The Church is the original body of believers, known by that name, possessing and using the Word and the Sacraments. *The Pulpit*, we will use generically for the clergy. *The Kingdom of God* is something wider than the Church, something which the Church is to be a factor in extending and developing, but not itself the Church. Dr Josiah Strong in his late monograph tersely defines it as "Christ's social ideal." Realized it will be the world when righteousness shall prevail, the gospel be law, Christ be King indeed, and all men live as brethren, organized for the common good. Even now we speak of it as existing in partial development, and embracing, as its agencies, all forces for good, whether Christian or simply moral, irrespective of their connection with the Church as an organization. *Christianity* is the religion, the vital truth, the faith, which furnishes motive for all. It is the spirit of the Church, of the pulpit and of the kingdom of God; the truth or doctrine by which the Church works, which the pulpit preaches, and through which the kingdom of God is established. *Social Problems* are all the questions which are involved in the social relations of life—the relations of man to man, and the conditions or things which effect him. *The Social Problem*, technically so known, is the adjustment of society so that all men shall have their proper place and rights among their fellows, the proper return for their labor, and fair opportunity for success and happiness.

With this understanding of terms we are prepared for the question: *What is the function of the Church?* The briefest answer, yet one which will itself require explanation and definition, is, that it is to extend the kingdom of Christ on earth, and win souls for heaven. Another answer and perhaps a better one, is that it is to carry on the work of Christ in its entirety, adopting and adapting his truth and methods. We must bear in mind that the Church as an organization is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. It is not an institution whose first and greatest aim is its own extension and glory. It is rather the organized army of the kingdom of God on earth, unique only in that every citizen of the kingdom should be enrolled in its active ranks in some capacity. Its service is to extend the borders of the kingdom, and carry its triumphant standard into all the earth, to repel attacks, to overthrow the strongholds of evil, and to make of each man who surrenders a loyal soldier in its own ranks.

Now a bit of ancient history. The Church was born, at the calling of the twelve. It received its baptism on the day of Pentecost. Its commission was partially given it when the twelve were first sent out: "As ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give." The final commission added to the other the duty of making disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and teaching them to observe and do all things that he had commanded them.

Notice that, except for the form of the baptism, it was to do precisely what the Master had been doing through all his ministry. There was no limiting of the work to purely spiritual functions. There was no distinction ever made by Christ between "sacred" and "secular." He was to be the Saviour from all of the curse of the fall. According to his teaching, the entire life is to be considered holy, and the body the temple of the Holy Ghost. Physical wants and needs belong to life as ordered by God himself. The various relations of man to his fellows are all part of the divine plan of righteousness, order and love. It

includes good government for the nations, just rulers and magistrates, the well-being of the community, with its manifold civic duties and responsibilities, as truly as the purities of piety and the sanctities of the family. Weakness and want, pain and suffering, sickness, disease and death, all are treated as features of the confusion and ruin wrought by sin, and to be touched by the reign of divine grace and truth. Christ announced himself as the Saviour of the world, in the broadest sense. We limit his mission when we make him the Saviour only of the souls of men. And it is because it has been so limited, that the Church, in conducting its work, has failed in half of her mission, and developed a one-sidedness in religion which is responsible for much of the alienation from her which is found in so many quarters, particularly among the laboring classes. Wherever there was need the Master met it with help. He fed the hungry, healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, as well as preached the Gospel. He went about doing good as well as speaking gracious words. Often the temporal need was provided for before the spiritual need was hinted at. The physical was made the gate to the spiritual, a means of attaining the higher end.

Another characteristic of Christ's work and teaching, one which seems startling, when first formulated in words, is its present-worldness, *i. e.*, it concerned itself directly with life, not with death or the future state, except as life is a preparation for what is to come. The future is spoken of as a reality. Definite promises are made concerning it, but it is kept comparatively in the background. Right living as the result of right faith, is the thing which is brought to the front. Christ's work and teaching are to bring to pass here, in the hearts and lives of men, a "kingdom of righteousness," a kingdom to "come on earth," and to rescue human life from the evil one, redeeming all our social relations as well as personal character.

A third distinctive feature, is the way in which the second table of the law is given equal emphasis with the first. A formal tendency gave direction to the religious thought of the Master's day. The temple service and obedience to the cere-

monial law, were the things emphasized as the greater part of religion. The traditions of the elders and the hair-splitting distinctions of the Rabbis, made life a burden, while the second table of the Law, in any binding sense, beyond the letter of the commands, was practically ignored by all but the more spiritual few.

Christ did not abate one whit the obligation which man owes to God—rather emphasized it, and deepened the import of it. But he brought out of its oblivion, and gave its true place as a co-ordinate duty, the obligation to one's fellowmen, and the principle of brotherhood. He summed up duty to God and man by the one magic word "love," challenging the lawyers of the Jews to find one duty not included in that word.

Passing from Christ's ministry and work to that of the Apostles, we find the same characteristics. There is now a Church, organized, or in process of organization.

The Apostles considered their first duty to be the preaching of the gospel; yet they continued the miraculous healing of the sick and the giving of physical aid to the needy. Soon they found that the temporal needs of the people took too much of their time, and calling the brethren together on the ground that it "it was not meet that they should leave the word of God and serve tables," yet acknowledging that work as a part of the Church's duty, they instituted a new order in the Church for this specific purpose.* We cannot, at that early date, look for any regularly developed philanthropic system, planned for alleviating the suffering in the heathen world as such, but we do find help given, as it had been by the Master, without reference to faith or merit, simply on the ground of Christian love and charity; while the religion which was taught was to the last degree practical, instilling *great principles* which very soon began to show their results, not only in the lives of the converts, but in the moral tone of communities, and in the relations of man to man. Social problems as such, were not recognized, but the most glaring wrongs that existed in society, the most cruel features of slavery, the barbarous sports of the arena, the

*Acts 6 : 1-6.

exposure of infants, and the shameless immoralities which prevailed, slowly gave way before the influence of the cross, often, no doubt, without the part of the Church or Christianity being fully understood or recognized. It was bidden: "Go teach," and it went in the Spirit and power of the Master, taking up the whole work which he had been doing. Teaching was to lead to faith, faith to works, works to teaching again; and so on in an endless series of ameliorations, reproducing itself in geometrical progression. It was the natural working out of a law for the rectification of inter-human relations—a law not itself distinctly formulated—though really in force, as unquestionably accepted and acted upon. In so far as the Church had ability to do good and render aid, it was exercised. There was no stopping to ask whether this or that was a *churchly* function, but it was assumed that help, whether spiritual or physical, which was in its power to render, became duty, and was in line with its legitimate work. It alone could furnish the motives which would lead to such acts.

We have no concern with the intervening ages. We are seeking merely to find what was Christ's commission to the Church, and how his early followers understood it, in order to grasp the principles which must define the functions of that same Church today. We can be guided only by principles. The manner of their application must depend on the conditions existing where the work is to be done.

What then should be the function of the Church to-day? Precisely, in its essential principles, what it was in the days of Christ and the Apostles. It is to advance the kingdom of God by securing the ascendancy of all the regenerating truth and ethical teachings of the gospel, through education and example, helping the whole of man.

In our applications of these principles, we must remember the wonderfully changed conditions since the days of the Apostles. Then the Christian influence and every Christian movement could readily be traced to its source in the Church. Now Christianity is the norm of the thought and virtue of the civil-

ized world. Christian standards are universally accepted and Christian influences are operative where least expected. Men, in continually increasing numbers, act more or less under an indirect influence of Christ's teaching, who never enter a church. The Christian principles in our common atmosphere, life and conscience have moulded them, and they not only coöperate with Christians, but often take the initiative in work which in early days would have belonged to the Church itself. It is the gradual development of this condition, and the consequent taking up of so many phases of helpful activity by agencies outside of the Church, that is largely the cause of the prevalent narrow conception of the Church. We must cease to feel that great movements for the uplifting of humanity are not from the Church, because not directly by the Church, and that the Church may therefore hold aloof from them. These strivings after ameliorations, coming indirectly from Christianity, should suggest to the Church the need of grasping more fully the magnitude of its mission, and of freeing itself from every trace of the traditionalism which limits that mission to the immediate concerns of the soul, and looks with distrust on any reaching out to influence and help men directly in the affairs of their ordinary relations.

With this broad view of the Church's function we must compare the prevalent views of its proper activity and their practical results.

On the one hand, we have what may be called the traditional view within the Church. It accepts the Church, as it is, as doing practically all that can be expected of it. It conceives that all duty is done by a congregation, when provision is made, through a pastor, for regular Sabbath and mid week services, and the visitation of the parish; when a Sunday School, catechetical class and Young People's Society are maintained, a few poor families, more or less nearly connected with it, provided for and kept from suffering, and some coöperative mission work is done. Through these channels it is expected to awaken sinners, win souls, build up character and carry on its charities. These are supposed to be its only functions and proper methods

of work. Anything outside of this time-honored rut, anything for the direct benefit of the community, or even for the elevation of individuals except along purely spiritual lines, is looked upon with distrust, if not with positive disfavor, as being an unjustifiable innovation, dangerous in its tendencies, threatening the dignity, if not the existence of the ancient order. A prominent representative of the older methods is quoted by Dr. Strong as saying: "The Church has no business with a man's dirty face, or with his naked back, or with his empty stomach. The Church has just one business with a man, and that is to save his soul."* And, after touching on the same false notion, Dr. Hall says: "It is pitiful to see how the churchly mind seems to regard the slightest social innovation, as a possible attack upon the institutions with which it is identified."† This is fairly representative of a large conservative class within the Church, who are as insistent for what they deem orthodoxy of method and expression (if the term may be used in that sense), as they are for orthodoxy of doctrine; and in the one, as in the other, "orthodoxy" means, principally, the traditional way or expression to which they have been accustomed. It is this that goes far toward accounting for the Church's loss of influence. The Church becomes something aloof from the general interests of mankind, fails to touch closely the general life of the people, and, consequently, fails in the purpose for which it exists. It accomplishes only in isolated cases, and in indirect ways, what it should be doing as a mighty force on a grand scale. Bishop Potter, in the preface to Judson's "Institutional Church," says: "I shall be recreant to my duty if I did not declare that the large remoteness of those who represent Christ and the Church from any intimate or frequent contact with those they serve, is one of the most grotesque incongruities, one of the most absolutely indefensible inconsistencies of our modern civilization. Do I hear some one say that this has been the method of the Church here and elsewhere from time immemorial? Then I say, so much the worse for the Church." But the difficulty is

*"Religious Movements for Social Betterment."

†"Social Meaning of Modern Religious Movements in England."

not only in remoteness of contact with those they serve, but remoteness of contact with the thoughts and interests of those they serve. There is too much dwelling on the mount, and in the clouds, instead of laboring down in the valleys, casting out demons by fasting, *i. e.*, self sacrifice and prayer. And, be it said to our shame, the acceptance of the standards and class distinctions of the world, adds to this remoteness, and places a gulf, real and difficult to bridge, between the Church and great masses of those whom it should win.

Here it becomes necessary to introduce an idea that has been repugnant to American sentiment, from the birth of the nation. The Declaration of Independence broadly declared it to be a self-evident truth that "all men are created equal." The statement has become a sort of national shibboleth, in spite of the manifest fact that the equality extends no further than that all "are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Theoretically we repudiate the idea of class distinctions. Practically they are recognized everywhere; and from a sociological standpoint we must deal with them as facts. The cleavage, with us, is along new lines. For an hereditary aristocracy, we have exchanged parallel aristocracies of wealth and culture; and while the gulf separating the various classes is not as difficult to cross as in monarchical countries, the lines of demarcation are growing more clearly defined and divisive each year. Class problems are here. Classes, with strong class feelings, have become realities of which account has to be taken. The conception of the Church which we have been criticising, is not, in this sense, a class conception, but the same conception, only slightly modified, is held as a class idea, by an increasing element of our population, though from a totally different standpoint; and it has resulted in the alienation of a large portion of the laboring classes, particularly in the great cities—an alienation which, in some quarters, has become positive antagonism. It is a remarkable fact, however, and full of food for thought, that not in one instance but in many, in meetings of these people, while the mention of the Church is met with hisses, the name of Christ

received with reverence or with cheers, and Christ himself is hailed as the friend of the laboring man. In the halls of the Paris Communists of 1850, pictures of the Master were found on the walls, inscribed: "The first Representative of the People." The Church, as an organization, is conceived by these men as a class institution, with which they have nothing in common; something whose interest in them is of the nature of a trap, which has been used in the past to make the laborer content with his condition while those over him exploited his rightful earnings—a thing whose function is purely spiritual, offering that for which they feel no need, and in which they do not believe. The men who hold this position believe that the Church cannot touch their lives without leaving its legitimate sphere and ceasing to be a Church. Nor can it be denied that their conception of the Church's functions, is accepted, almost in toto, from the Church's own conception of itself.

The fault rests back, as it has done a score of times before, on a false presentation of religion. The recoil from the Church in the French Revolution was a recoil from what the people had been taught was religion. Much of the atheism of Italy to-day is from a similar cause. Ingersol's quarrel with Christianity was largely a recoil from the harsh doctrines of Calvinism. So, now, this defection among certain classes is not so much from the essential truths of the Christian religion, as it is from the *Church*, as it is seen from their view-point. It is not from the Church according to the Christian ideal, but as it stands in our towns and cities, particularly in the great cities.

Prof. Wyckoff, now of Princeton University, gives the reply of a young mechanic, with whom he was associated in Chicago, to an invitation to attend Church. It shows the attitude of many of the working class toward the Church, and the distinction between town and city conditions in this respect. We will quote it in full: "Look here, John, it's all right, you asking me to go to church, but I ain't going. I used to go regular when I lived to home, altho I ain't no church member. It was different out there, for most everybody went to church, and chipped in what they could, and everybody sat where they liked, and it

wasn't one man's church more than another's. You go to church if you like. That's your own business. But I ain't going to no one-horse mission chapel that the rich has put so they won't be bothered with the poor in their own churches. You say they treat you well when you go to church on Michigan Avenue. I don't doubt it. What reason would they have for not treating you well? But all the same, they take you in for charity, for you couldn't pay for a seat in one of them churches. No sir, the rich folks build their churches for themselves, and I ain't never going to interfere with that arrangement. I don't mind going to the meetings of the Association, once in a while, for there's fellows of your own kind there, and you hear some good speaking and singing. I ain't got much use even for that, for it's only a side show, run mostly by the rich, but I ain't got no use at all for your churches."* This was given as typical of the feelings of a large class; a class not yet antagonistic, but only indifferent, resenting the attitude of the people of the Church, rather than opposing the Church as an organization. Taking the wealthy, fashionable churches as types of all, shows lack of discrimination, but it shows, too, that all of the churches had failed to present religion in such a way as to make this man or his class feel that it meant more to them than having "good singing and speaking." From this attitude, the next step is real and bitter antagonism, denouncing the work of the Church as priestcraft, and the Church itself as a tool of the rich used to keep the proletariat in subjection. As a rule it is in the immigrant from priest-ridden European countries, where the Church stands for oppression and repression, and, with the nobles, grinds the poor under foot, while doing nothing for their temporal uplift, that the apostle of such teaching is found. Nor is it to be wondered at, that when this is the only kind of Christianity known, it inspires hate, so soon as superstitious love is dead.

Between the conservative churchly conception, and this avowedly anti-churchly position, there is a trend from the one and from the other to a common mean, which looks forward to the better realization of the kingdom of God on earth, in which

*"The Workers—The West."

the church, modified in its working, but unchanged in its essential teaching, shall be the effective power. The true function of the Church is to bring the kingdom of God on earth, as truly as it is to win and save immortal souls. Philanthropy, instead of being something outside of religion, is an essential part of it. It has its dynamic in Christianity. It is Christianity in action. Pres. Ely declares that "Christianity is primarily concerned with this world and its mission is to redeem all our social relations."*

From the means by which the kingdom of God is to be realized, we turn to the material on which it must work—the world as it is to-day. It is more than an aggregation of men of various degrees of intelligence and morality. It carries a seething mass of problems, now one question, now another pushing itself to the front. Some of the things are new, brought into existence by the changed conditions of modern life. Some are old as humanity itself. Others are old as facts, but new as problems, accepted heretofore as parts of life, unfortunate but real; now looked upon as diseases of the body politic, for which men are seeking the cause in order that they may find the remedy.

How much times and conditions of life have changed, we cannot realize until we begin to compare the opening of the nineteenth century with what we have to-day. Then, as means of locomotion, there was the horse and sailing vessel, now the bicycle, automobile, trolley and swift express, the ocean greyhound and the massive battleship. Then, irregular mails by courier and packet, now an international system, employing the swiftest transportation, while the telegraph and telephone bring all parts of the world into instant communication. Then the wind-mill, water-wheel, and a few rude engines furnished all the power for manufacture, not supplied by beasts and human brawn; now, steam and electricity multiply the possibilities of production beyond all calculation. Then each man could be an independent producer, owning all the implements of his trade, and doing every process of manufacture himself; now the machinery is in many cases so extensive and expensive, that many men must combine in its ownership, and the work-

*Social Aspects of Christianity.

men perform each but a simple step in the course of production. Then science was in its infancy. One man might be master of the whole realm of knowledge. Now he does well if he can recount its achievements, and becomes master of a single specialty. Then the barber was also surgeon and dentist, and the physician knew little beyond the simplest remedies. Now we have the triumphs of antiseptic surgery and the modern treatment of disease, and the eradication of the cause. Knowledge was confined to the few who thought for the many. It was learned from books expensively printed on hand presses. Now each man thinks for himself, and however crude his thought, stands ready to defend it against the world, while every new discovery is heralded abroad, printed on presses which make thousands of impressions in an hour. The cheapening of production by the introduction of machinery, and the ease of communication have changed the whole relation of men to the world about them and to their fellows. Capital and labor have taken on new meaning. Population has concentrated in the cities. Rural life has been revolutionized, until even the farm has ceased to be isolated. The daily paper brings the news of the world, and, with the mail, is carried to the farm-house door. The telephone, steam heat, electric light, and private water supply, are familiar conveniences, and machinery does the work of scythe and flail.

The Church itself has felt the change, and in place of the Puritan heritage of a religion of fear, in which the sovereignty of God and his just anger with sinners was the principle feature, now we have, even in Calvinistic circles, the Fatherhood of God and his great love as manifested in Christ, as the central thought. Men are won instead of driven, and the brotherhood of man is taught as never taught before. Practical Christianity is emphasized rather than the old doctrinal preaching, enforcing the essential truths of those doctrines and bringing into proper relation both the duty that is owed to God and that which is owed to man. The scope of religion has been widened marvelously. Our understanding of Christ's message has developed with our understanding of the world, and we do the bidding of

our Lord in striving to serve the whole of man, and to lift up humanity from the ruin of the fall.

If the mind is in a whirl from the mere recital of a few of the changes which have come in one short century, it but faintly figures the effect which the changes themselves have had on the people as a whole. A single one of the greater changes would have made necessary a readjustment of relations and of thought, which would of itself have been revolutionary. All coming together too rapidly for particular adjustments, have given us what we have to-day—humanity being rushed on, it knows not whither, seeking to find its bearings as it goes, and striving to settle into some relations that may enable it to live to the best advantage under the new conditions. No soldier sees more of the battle than that part engaged in which his own command is. That is his battle, and each movement follows the other in natural order. Victory or defeat is a question of his own special standpoint. It is when he detaches himself for a while, and, from a vantage point, look out over the whole field, that he realizes the tremendous struggle going on, and how much more than his own brigade is involved. Then, if he sees the key to the situation, and victory assured, he goes back to his command, to fight along the lines that his larger view has shown him, confident that even though he fall the victory is sure. That is precisely our attitude to-day. We have been with our own brigade in the army of humanity. Each change, whether personal or social, has come to us naturally, and after a little readjustment, we have gone on under the new conditions. Now we are striving to look out over the field, and learn more of the great struggle that is going on in the world about us, in which others have not fared as well as we; and, from our vantage point as Christians, we recognize that we, and we alone, hold the key to the way to victory. Our part is to apply the facts which we have learned, though it may mean a change of plan and tactics and method, and a readjustment of our thinking. And though it should lead through fierce struggle, in which we perchance may fall, we see the final victory and the establishment of

Christ's kingdom on the earth, through the Church which he has established, working as he would have it work. Perhaps our view will show us that in the past we have not only failed in, but ignored, duties which now seem most obvious, and have left to others what was part of our commission.

The Christian man to-day, and particularly the Christian minister, needs a broad view of the world as it is, a broad view of the Church and its mission, a strong faith in the gospel he professes, and in the Master whom he serves. He needs a brave heart and an unfaltering trust, if he would meet the demands of these times and rightly bear to doubting, struggling, needy humanity the message that salvation is for all of man, as well as for all men, and that men must live as brethren if they would worship God. The Master beckons onward, and still says: "Follow me."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

By REV. M. COOVER, A. M.

The Keswick idea of spiritual life, which arose a quarter of a century ago in England, is now making itself particularly felt in this country through the Moody School. The movement directly and indirectly has called forth numerous recent works on the subject of the Holy Spirit.

Among the most significant are: Kuyper's *Work of the Holy Spirit*; Adamson's *Spirit of Power*; Clark's *Paraclete*; and Walker's *Spirit and the Incarnation*.

In 1874 a conference was called at Oxford, England, for the promotion of scriptural holiness. Its sessions were attended by pastors not only from the British Isles, but also from several

continental countries. A second session was held the following year in Brighton. In this conference some diversities of opinion were expressed which led to a division. It was maintained by some that holiness was fully attainable in this life, that sin could be utterly eradicated, and the believer become completely perfect. Others asserted the inability of human nature to become free from the defects of sin and to attain complete holiness. The root of sin still remained, which must be guarded against, and which rendered human perfectionism impossible. This "Root Party" which renounced perfection in holiness withdrew under the leadership of Canon Battersby, an incumbent of Keswick, a district of Western England. Here conferences continue to be held for the promotion of spirituality and the attainment of the higher life and experience through special operations of the Holy Spirit. The infilling of the Spirit is the special teaching, the experience of which each believer in the Keswick idea seeks to attain.

There is nothing peculiar in the fact taught and sought for in experience, but the method of attainment has peculiarities which are awakening the interest of the Christian world.

The difference between what man is and what he ought to be is very great in Christian life. The justified man should be nearer in his experience and character to the condition of righteousness.

The great work of salvation is not completed by putting man judicially right before God, but must continue its operations so as to make the judicial practical. The aim of the Keswick movement is to shorten the road between what the Christian believer is and what he ought to be, to effect a swifter approach from the believer justified to the believer sanctified. The content of sanctification, and the method of reaching the sanctified state become the interesting features of the movement. Sanctification comes as a gift of God. What the believer has alone to do is to prepare himself to receive the gift. The principal elements of preparation are, a deep consciousness of sin, the purification of human motives, and complete consecration of life to God. Selfishness must be eradicated, human effort to ef-

fect holiness must be renounced, and the believer must cast himself completely in trust upon God. The crisis comes when the believer makes complete renunciation of self and casts himself upon God to do the work. This crisis may be called "the second conversion," "the second blessing," "perfect love," or "the entrance into fulness of blessing." This is the condition of sanctification which is to continue in plenitude of power. There is growth, growth in abundance, but this growth is not of human effort or coöperation with divine power. It is an irresistible advance. There is an inner freedom from the law of sin. No more struggle is experienced, the soul calmly grows in perfectness, and sanctification comes irresistibly.

Sanctification is thus taught as a purely divine act, while man's sole part is to yield, trust, and accept. It thus becomes the acceptance of God's righteousness. There is no human resistance, and no effort, only yielding. The only work of man is to try to cease resisting. Here is where theological contention arises. What makes up the content of this "irresistance"? The Keswick theology teaches that sanctification comes as a divine gift, as an infusion. This process does not imply that conduct is not to correspond to the experience of the inner life. But it implies no struggle, no consciousness of inner conflict. The progress of sanctification is assured by the believer just surrendering and accepting. Here then is the vital misconception, which consists in the confusion of sanctification with justification. The predicates of this sanctification are nearly the predicates of justification. In shortening the road between these conditions of salvation the Keswick movement has simply extended the platform of justification to bridge the chasm between what a man is through the relation of his faith, and what he ought to be of inherent character.

Christ is made the believer's sanctification in the same full and unrestricted sense in which he is made his justification. Holiness is no resultant of behavior under spiritual training, but a gift from God. And this gift comes at a certain crisis in the believer's experience, which crisis is reached swiftly and consecutively by a brief series of devotional services. After four or

five days of steps in confession, humiliation, surrender, and consecration, God imparts his gift. The experiences which make the believer receptive of this gift are special seasons of spiritual awakening. Spiritual infilling effects immediate relative holiness.

Another inconsistency manifests itself here in the Keswick teaching. While great stress is laid on the indwelling of Christ, yet when the indwelling Spirit is treated of it is not the spirit of Christ, but the Holy Spirit in his pure and absolute essence that is regarded as communicated to the believer. The believer becomes the incarnation of the divine Absolute. The view of Prof. Milligan expresses the more tenable teaching, that the Spirit that infills the believer is the Holy Spirit as he dwelt in the humanity of Christ. The indwelling Spirit is not the essence or partial infusion of the Absolute Spirit of God, but the Spirit as associated with human nature in the incarnate Christ, namely, the Spirit of Christ. God sends forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts. The Eastern Church rejected the procession of the Spirit from the Son, and separated herself from the rest of Christendom by the refusal to admit a double procession. The best biblical as well as psychological conception of the indwelling divine Spirit in man is the Holy Spirit as he abode in the humanity of Christ. The Spirit proceeding through Christ as the Spirit of Christ takes up his indwelling in man. The idea in its unguarded aspect, that God as a measure of his absolute Being as Spirit dwells in man borders on pantheism, and Hegelian mysticism. Thus the spiritual life which a man has is not really his own, but a derivative of the great All, a portion of the one sole world-consciousness, a conception which makes precarious man's personal consciousness after death. God will indeed be All in All, but not to the annihilation of personal consciousness in man. There is an indwelling divine Spirit, but Spirit adapted to our humanity, whose withdrawal does not deprive us of spiritual existence. You serve God; you serve the Lord Christ; but you do not serve the Holy Spirit. He does not ask our spiritual ministrations. He only asks indwelling.

Fellowship is his office, and that not an exterior relation of association, but an interior life, an indwelling presence. A

spiritual gift is not a something which the Spirit places in the human heart as a self-acting, sanctifying thing. But a spiritual gift is the spirit of Christ in us acting the thing which is called a gift. The fruits of the Spirit are not commodities placed in the believer. They are the product of the Spirit's activity personally in us. They are operations and effects of the *Spirit of Christ* dwelling in the believer.

Spiritual qualities are distinguishable from the Spirit, but are not independent of his personal indwelling. They are inseparable from the abiding Spirit. There is mystery here as elsewhere in divine operations, but nevertheless it is experienced as a fact. God is in us to will and to do, and that indwelling God is the Spirit of the incarnate Christ.

The Lutheran doctrine of the presence of Christ's humanity in the eucharist is frequently misconceived, scouted, and pushed by some to an improper extreme.

Luther did not intend to establish a doctrine of the omnipresence of a literally flesh and blood Christ in an absolute, corporeal sense, but the presence of the glorified humanity in the person of Jesus Christ. It was the tendency of teachers to separate Christ from the operation of the Spirit in the sacrament of the eucharist that stirred Luther's soul into opposition. It was the spiritual communion of an absent Christ that Luther most strenuously denied. The spirit of Christ in the humanity of Christ is present both as sacramental, and as daily operative in the life of the believer. Christ was, is, and ever shall be, the divine man, the God-man, and the Spirit that works in the life of the Christian is the Spirit of Christ, the God-man. From this position of Luther is deduced the true doctrine of the Spirit of God in his relation to the human soul and the vital spiritual life of the Christian. The Spirit present and operative in the believer is not the Holy Spirit apart from the omnipresent Christ, but is the Spirit of the Christ, the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son.

But the proper teaching of the Spirit's personal work in the believer fell into neglect and became less prominent than it should because of the misuse of the word *grace*. Scholasticism

following in the wake of Augustine applied the term grace to divine exercises and actions, to qualities of soul, and endowments in man. Luther gave the term its proper significance as the free favor of God. Melancthon deprecated the use of the term *grace* to express qualities or habits of the soul, and sought to make general the expression, "work of the Holy Spirit."

"Sacramental grace" is an unfortunate term. Lutheran divines subsequent to Luther failed to take cognizance of the right significance of the word. The Spirit's personal operations became lost to thought through the capable misconception of the "operations of grace" in the believer. But grace is not an operation. It is a disposition in the mind of God. It is not an action, but an attitude. It is God's regard toward the believer in Christ, his attitude of free favor.

The lack of proper prominence being given by the doctrinal leaders of our Church to spiritual indwelling and operation has caused severe criticisms of Lutheran teaching. Prof. Smeaton in his work, *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, p. 397, has arraigned our Church severely.

He says: "The Lutheran Church system is such that it does not require the Spirit's work for the application of redemption. What other churches ascribe to the Holy Spirit, the Lutheran Church ascribes to the sacraments and Church ordinances; and these opinions are so diffused through the community, and so dominate the minds of clergy and laity alike, that there remains in reality in the ecclesiastical or theological mind no place for the operations of the Spirit on the individual. Regeneration is identified with baptism. Prayer for the Spirit is deemed superfluous, because the sacraments are always equally replenished with blessings. A new supply or outpouring of the Spirit is, according to them, an English or American extravagance." This has some marked significance for the Church of the Fatherland, and some considerable significance for us. Though Prof. Smeaton misconceives the Lutheran sacramental position, which at bottom is the real question of spiritual operations at issue, yet the same misconception by Lutherans has caused part of the Church to fall into unspiritualness. Gross sacramentalism

on the one hand, and rationalism on the part of doctrinal leaders in Germany, on the other, have eliminated the doctrine of the Spirit's personal relations to the believer, and relegated his work to the realm of seemingly impersonal divine influences. The prominence given in this generation to spiritual baptisms and operations is useful, healthful, and corrective. The Keswick movement teaches us to seek greater spiritual power, though it err in the method of spiritual operations and attainments. Special spiritual baptisms are not operations solely of New Testament times. God is ever willing to grant greater measures of the Spirit to receptive believers, and to make great spiritual operations manifest in the Church through his appointed means.

There are very few biblical subjects concerning which so many divergent views have been held as the subject of the atonement.

In the April issue, 1900, of the *American Journal of Theology*, Professor Hermann Schultz discusses "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Old Testament." In the October number of the same quarterly "The Place of Expiation in Human Redemption" is treated by Dr. George B. Gow, who sets forth the Pauline teaching. In the current numbers of *The Biblical World*, January, February and March, Prof. George S. Goodspeed writes on the "Atonement in Non-Christian Religions."

The study of natural atonement in its historical aspects does not explain all the mind of God, nor all the needs of man. The last meaning of a religious rite may be far different from that involved in its historical antecedents, but a comprehensive knowledge of all that is involved in the last meaning is scarcely possible without a true conception of what those antecedents embodied. The evolution from the primitive type or ceremony, however, does not always show the ultimate meaning in the divine mind. What was adapted to man's religious apprehension in his early moral stages may not be suited to the religious consciousness of today. But the principle involved in atonement is everlasting, and in its disclosure by historical development there never will escape the essentialness of reconciliation

between God and man. What atonement meant to men of olden time did not exhaust God's meaning, nor always coincide with his.

It is only the self sophisticated that think they have no consciousness of sin. Such may excuse themselves and deem their defects the remaining elements of their brute inheritance. But the consciousness that they do inherit something that is not quite beautiful betrays their self-complacency. When Isaiah declared to king Hezekiah that he would surely die, he believed it at once. But when God heard his prayer and sent his prophet to announce to him that his life would be prolonged fifteen years, he could not believe it, and asked a sign of its certainty. He readily believed evil of himself because of the innate feeling of desert. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die" has man's irrepressible consent, while good things are hard to be believed, for they are undeserved. Sin separates from holiness; sin separates from God. It is a bad thing to be out of harmony with him who owns and controls life. Men did not feel the estrangement so sorely except when it affected their circumstances, and entailed trouble. But God felt it deeply because it affected human character. Can anything be done to bring amicably together the alienated parties? Can anything be devised to put them at one again? It is both a moral and a physical law that the wages of sin is death. This law could not be abrogated. Something must be done, and that something must not be merely a smooth over. It must be a vital and reciprocal satisfaction. It must satisfy God's nature and character, and man's condition and conscience. It must satisfy the cravings of the human heart, and not merely satisfy the curiosity of the intellect.

Man was worried about circumstances which sin had caused, but God was troubled about human character. Remedy, if there were any, must not simply satisfy divine claims. It must satisfy and cover man's needs.

The remedy must save from causes, and not merely from consequences, else man's character would be left untouched.

Whatever was devised to set the estranged characters at one, must result in atonement of character; anything short of that would not cover all the estrangement.

The natural order would be, first atonement, followed by the more immediate result, namely, reconciliation, and ending in the full effect, which is redemption. We rightly expect that God would inaugurate an atonement which would be a perfect atonement with a perfect end in view. But we may not rightly expect that the remedy would at once place imperfect man in full attainment of that perfect end. God's end in view must be perfection, but man's condition and nature made him a subject of growth toward that end. The remedy must at once save man from death, a death which would preclude progress, but it could not create ready-made character for the saved man. He must grow into that.

So the atonement must cover man from beginning to end of redemption. In one true sense then it is an ethical atonement at first physically presented, at first symbolically and ideally effected.

The work of Luther was the presentation of the first objective purpose of the atonement, what was effected by it, namely, justification of the believer through his faith. The Reformers divided on the subject of the extent, or reference of the atonement. Was it designed for certain elect, or for all? Subsequent to the Reformation, and especially in our day, is the debated theme of the nature of the atonement, what it is in itself. Upon the answer to this depend the integrity and substantialness of both the extent and the effects of the atonement.

Justification by faith alone is the initial and necessary effect for the believer in his stage of salvation, the only possible immediate effect until faith wins its substance, the thing itself hoped for. If this be true, the nature of the atonement must harmonize with it.

Any theory of atonement that sets aside this question, and does not satisfy its demand, renders impossible the real salvation of imperfect man. He cannot leap at once into a perfect moral and spiritual character. He must grow into it. But he

needs to be saved from the very beginning, if he is to be surely saved. Redemption must have its effects through the believer's faith until it can be secured in his character. Any atonement that cannot act on man as he is by nature constituted, cannot come into contact with nor reach its own design.

The atonement which God appointed as a covering for man's sin was a blood covering. The life of the sinner was forfeited as the result of sin by natural and moral law, but God by first appointment accepted the life of an unblemished beast in lieu of the life of man. The blood of beast was to cover, or atone.

How shall the active and passive work of Christ, his teaching and the declaration of his apostles be adjusted to the Old Testament ceremonial and type of atonement? How much is actual material fulfillment, and how much spiritual suggestiveness? Wide fields of speculation have been opened up which conduct the mind to no satisfactory goal, while legal fictions have narrowed the field and led to an earthly goal.

The rights of human government, and the possibilities of divine-human suffering have exaggerated the states of Christ to suit a man-made theory of what ought to be, and to satisfy a mathematical computation of sins and their adequate penalty. A legal fiction may logically satisfy the intellect, but the worst dilemmas men get into are those created by the logical intellect. Some of the hardest things we are asked to believe respecting the character of God are the logically framed creations of the human mind. Moral qualities are conjoined in the person of the divine being which are incompatible in the character of regenerated man.

Man creates them, and when they are repulsive to his highest ethical consciousness, they are called mysteries. God is made to be subject to a law of theological determinism in his own being, and then his redemptive plan is worked out in ways perfectly analogous to humanly framed government. Roman Law, *lex*, is a hard and fast thing. It is vigorous and unbending enactment, and must be complied with without modifications of sentiment or of human feeling. Greek *nomos* is law too, but it pays deference to humanistic sentiment. It is not stern, un-

bending *lex*. Hebrew *torah* is law softer than *lex* and more pliant than *nomos*, and pays true deference to moral and spiritual sentiment. It is not merely regulation and discipline, but instruction and moral suggestive. The justice of the God of revelation is not the product of logical *lex*, but is the conception of the *torah*, a moral quality in God which looks to spiritual ends. The Hebrew mind works figuratively, and is replete with imagery. The hard and fast realism of occidental conception is not the mind of the Master, nor the Hebrew's perception of fact. The Hebrew is more anthropomorphic in expression than he is in conception. Theologically we are more anthropomorphic in conception than in expression. Satisfaction and propitiation are true on the Godward side of atonement. But God was in Christ reconciling the world into himself. In our mind we scarcely escape the conception of tri-theism. The wrath of God is true, and yet we are scarcely free from the idea of pique and resentment in the divine mind.

The wrath of God is the energy of holiness against corrupting evil, not vindictive anger, not passion. When divine wrath is appeased corrupting evil has been conquered. Jesus voluntarily assumed the conditions of life in an evil world, and the wrath of God was not upon Christ's person, but upon the evil assumed in the condition of an humbled servant. It was God's holiness in contrast of energy against what was impure and unholy. The divine mind was not changed by the atonement, but the divine attitude was by the removal of the hindrances to salvation.

Man enters into the atonement when he enters into God's resentment against sin. God must condemn sin, and must show that he condemns it. "God made us to know sin by making him who knew no sin to be sin for us."

The divine conduct must not be vindictive, but it must be corrective, and that involves displeasure against sin. The Godward side is not without feeling, but the satisfactions of anthropomorphism, and the infinite sufferings of fiction imposed on a vicarious sacrificial victim do not show the real expression of that feeling. The moral influence theory which sets forth a

Jesus simply suffering sympathetically to awaken human feeling and break down distrust and opposition to the love of God manifested in Christ, is no atonement. It covers nothing.

God is not a Shylock demanding his pound of flesh, nor is he a being impassible to the guilt of sin. The atonement does not consist simply in Christ's living an exemplary and perfect life, growing daily in spiritual power, doing as well for himself all things that he does for men, and drawing men into fellowship of life with him. The theory of atonement by sample covers nothing. It is a type of modern evolution that does not see the sinfulness of sin. Nor can the idea satisfy which represents Christ presenting to God on man's behalf an adequate sorrow and repentance for sin. Jesus felt no repentance, and had no confession of sin to make. He felt an adequate sorrow for sin, but that was not the measure of the atonement. There is somewhat of truth in each of these theories presenting the manward side of the atonement.

But the essential relation which God must bear to sin and human guilt is lost to view. The representation on the Godward side, of Christ experiencing infinite sufferings of mathematical computation to cancel equivalent penalties accruing to a world of sin, savors of retaliation and emotionalism, though a refined soul of most exalted spiritual susceptibilities truly suffers more in the flesh in that unity of moral perfection than can the common human creature.

But the key to the atonement in its sacrificial element is not the sufferings rendered, but the *life* given. The principle of suffering is to be believed, but not the extreme superficial mode. Christ *for us*, and Christ *in us* must be coupled in the ultimate divine purpose of the atonement. The redemption of man means more than escape from the just penalty of sin. It comprises the ultimate restoration of the believer through Christ. The atonement in Christ was the greatest act in the history of the world, and has more relations, and more significance than the logical mind, or the intuitive believer can satisfactorily blend and compute. St. Paul in considering it, called it the "manifold," "many colored," "many sided," wisdom of God.

The true theory cannot be contradictory to the human intellect, but man is more than intellect. A satisfactory view of it must accord with the pure ethical consciousness of man, and should satisfy the cravings of the regenerated heart, and likewise sustain true relations to the inmost being of God. It were better to be at one with God, and conscious of the fact, than to vex the soul deftly to explain how it is that we are reconciled.

Dr. George Matheson writes in the March number of *The Expositor* on the "Modern Fight of Faith." The first influence of evolution upon religion and anthropology was the enlargement of the idea of nature and the minimizing of the idea of man. Man formerly occupying a central position in the universe was driven into a corner—"a very remote corner." His insignificance placed him outside the interest of God, while God himself was separated from man "by an iron chain called Evolution." Then was most applicable the saying of the Psalmist, "Thou hast beset me behind and before, and hast laid thy hand upon me." Dr. Matheson has no fear at all that modern scientific knowledge is unfavorable to faith. He regards evolution a happy incentive to it. The old conception of a vast, unoccupied immensity of silent space left room for God outside of nature, behind and before it. But now the vast tracts of physical infinitude are peopled by suns and world-systems without limit. If God be anywhere he must be in nature and not outside or apart from it. There is no space unoccupied as a place of isolation for God. There is no end of planets; no end of suns and systems. There is no unoccupied beyond. Infinity is "the home of multitudinous forces pulsating and vibrating with the promise and potency of life." No longer may we speak of "a God behind nature." God must now be conceived as in nature.

And this modern universe is found to be encircled by a chain. Every thing and every event is "linked to some foregoing object." And this chain is Evolution. And man once deemed the centre of the divine plan is now seen to be but a small link in the chain. But since there is found to be no space unoccupied, there is no centre and no circumference to anything, hence

there are no differences of value, such as great and small. All things are of equal importance. "We have no local surroundings." "The brain-wave which originated our temptation had its birth in a movement of the fire-cloud." The nebulous movements of matter before the mountains were born no more awe us. They are man's "home memories—remembrances of a life to which he is linked, and from which he has come out to seek a larger destiny." In this recognition of Evolution "the first doctrine of the creed of science will be the first doctrine of the old creed of Creation—that man is made in the image of the universe." Then will come the joyous faith "that to the heart of man there throbs a responsive pulse at the heart of the universe."

Dr. Matheson would not wish to be called an unlimited evolutionist, nor an avowed pantheist. His presentation, however, would not be safe as dogmatic theology, nor critical as science. And what shall we say? It is the poet's reconciliation of evolution and religion.

And in saying this we do not disavow the poet's conception. The poet may see farther than the careful scientist, and as well get a glimpse of something true around the corners of well-squared theology. Only let the vision be deemed that of the seer, the happy conception of the poetical prophet, and not the statements of the calm teacher.

Science and religion have some happy reconciliations, but there are bristling difficulties too in their inter-relations, and the boxer in the "modern fight of faith" must not beat the air.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

For 32 years Prof. Luthardt has been the editor of the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*. His name is still found on the title page, but he no longer bears the same official relation to it that he had borne from its founding in the fall of 1868. The increasing infirmities of age compelled him

to withdraw from the editorship, and Pastor Hoelscher of Leipzig has been chosen his successor. Luthardt is mentioned on the first page as the founder of the paper. Dr. Hoelscher is, of course, one of the very conservative leaders of the Saxon Church. He is recognized as a man of great influence. However, his activity thus far has been limited almost exclusively to the practical affairs of the Church. In No. 5 of this year he addresses an article to the *Readers and Fellow-Contributors* of the journal, in which he gives utterance to some things that are very significant, coming as they do from one who is in a position to know the condition of the religious thought-life in the Church of the Fatherland, and who regards matters from the conservative standpoint.

Though there is great interest shown in politics and social science, the religious questions are really all-absorbing. "The inquiry and seeking after God stands in the centre of every movement."

"'God gave man eternity in his heart.' This expression of the preacher is our guiding star when we take our stand against the irreligious materialism of our time. For the denial of the eternal, the denial of the supramundane and supernatural, is the leading thought in the prevailing intellectual life in wide circles today. It is found, not only in the crude form of the ordinary ideas in the lower and higher classes of society, but also in the more dangerous form of a thorough, clever, scientific investigation, or of an artistic aesthetic tendency. It is directed, only too often, against religion and Christianity."

There is no consistent system of the universe evolved by man. Haekel's "Riddle of the Universe" remains a riddle. It is the purpose of the journal to show that "our thought and life reach their goal only in God, and that religion and Christianity are the truth of our life in this world."

"But another field for our work and warfare appears here. It is the opposition to the rationalistic enlightenment of the present. It is true that the *Protestantenverein* [an extreme rationalistic religious association of 35 years ago] has come to an end outwardly, but its method of thought lives on in a broad,

and, if I do not deceive myself, growing undercurrent. The aversion to doctrine, the indifference to the Confessions, the given watch-word of 'an undogmatic Christianity'—what else is this than the renewal of the old rationalism? The real question is that of revelation, or more exactly; is Christianity a production of the natural religious spirit of the human race, an evolution of the natural consciousness, or a creative act of God for the redemption of sinful man, which, in the person of Christ, enters into relation to that which was already present, but did not spring from it? The spirits reveal themselves when they meet this question, and it is plain that Christ stands even to-day for a stumbling block, or the resurrection of humanity. The different tendencies of our time divide on the person of Christ. Even the much discussed question as to the essence and value and authority of Holy Scripture as of the Word of God, and in particular the Old Testament discussion, resolves itself to the question: What think ye of Christ, whose son is he?

"He who dispenses with Christianity in his own thoughts and does not correct his own consciousness and the sentiment of the age according to Christianity, will always belong to those of a negative tendency, who find the norm and limits of their thought in the natural world, and really deny the supramundane living God. Here is the battle-ground of the present and the future; and this struggle knows no compromise, for the question is whether this modern Protestantism shall rule in the Church, or the Church itself, which rests on the facts of Divine Revelation."

The journal also stands for opposition to the Union. There is a certain relationship between it and rationalism. It is an artificial affair, made from the outside. It is not a product of history, but a break with history. "Hence the uncertainty and restlessness that is in it and is caused by it." It has brought much harm to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Of course it has become an historical fact in many German states, and we dare not ignore it or attempt to produce in it a retrogressive movement. But Hoelscher is nevertheless convinced

that a Church without a fixed confessional position is sick at the root and gives up its special calling to be a leaven in the life of the people. "Therefore we hold faithfully to the entire Confession of our fathers, and wish to work to the end that it become ever more and more the Confession of heart and life."

In the same journal, No. 52 of last year, there was an article on "Reflections at the Close of the Year." During the year just closed there have been two phenomena in the Church, which, when judged from the outside, did not cause a bitter strife, yet acted as a ferment and must be regarded as "pointing to a dark future." They waked those who had fallen into a careless optimism from their dreams and confronted them with the deep seriousness of the present condition.

Early in the year the question concerning the resurrection was suddenly placed on the order of the day, and at once, from all sides, all the negative spirits rushed to the conflict with positive confessional Christianity. The question became a revealer of the true position of men.

Much worn-out talk about "faith of the letter," "confessional bondage," "slavery of the Spirit" and the like was revised. But this had little meaning, for it was nothing new. However, the marked indifference and the ambiguity with which this new problem was met on the positive side is most significant. Men want peace at any price. Instead of properly estimating the contradictions that exists between them and the enemies of Zion, they emphasize that which they have in common and effect compromises and refuse to know anything of a righteous warfare. "It is one of the most serious dangers of our day that men are crying peace, peace when there is no peace, and regard that as a pledge of peace which is really a daring challenge and a declaration of war."

Nowhere is this more apparent than the second event that characterized the closing year. Harnack's lectures on the essence of Christianity and the reception given them. Their content was nothing less than a renewal of the so called enlightenment. Christianity consisted in nothing more than the

exercise of love for neighbor and trust in God. Jesus' chief service consisted in the value he placed on man's soul. He was not the Gospel nor did he belong to its fundamental content. The book was received with unbounded enthusiasm and was heralded as something new and unheard of. The *Christliche Welt* (an organ of the very liberal party) at once elevated it to a sort of a normative dogmatik which should form a silent basis for all its future deductions and treatises. It made it a shibboleth of modern theology. It clothed it with the authority of a symbol. Doctrines have often prevailed by having been put into popular form and thus placed within reach of the masses. This may occur with Harnack's book. "It is to be feared that with Harnack's book a new phase of development begins for modern theology and its popularization."

"At any rate this is the case already with a great part of the student body. They have been charmed by Harnack's 'Christianity,' and we do not wonder at it. His great fame as a man of science, the praise of his name in all liberal circles and organs," his fresh style and fearlessness, account for this. "And then they do not judge objectively, and cannot separate person and thing," and hence the personal impression of the man "who grew up in a churchly atmosphere with his heart doubtless more deeply rooted in true Christianity than his understanding will acknowledge," leads them to entrust themselves confidently to his leadership without further proof of the correctness of his teaching.

But there are others who showed a readiness to receive Harnack's ideas; which was very surprising, because their position flatly contradicts that which he advocated. They seem to have been misled by his reverential way of speaking of Jesus, and his praise of Christianity, and they concluded that this was proof of a common position in matters of faith. The thought did not seem to occur to them that they were dealing here only with kindred moods and words that have an entirely different content. The circle of those who, consciously or unconsciously, increase his authority in the Church, is growing. The writer fears that the immediate future is not promising, that it is not

ebb but flow tide, and that modern theology will have some more marked victories before men will wake up from its intoxication and offer opposition.

Pastor Lasson's reply to Harnack's book is regarded as very strong. It shows that there are some who see the danger of the situation and are ready and capable of opposing this tendency. We will not cease to hope that the sweeping reaction against this modern theology will eventually come. It is high time that our Church be awakened to her responsibility.

Prof. Theo. Zahn's most recent work, which appeared last year, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altchristlichen Literatur*, is divided into two sections, 1, Apostele-schueler in der Provinz Asien, and 2, Brueder und Vetter Jesu. The entire first section must be regarded as a reply to the corresponding parts of Harnack's *Chronologie*. As was to be expected, Zahn contradicts Harnack in a number of things. New Testament students can learn a great deal from this conflict of the two greatest living students of Patristics. Zahn's respect for tradition, combined with this mastery of detail, and his keen analytic powers, make the reader feel that Harnack progressed too rapidly in his investigations, and was too ready to reject things in coming to his conclusions.

In his introduction Zahn shows that at the close of the first century the Asiatic Church was regarded as a "true witness of the apostolic tradition (Irenaeus)." Hence the importance of this study of it. The teachers discussed are John, Philip, Aristion, Polykarp, Papias, several elders mentioned by Irenaeus and Quadratus. The third division discusses the sources, Justin, Lucius Carus, Acta Philippi, Evan. Philippi and Irenaeus. Acta Philippi belongs to the end of the fourth century. Evan. Philippi was known to Clemens Alexandrinus, hence is much older. Irenaeus was born 115, not 140 or 150, as Harnack claims. Quadratus was not a bishop, but a travelling missionary. He was the apologist who, in 123 or 129 sent Hadrian the apology. Harnack is not inclined to regard him as the author of the apology. Zahn concludes that Polykarp lived to

be about 100 years old and died a martyr. The passage from Papias of Hierapolis that speaks of the Presbyter John, refers to the Apostle, not written by the Presbyter John in Ephesus, who was a follower of the Apostle John, and not by the Apostle, is unconditionally rejected. Wohlenberg, in speaking of this notes the fact that on this point the critical school has been approaching nearer and nearer to the traditional view, and thinks that it will eventually accept it, and that Zahn will have the satisfaction of having been instrumental in bringing it about.

Wohlenberg sums up Zahn's teaching in the second section as follows: "Mary without the aid of a man bore Jesus and afterwards lived in a real marriage relation with Joseph, she herself probably of priestly family, and Joseph at all events of David. The brothers that came of this marriage were unbelievers until after the resurrection of the Lord, even James. The latter became the head of the congregation at Jerusalem at its reorganization about the year 35, which had become necessary after the close of the first persecution. The natural way of reading Gal. 1 : 19, dare not be forced. Cleopas, husband or father of a certain Mary, otherwise unknown, had nothing to do with Alpheus. He was the brother of Joseph and father of Simeon, the successor to James in the leadership of the congregation and died at an advanced age, a martyr under Trajan. Both father and son were probably the travelers to Emmaus."

From Schneider's *Kirchliches Jahrbuch* for 1901 we gather the following interesting information concerning the student world of Germany.

In Winter Semester 1898-9 there were in attendance at the Universities 32,597; in Summer Semester, 1899, 33,563; Winter Semester, 1899-1900, 33,465; and in Summer Semester, 1900, 33,985.

The attendance at the several Universities, Winter Semester, 1899-1900 and Summer Semester 1900 was as follows: Berlin, 6,478, 5,105; Munich, 4,049, 4,391; Leipzig, 3,481, 3,269; Bonn, 1,908, 2,162; Halle, 1,636, 1,620; Breslau, 1,618, 1,662; Wuertzburg, 1,215, 1,126; Tuebingen, 1,361, 1,544; Goettin-

gen, 1,238, 1,344; Heidelberg, 1,250, 1,553; Freiburg, 1,235, 1,766; Erlangen, 974, 974; Strassburg, 1,105, 1,145; Marburg, 1,049, 1,184; Greifswald, 759, 808; Koenigsberg, 840, 881; Giesen, 802, 855; Jena, 655, 758; Kiel, 757, 1,056; Rostock, 464, 495; Muenster, 620, 691. It will be noted that in Winter the Universities in the larger cities have the preference, in the Summer those in the smaller places.

The attendance of the theological students at the several universities is as follows: Halle, 349; Tuebingen, 329; Catholic, 168; Leipzig, 296; Berlin, 282; Greifswald, 183; Erlangen, 178; Goetingen, 136; Bonn, 36; Cath., 298; Strassburg, 84; Breslau, 77; Cath., 322; Giesen, 68; Kiel, 63; Heidelberg, 52; Jena, 44; Rostock, 41; Muenster, Cath., 323; Freiburg, Cath., 257; Munich, Cath., 159.

The number of students studying Law, Mathematics, Natural Science, Philology and History, have increased during the last year. The number of the medical students has decreased. There are 1594 students of Theology registered under Catholic faculties, which is an increase of 50 over last year. There were 2472 students of Evangelical Theology, which is a decrease of 122. The number of students of Evan. Theol. in the Summer Semesters for the last ten years is as follows: 1890, 4527; 1891, 4233; 1892, 3856; 1892, 3565; 1894, 3227; 1895, 3122; 1896, 2956; 1897, 2798; 1898, 2682; 1899, 2594; 1900, 2472.

Comparing the attendance of students of theology at the several universities in the Summer Semesters of 1899 and 1900, we note the following changes: Berlin 324 to 282; Bonn, 101 to 86; Breslau, 86 to 77; Erlangen, 299 to 178; Giessen, 68 to 59; Goettingen, 136 to 143; Griefswald, 215 to 183; Halle, 365 to 346; Heidelberg, 69 to 52; Jena, 39 to 44; Kiel, 45 to 63; Koenigsburg 76 to 93; Leipzig, 301 to 296; Marburg, 124 to 113; Rostock, 39 to 41; Strassburg, 66 to 85; Tuebingen, 343 to 329.

The five most conservative universities, Rostock, Greifswald, Erlangen, Leipzig and Halle, have more than two-fifths of the evangelical students of Germany.

The number of women attending German universities decreased from 664 in Winter Semester of 1899-1900 to 618 in Summer Semester of 1900. This apparent decrease was due to stricter regulations governing admission at Berlin, where, until last Semester, more were to be found than at all the other universities.

Of the 2178 instructors in the philosophical, legal and medical faculties in the German universities only 277 are Catholics, that is only 13 per cent., while 35 per cent. of the population of the Empire is Catholic. Dr. Lossol (Catholic) of Koenigsberg attributes this to Catholic indifference to education, not to any effects of the *Kultur Kampf*, as most Catholics claim.

In 1891 the venerable Bern. Weiss began the publication of a New Testament text, accompanied by brief notes, which was not finished until 1900. There are two methods for judging the traditional variations, "an external, by testing the manuscripts in order to distinguish the more recent from the older, and an internal, determining by exegetical examination which variations sprung from others (by accident or purpose)." The methods are supplementary. Weiss acknowledges the value of the former, but thinks that all attempts by classification to arrive at an original text, have proven only that there is no pure text type, no neutral text. Therefore we should lay more emphasis on the other method, and test exegetically the chief different readings in order to determine the sources of mistakes that we may eliminate them. In this examination of the text, exegesis has the deciding voice. The work supplies a long felt want and is to a great extent *sui generis*.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

History of Babylonia and Assyria. By Robert William Rogers, Ph. D., (Leipzig), D. D., LL. D., F. R. G. S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary, New Jersey. Two volumes, pp. XX. 429 and XV. 418. Price \$5.00.

In his preface the author informs us that he spent ten years in the preparation of these volumes, that he traveled extensively and made researches in the libraries and museums of Paris, Berlin, Cairo, and Constantinople. The work before us gives full evidence of this claim; it covers the entire subject, and is complete in every part. Every nook and corner has been ransacked, every tablet and monument and tomb has been laid under contribution, and every journal and book, from that of Odoric, the earliest known European traveler, to that of Hilprecht, the latest explorer, has been consulted. The result is the fullest, most thorough history of these countries that has ever been published. The chapters on Excavation and Decipherment are intensely interesting and prove how some of the greatest human triumphs have been won, not by a few brilliant dashes, but by a heroic grappling with apparent impossibilities and a spirit of painstaking that would die rather than surrender. Other chapters, such as the Lands of Babylonia and Assyria, the Peoples of these lands, the early Babylonian Dynasties, the Beginnings of Assyria, the Reigns of Tiglathpileser, the Sargons, Shalmaneser, Essarhaddon and Nebuchadrezzar, show the vast field traversed and the elaborate research made by our author. The discussion of the Babylonian Chronology and the vexed Sumero-Accadian question, problems which in the very nature of the case must await future discoveries for their solution, is characterized by a spirit of candor and conservatism.

We will venture upon one criticism. In his references to the Old Testament the author permits himself, in our judgment, to be too much controlled by the latest theories concerning the date and composition of this portion of the Bible, theories about which, as he well knows, the final word has not yet been spoken. A remarkable instance of this occurs on the last pages of the second volume. He there tells us that "the fall of Babylon in this fashion, (*i. e.*, without any resistance being offered), is one of the surprises of history. That a city, which had bred warriors enough to rule the whole civilized world, should at last lay down its arms and tamely submit—it is impossible, and yet it is true." In the absence of any other account why did the author not al-

low the prophet Daniel to speak? Daniel gives the explanation of how the impossible may become possible.

The work is written in a charming and popular style, and is fascinating from beginning to end. It is provided with an Appendix, an Index of Subjects, of Authors and Biblical passages quoted or discussed. We recommend these volumes most heartily to our readers.

T. C. BILLHIMER.

GENERAL COUNCIL BOARD OF PUBLICATION, PHILADELPHIA.

Dost Thou Believe? Or Candid Talks on Vital Themes. By Joseph A. Seiss, D. D., LL. D., Pastor of the Church of the Holy Communion, Philadelphia. pp. 382.

This book is a new edition, under this new title, of *Right Life*, published in 1886. The old name did not quite fit the subject matter, nor does the new. Neither indicates the real scope. Either points out a wider field than is traversed. It is a discussion of the fundamental beliefs in the Christian religion; the existence of God, the need of a personal faith in him, the nature of religion, reason and revelation, proofs of revelation through the Bible, the new ideas and influences brought into the world by Jesus Christ, Christ the only hope etc. It belongs to the department of Apologetics rather than that of practical religion. It is a volume of lectures delivered on Sunday evenings to those who were especially invited to hear them. The lectures were prepared for the benefit of young people, non-church goers and persons in doubt or indifference respecting religion. Though prepared for delivery from the pulpit they were written for publication. The style and method of treatment happily combine those of the preacher and the author. In this difficult task Dr. Seiss has had remarkable success. Few sermons and lectures can be heard and read with equal pleasure, but this volume is as interesting as if it had been primarily prepared for the press. Being popular in its purpose we do not look for the same exactness in statement that we demand in strictly scientific discussion. Some of the definitions are a little vague, as that of religion, some of the facts are not precisely correct, as that of the purpose of Dr. Carter's celebrated argument, and some philosophic expressions are rather strange, as that of being conscious of consciousness; but these things do not detract from the value of the book. It is the result of a wide range of reading extending through a number of years. We have in it the ripe fruit of a long professional life. The arguments are strong and clear, and are given in the best vein of the author's characteristic style. The reader finds no difficulty in following the discussion into the serious questions of philosophy. Young people if they are interested in such themes will be charmed, and older persons who have often gone over them will be delighted in going over them again. It is grati-

fying that the demand for it justified a new edition. Since Christian evidences are being left out of the curriculum in so many colleges we need books like this to counteract the sceptical influence of such a large part of our secular and literary press. Pastors are compelled to give an increasing amount of attention to this part of their work. They will find very valuable help in this volume.

L. A. FOX.

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

Around the Christmas Hearth. Eight Christmas stories by G. W. Lose. Cloth bound. 139 pages.

The Bells Call Me. Four stories from the German of Th. von Rothsuetz and M. Grabi; translated by W. A. Trapp. Board bound. 89 pages. With colored illustrations.

Der Weihnachtmorgen und andere Erzaelungen. Five stories in simple German, by Antoine Moeller, Elizabeth Heidemann, and J. Westphal. 64 pages. Cloth bound. With colored illustrations.

These three books with bright pictures and stories of child-life, drawn mostly from Fatherland sources, will prove a delight to youthful readers. Each story is founded on some noble Christian ideal.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

The Teachers' Annual or Assistant to Understand The International Lessons 1900-1901. Edited by Rev. J. Sheatsley of Delaware, Ohio.

A very comprehensive and meritorious work which should be in the possession of every teacher using the International series of Sunday school lessons. The work, though confessedly composed in great haste shows no evidence of the same. It contains gospel lessons (Thomasius' Selection of Pericopes) thereby drawing the scholar's attention to the beautiful lessons of the Church Year. Each pericope is followed by a lengthy and able elucidation to which is added a series of well chosen lessons drawn from the Bible text itself, which are to be especially impressed upon the attention of the pupil. We would commend it, not only to the teacher, but also to the pastor as a ready reference volume and a suggestive little commentary.

M. H. STETTLER.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

G. W. Anderson of the Boston School Committee opens the April *Atlantic Monthly* with a fearless exposure of "Politics and the Public Schools;" Dr. Talcott Williams discusses "The Anthracite Coal Crisis" and the coming wage adjustment in the mining industry; John Muir describes the "Fountains and Streams of the Yosemite;" W. D. Lyman exploits the "State of Washington;" C. A. Dinsmore treats "Dante's Quest of Liberty;" Martha A. Harris, "The Renaissance of the Tragic Stage;" and Edwin Burritt Smith, "The Next Step in Municipal Reform." "Penelope's Irish Experiences" end, but Miss

Jewett's "Tory Lover" goes on with increasing interest. F. J. Stimson, Jennette Lee, Roswell Field, and Miss Dunbar contribute stories or sketches. In addition to an April Symposium of poetry, Henry Van Dyke, John Burroughs, and M. A. De W. Howe furnish single poems, and the "Contributors" Club is bright as always. An excellent issue of the *Atlantic*.

ABBEEY PRESS, 114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

A Daughter of the Prophets. By Curtis Van Dyke. \$1.00

This is a charming little story of a twentieth century woman. The author is a descendant of that Dr. Van Dyke who some years since carried on a spirited controversy with Frances Willard on the question of woman's position and rights.

The story develops slowly, almost tediously, at first, but when once the reader's attention is caught it never lags until the tale is told. Even to the modern reader, accustomed to all sorts of twentieth century "surprises," the boldness of its teaching comes with somewhat of a shock. The heroine of the story is first a lawyer, then a wife and mother, and finally an ordained minister of the gospel standing in the pulpit of a wretched frontier town, and delivering a message full of hope and life and power. These are surely not the ordinary materials of the writer of romance, yet the author has taken them and with great tact and skill has made of them a high toned and bewitching "love story."

The teaching of the book is essentially moral and religious, it is a sermon in the attractive garb of romance, and though it is not written in the spirit of carping criticism, it touches some points in modern church-life that are not invulnerable. Could our pulpits and pews be filled with men and women displaying the same apostolic courage and zeal and unselfishness that is depicted in the life of our hero, Roger Fenlow, and his beautiful young wife, much of the opposition and criticism now directed against the Christian Church would be speedily silenced.

It is a book that all classes can read with interest and profit, but we believe it will prove specially profitable and inspiring to young ministers.

C. H. HUBER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Apostolic Age. By George T. Purves, D. D., LL. D., recently Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis in Princeton Theological Seminary. Being No. 8 of "The Historical Series for Bible Students," edited by Profs. Kent and Sanders. Cloth bound. pp. XX. and 343 \$1.25.

This volume deserves a prominent place among the many books that have been written concerning the apostolic age. It makes no pretense to originality of theories in order that it may differ from previous pub-

cations. Its purpose is rather to give the results of constructive scholarship "in concise and attractive form," emphasizing "assured and positive rather than transitional positions."

The result of Dr. Purves' examination "is to uphold in all essential points the traditional conception of Apostolic Christianity." And yet the book is not a mere copy of old authors and conceptions. The scholarly reputation of Dr. Purves, and a thorough reading of the volume, should remove every shadow of such a suspicion. The position of the author was taken "only after careful and candid investigation," and appeared to him "the inevitable issue of unprejudiced inquiry."

The plan of the volume is excellent. It is composed of five parts, each one a main division of the whole subject. These in turn are subdivided into varying numbers of chapters, according to their relative importance. This gives the book an air of simplicity and directness that is very helpful and attractive to the reader. There are no lengthy paragraphs and interminable chapters. The very division fixes the thought in the mind of the reader. Moreover, every division begins with a short chapter on historical sources and literature.

Among the other advantages to be mentioned are the five excellent maps—four of them tracing Paul's journeys—by which the geographical relation of apostolic activity can be better understood. Then there is an appendix, containing a discussion of the chronology of the apostolic age. A double index—of names and subjects, and of Biblical references, is also given; very thoroughly made, and giving easy reference to any subject desired. Finally, there is an extensive bibliography, giving the best books on the apostolic age from the various schools of thought. The more earnest student of this period will find this feature very helpful for further study.

Perhaps the part in the volume that is least satisfactory is the author's discussion of the Pentecostal "tongues." Dr. Purves, with his constant acknowledgement of the supernatural, sees no difficulty in accepting Luke's whole statement. But in his further discussion and comparison of the various manifestations of "tongues," he is not always consistent, and his argument is not conclusive. This much may be said, however: it is far more satisfactory than many of the theories advanced of late years.

The same may be said of the author's discussion of the North—and South—Galatian theories. Of course, by reason of the scarcity of fact, and the necessity of conjecture, the final word has not yet been uttered; but the superior proof would seem to be with the position Dr. Purves takes.

The description of Paul, the development of his work and his theology, is very sympathetic. His discussion of Paul's conversion is especially fine, and the explanations offered convincing.

The space devoted to the rest of the apostles is, for obvious reasons,

much less than that given to Paul; but there is nothing of any value that is omitted.

In fine, Dr. Purves has given us an admirable cook on a much discussed subject, and his effort is not in vain. Those who read the book will not regret it; while busy factors will find in its clear, concise statements much that is stimulating and helpful for their study of the Acts and the Epistles.

JULIUS F. SEEBACH.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

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M. COOVER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Dr. Martin Luther's Reformations Schriften. Erste Abtheilung. Zur Reformationshistorie Gehörige Documenta. A. Wider die Papisten. Aus den Jahren 1525 bis 1537. 4 to 2325 pp. (columns).

No other publication committed to this reviewer receives the welcome with which each new volume of this superb edition of Luther's works is greeted. Vol. XVI contains a continuance of the Documents relating to Reformation history begun with Vol. XV. It consists of six chapters. Chap. 10 treats of the Peasants' Insurrection and the death of Elector Frederick, including Spalatin's Tröstung an den Churfürsten, a priceless gem of consolatory reflections. Chap. 11, of the Diets held 1525-1529, giving the full text of the memorable protest at Spires, April 25, 1529. Chap. 12, of Sundry Leagues of the Papal Princes against the Confessors of Evangelical doctrine and of the conventions

of the Evangelical Princes and States at Torgau, Rodach, Schwabach, etc. Chap. 13, more than half of the volume—of the Diet at Augsburg, 1530, and of the Confession there presented, of Luther's sojourn at Coburg, his labors, conflicts and sicknesses there, his prayer and exultant faith. Chap. 14, of the Protestant Assemblies at Schmalkald, the Schmalkald League and the first Religious Peace. Chap. 15, of the negotiations between the Imperial and Papal Envoys and the Evangelical States concerning the Council to be called.

It is noteworthy that we have in this volume the full text of three of the Lutheran Confessions, the Augustana, the Apology and the Schmalkald Articles, revised according to Müller's "Symbolische Buecher." So we have also the Confutation, and Aurifaber's incomparable Report of the Diet, for these works of Luther are not strictly confined to what proceeded from his tireless pen.

Well may the editor say: "We learn from the writings herein contained how wonderfully God has protected and preserved his Church, which teaches and confesses his holy and pure word, against all the powers and assaults of the adversaries, mighty though they were and wicked their purposes "

A catalogue of Documents according to their dates, and a list of Luther's Letters according to their dates, are added—a feature which is sure to be appreciated by all students.

E. J. WOLF.

Johann Friedrich Starcks Tägliches Handbuch in guten and bösen Tagen. * * * Neue Ausgabe, durchgesehen von F. Piefer.

No Church so abounds in devotional literature as the Lutheran, and no modern language is so well adapted to convey devotional thought as is the German language. The hymn-books, prayer-books, books of sermons and of pious meditation, that have proceeded from the Lutheran Church, and have appeared in German language, are not legion, but legions. In this class of literature Starck's *Handbuch*, commonly known as *Starcks Gebetbuch*, holds a high place. The author was born at Hildesheim in 1680, studied theology at Giessen, in 1715 became pastor at Frankfort on the Main, and died in 1756. The book in its original form was first published in 1727. It passed through many editions, and was circulated by the tens of thousands of copies. In the year 1855 it was published in an English translation by I. Kohler in Philadelphia.

We do not wonder that our Missouri brethren have brought out a new edition of this truly good book, that has quickened and comforted so many pious souls, and has brought light and joy to so many dying Christians. In its original form it is in every sense worthy of being placed in every family that uses the German language in its devotions.

The book contains exhortations, prayers and hymns for almost every possible occasion and experience in life. Usually a service begins with a passage of Scripture. This is briefly and edifyingly expounded. Then

follows a prayer, and then a hymn. On reading these prayers we readily agree with Prof. Piefer, in the Preface, that "on John Frederick Starck more than on others was poured out the gift of prayer." The exhortations are so rich as to reveal a soul that lived in the depths of the divine Word and had the gift of interpretation. These exhortations, or expositions as they may be called, have a homiletical value, and may be advantageously used by young ministers. The prayers also may be studied as models by those who have to lead the devotions of a congregation. The hymns represent the richness and fulness of the German hymnology. Taken as a whole there is no better book of its kind in any language than *Starcks Gebetbuch*.

But we regret to say that we do not have *Starcks Gebetbuch* in its original, in what we believe to be its best form. Starck was a Pietist to the very centre and soul of his Christian life. Had he been anything else he could never have produced his *Gebetbuch*. Professor Piefer has been careful to tell us in the Preface that certain features peculiar to Pietism have been set aside "by brief omissions and slight changes." We believe that this is taking unwarranted liberties with an old standard. The one-sided emphasis placed by the Missourians on "grace," and their fear lest "sanctification" be brought too near to "justification," have inspired these changes. It would be well for Missouri and equally well for all of us to lay more emphasis on sanctification.

This preface also accuses Starck of "a false Sunday doctrine." Starck held and taught that the third Commandment—"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,"—still has divine authority. This was the doctrine of the entire Lutheran Church for at least two hundred years or more after the Reformation. Modern German Lutheran theologians during the nineteenth century vied with each other in effort to show that the third Commandment was abrogated by Christianity. As a result a flood of Sabbath desecration has come upon Germany, until recently a Synod in Wuertemberg officially deplored the desecration and the secularization of the Sabbath, and the consequent slim attendance at divine worship. We are sorry to read in this book that "we Christians according to the New Testament have nothing to do with this (third) commandment." It is not what John Frederick Starck taught, but the very opposite of his teaching, and yet it is sent out under the *imprimatur* of his honored name!

We long for the time when the entire Lutheran Church shall return to her earlier teaching in regard to the third Commandment.

It only remains to be said that the large, clear print of this book is but a fair sample of the superior work done by the Concordia Publishing House.

J. W. RICHARD.

LEA BROTHERS AND COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Moriscoes of Spain: their Conversion and Expulsion. By Henry Charles Lea, LL. D.

This book is not intended to be a complete history of the Moors in Spain, or even a complete account of their life at any particular period. It is limited to the sufferings of these people under the Inquisition and the ever-enlarging persecutions leading to their final expulsion from the country. It is a tragedy unrelieved by any cheerful scenes and increasing in ferocity to the end. The only relief is in the reflection that during the century with its cruelties and wrongs there must have been some brighter events though unrecorded here. But even if the perspective is defective, the picture drawn of the ecclesiasticism of the time is essentially true. No other kind of persecution is so revolting as that visited in the name of the Christian faith upon those outside who have never learned its true character.

The author is on familiar ground. In other volumes he has told the story of the Inquisition and presented kindred themes. He has a style generally clear and correct, making the reading easy. A number of foreign words might be clearer for a little explanation or definition; perhaps there are enough to justify a brief glossary. Statistics of trials and burnings for heresy, of slaughters, enslavements and transportations are freely given and abundant references to authorities and documents show that facts not fancies are the material dealt with.

Our interest in the Spanish people has lately been quickened; our necessity for knowing them well is increased, and whatever will conduce to this end, even though three or four centuries old, is likely to be welcome.

J. A. HIMES.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1901.



ARTICLE I.

THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY'S CONFESSION OF FAITH.

BY PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D. D.

It is conceded by all competent scholars that the data in hand are not sufficient to enable anyone to write a perfectly adequate history of the Diet of Augsburg of the year 1530. Many particulars are desiderated. The Augsburg-Coburg correspondence is incomplete. The Despatches sent to Rome have not been thoroughly examined. Much of the Catholic correspondence has been lost, as likewise much that was sent by the Protestants from Augsburg. Some extant documents and letters are of uncertain authorship, and others are of uncertain meaning. The originals of the Augsburg Confession itself have not been seen by Protestant eyes since they were delivered to the Emperor, June 25th, 1530, and are supposed to have perished long since. Even the copy from which Melanchthon made the *Editio Princeps* is not certainly known.

But the researches of modern, chiefly living, German scholars have thrown light on more than one dark spot in the history of that memorable year, 1530, which derives its chief ecclesiastical significance from the stirring events witnessed by it at Augsburg. A case in point is before us. In 1884 Professor Dr. Theodore Brieger, then of Marburg, now of Leipzig, while examining the Despatches sent to Rome by Cardinal Campeggius, read with astonishment in the Report made by the Cardinal at Innsbruck, May 12th, the following: "The Elector of Saxony has sent to the Emperor at Innsbruck a declaration of

his faith, which, so far as I can learn, is entirely Catholic at the beginning, but full of poison in the middle and at the end."* Says Brieger: "A most surprising account, that the Elector John sent a confession of faith to the Emperor already before the opening of the Diet. Undoubtedly this step was taken upon advice of Count William of Nassau given by him to the Elector's ambassador, Hans von Dolzig, at Dillenburg near the end of March."†

The substance of this advice as officially reported by Dolzig was that circumstances were such as to require that the Elector should send a conciliatory and complete report about the affairs of religion, to be laid before the Emperor and his counsellors prior to the opening of the Diet. In connection with this advice Count William promised that he and his brother the Margrave Henry of Nassau, would act as mediators between the Elector and the Emperor. Also the report would have to be made in the Latin or French language (*die lateynische oder welsche Sprach*: *Welsche* may also mean Italian or Spanish), since the Emperor and his attendants were not well acquainted with any other language.‡

Dolzig's report must have reached the Elector when the latter was on his way to Augsburg, perhaps at Weimar, perhaps at Coburg; though we cannot agree with Brieger that the Elector was led by Count William's advice to prepare a *confession of faith* and send it to the Emperor, and that for the simple reason that what he sent was a *confession of faith*, and not a report about religion in his dominions. We must seek the ground and reason for the Elector's action in this matter in the discovery, immediately on reaching Augsburg, perhaps even earlier, of a change in the theological situation, such as could be met only by a confession of faith. The doctrinal teaching of his theologians had been, or was about to be, arraigned before the Emperor. A confession of his faith was what the circumstances required of the Elector.

**Kirchengeschichtliche Studien fuer Reuter*, 1887, p. 312.

†*Ibid.*

‡Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, I., p. 128.

But for reasons which we do not know the matter was conducted secretly. We find no allusion to it in the letters of the Elector's theologians and counsellors; and in the correspondence conducted between the Elector and his ambassadors at Innsbruck, and with Counts Henry and William of Nassau and William of Neuenar, there is no express mention of a confession of faith; nor have we any written official report of the part acted by the Counts as mediators; though there are allusions to certain transactions about the affairs of religion. But in the light of Professor Brieger's subsequent discovery these allusions become perfectly intelligible, as does also the following passage in a letter written, May 31st, by Jacob Sturm of Strassburg, to Zwingli: "There is a report, and it is of such a nature that it does not seem to be wholly without foundation, that the *Saxon* through ambassadors has sent to the *Emperor at Innsbruck* contains articles, in which he confesses his faith, and has added that he will not depart from that Confession, unless, by clear testimonies of the Scripture, he is convinced and led to change his mind. If this is true, as I have learned from men worthy of credit, I think they are the same, or not altogether different from those which Luther has recently had printed, and which you will receive through this messenger"*—meaning the Schwabach Articles.

In reporting his discovery Professor Brieger says: "On the last day of my studies in the Vatican Archives, by a happy accident I came upon traces of the confession sent.

"In the second volume of the so-called *Acta Wormaciencia* of the Vatican Archives, a collection made by Aleander, which in its second part contains exclusively documents of 1530, and in this part should much rather be designated as *Acta Augustana*, I happened upon an evangelical Confession of 15 articles in the Latin language. *It agrees substantially with the Schwabach Articles.* Purely by accident are we in a position to make it highly probable that this Confession formed the supplement to Campeggius's Despatches of May 12th. For Aleander's amanuensis, who has transmitted these articles to us, has added

*Zwingli's *Opera*, 8 : 459.

an account of the things sent by Campeggius as a second supplement."*

But Brieger did not make a copy of this "evangelical confession." In reporting his discovery he says: "Since I was able to note only a few sentences, I could not state the exact relation of this confession to the Schwabach, that is, say in what way the 17 Schwabach Articles were changed into the 15 here present."

Brieger does not tell us why he did not make a copy of the confession, nor why he did not examine it more minutely, so as to ascertain its exact relationship to the Schwabach Articles. We suspect that the reason lay in the difficulty of deciphering the manuscript, which, it seems, requires the skill of an expert. At all events the learned world has known of the existence of this confession only through Professor Brieger's report, and by means of his meagre notes. It appears also that he made a mistake in his citation of the place where it is found. But no matter. It has been re-discovered, and will now be given to the public. That it was actually laid before the Emperor, not earlier than May 5th, and was considered May 8th, is evident from a note appended to Dolzig's official report to the Elector, May 5th, and from his official report of May 8th.† That it did not make a favorable impression on the Emperor and his counselors is evident from the fact that Campeggius has learned that it is full of poison in the middle and at the end. The same might also be inferred from the Elector's order for the suppression of the Protestant preaching at Augsburg. That it should have passed immediately into oblivion, and have remained unknown for more than three and a half centuries, is somewhat remarkable, when we consider the purpose for which it was prepared.

That this Confession has at length been brought to light is due not only to the happy accident of which Professor Brieger speak, but to the happy skill of the Germans in research. For us it has no confessional authority whatever, but a very consider-

**Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, pp. 314--15.

†Förstemann, I., 174, 180. See Seckendorf, II., sec. 56, Add. III; Müller, *Historie*, p. 476.

able historical interest as showing the first step taken by the Lutherans in meeting the Emperor with articles of faith in distinction from articles on abuses ; or, in other words, because it shows us the oldest sketch of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. That it was prepared by Melanchthon, there can be scarcely a doubt. But just on what day or hour it was prepared we do not know. We know simply that it was prepared, was sent to Innsbruck, was delivered to the Emperor, was considered at the Imperial Court, and that it failed to conciliate the Catholics to the Lutherans. That it should be based on the Schwabach Articles seems natural, since only a few months earlier, these articles, bearing the title: *Artickel vom Churfürst von Sachssen des glawens halb*, had been accepted by the Elector as his Confession of faith, and had been used by his authority in an effort to unite the forces of Protestantism.

The form of the Schwabach Articles used in the preparation of this new Confession was not that published by Luther while at Coburg ; but an older form, one in all probability verbally in accord with the *Original*, which was discovered by Elias Frick in the city archives at Ulm, and published by him in 1714 in his German edition of Seckendorf, pp. 968 et seqq., published with diplomatic accuracy by George Gottlieb Weber in Vol. I. of his *Kritische Geschichte der Augspurgischen Confession*, 1783. Hence it is with this edition of the Schwabach Articles that we have compared this Electoral Confession, and it is from it, without changing the antiquated spelling, that we have quoted. It will be found, as observed by Brieger, that this Confession agrees substantially with the Schwabach Articles ; but there are forms of statement in the Confession that cannot be called translations, but rather adaptations or changes made in view of a new purpose. This is decidedly true of the tenth article. Only about one third of Article III. has been translated. And Articles XI. and XV. of the Schwabach series, do not appear in any form in this Electoral Confession. Such articles in their present evangelical form—that private confession should not be enforced by laws and that clerical celibacy is a damnable doctrine of devils—would have given mortal offense at Charles's

court, and would have helped to establish Eck's Propositions. In most cases, however, the Schwabach Articles have been closely followed, but the work of translation and adaptation seems to have been hastily done. At least the Confession does not bear that polished appearance that Melanchthon always gave to his writings when they remained long enough in his hands for him to apply the *limae labor*. Hence, and for other good reasons, we must believe that this Confession was prepared after the Elector's arrival at Augsburg,* and that the desire to counteract the effect upon the Emperor of Eck's 404 Propositions, was the immediate motive in the preparation of this Confession of faith. The need was not so much that the Emperor should hear about the affairs of religion in Saxony, as that he should know what doctrines were taught under the protection of the Elector. Count William's advice would be remembered, but only remotely could it have been responsible for this step on the part of the Elector. Eck's "most diabolical slanders," to use the words of Melanchthon,† were thus the reason alike for the preparation of this Confession and for the prefixing of articles of faith to the "Apology." At all events we have in this Confession the oldest known draft of the doctrinal articles of the Augustana, and possibly the form, real or approximate, in which the doctrinal articles were sent to Luther, May 11th.‡ But whatever be the chronology of this Confession, we may say truly that had the Emperor reached Augsburg by May 1st, as was at one time expected, the Augsburg Confession in its doctrinal articles, which in the course of time have become the true source of its power, would have been far different from what they now are, and would have been ill-adapted to become the fundamental confession of a great Church. It was thus a most fortunate circumstance for Lutheranism that the Emperor's coming was delayed until the Confes-

**Real Encyc.* II., 245.

†C. R. II., 45.

‡See Knaake, *Antheil Luthers*, p. 77. and Ender's *Luthers Briefwechsel*, VII., 331, note

sion could be more fully thought out, and could be wrought into its present form.

And now having presented the history of this interesting Electoral Confession as fully as the known data will permit, we present below the Confession itself, word for word, letter for letter, and point for point, as it came into our hands directly from the Secret Archives of the Pope at Rome, together with a close English translation.

PRIMUS ARTICULUS

Arch. Secr. Vat. *Quod firmiter et*
 Arm. LXIV *unanimiter tenea-*
 to. 18 *tur et doceatur so-*
 fol. 461 et seqq. *lum unum et ver-*
um Deum esse Cre-
atorem coeli et
terrae ita quod in sola illa vera et di-
vina essentia tres differentes personae
existant, videlicet Deus pater, Deus
filius et Deus Spiritus Sanctus, quod
filius a patre genitus ab aeterno in
aeternum verus et naturalis sit Deus
cum patre et filio sicut haec omnia
cum Sacra Scriptura dilucide et suf-
ficienter probari possunt veluti Johan-
nis primo: In principio erat Verbum
et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus
erat Verbum; omnia per ipsum facta
sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil
quod factum est etc. Et Mathei ul-
timo: Ite, docete omnes gentes: et
baptizate eas in nomine patris et filii
et Spiritus sancti et alia similia pre-
cipue in Evangelio S. Joannis ex-
pressa.

SECUNDUS ARTICULUS

Quod solus Dei filius verus homo
factus et ab intemerata virgine Maria
natus fuerit cum anima et corpore
perfectus: et non quod pater aut
Spiritus Sanctus homo factus fuerit:
Quemadmodum heretici patripassiani
sive Moeticiani docuerunt: Item quod
filius non tantummodo corpus sine
anima suscepit uti in errore Pho-
tinianorum patet cum saepius in

FIRST ARTICLE.

That it is firmly and unanimously held and taught that there is only one true God, Creator of heaven and earth; so that in one true divine essence, there are three distinct persons, namely, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit; that the Son begotten of the Father from eternity to eternity is truly and by nature God [with the Father; and the Holy Spirit both of the Father and the Son, is also from eternity to eternity truly and by nature God] with the Father and the Son; as all these things can be clearly and effectively proved by Holy Scripture, as John 1: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made etc. And from the last of Matthew: Go, teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and other like passages set forth especially in the Gospel of St. John.

SECOND ARTICLE.

That only the Son of God became true man and was born of the pure virgin Mary, perfect in soul and body; and that not the Father nor the Holy Spirit became man as the heretical Patripassians or Moeticians taught. Likewise that the Son did

Evangelio de anima sua dixerit ut alibi: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem: quod autem filius homo factus sit clare constat Johannis primo: et Verbum caro factum est: et ad Galatas tertio: et cum tempus completum esset misit Deus filium suum ab una muliere natum etc.

TERTIUS

Quod idem Dei filius verus Deus et homo Jesus Christus sit atque unica et individua persona pro nobis mortalibus: passus, crucifixus, mortuus, sepultus, et qui Tertia die resurrexit a morte, ascendit ad coelos, sedens ad dexteram Dei ac dominus omnium creaturarum etc.

QUARTUS

Quod peccatum originale habeat naturam veri peccati et non defectus tantum, aut viciū existat, sed tale sit peccatum per quod omnes homines ab Adamo descendentes, damnantur et a Deo in aeternum separantur, nisi Christus Jesus pro nobis tam hoc quam omnia peccata ex eo sequentia in se recepisset et pro iis per passionem suam satisfecisset eaque sustulisset et in totum delevisset in se ipso sicut in psalmo quinquagesimo et ad Romanos sexto de hujusmodi peccatis expresse scriptum est

QUINTUS

Et quia omnes homines peccatores ac peccato mortique et diabolo obnoxios esse constat impossibile est: ut homo viribus suis: vel cum bonis operibus se eruat ex illis ut iterum rectificetur aut probus efficiatur: seque etiam non potest parare vel aptare ad justitiam: Immo vero quanto magis sibi proponit seipsum ex iis eximere res ejus eo deterior redditur: Haec est autem unica via ad iustitiam et redemptionem a pec-

not only assume a body, without a soul, according to the error of the Photinians; since often in the Gospel he has spoken of his soul, as: My soul is sorrowful unto death. But that the Son became man is evident from John 1: And the Word was made flesh; and in Galatians 3: And when the fulness of time was come God sent his Son born of a woman, etc.

THIRD.

That the same Son of God is true God and man Jesus Christ, and thus as one undivided person, suffered for us mortals, was crucified, died, was buried, and on the third day arose from death, ascended to heaven, sitting at the right hand of God as Lord of all creatures, etc.

FOURTH.

That original sin has the nature of real sin, and is not a defect only, or a blemish, but is a sin by which all men who come of Adam would be condemned and forever separated from God, had not Jesus Christ taken upon himself this as well as all sins resulting from it, and made satisfaction for them by his passion, and taken away and in himself wholly destroyed them, as is expressly written of such sins in the fiftieth Psalm, and in the sixth of Romans.

FIFTH.

And since it is evident that all men are sinners, and are subject to sin, death and the devil, it is impossible for man by his own powers, or by his good works, to deliver himself from them so that he may be rendered righteous or made upright; and also he is not able to prepare or fit himself for righteousness. Yea, rather, the more he tries to deliver himself from them, the worse his

cato et morte quando sine ullo merito aut opere creditur in filium Dei pro nobis passum etc. Haec fides est iustitia nostra: quam quidem fidem Deus pro recta et sancta vult reputari et teneri, omniaque peccata remissa et subinde vitam aeternam esse donatam hominibus, qui hanc fidem in filium Dei habent, quod propter filium suum gratiam habeant et filii sint in regno suo, et est, prout haec omnia Beatus Paulus et Johannes in Evangelio habunde demonstrarunt: et ad Romanos decimo: corde creditur ad justitiam: et ad Romanos quarto: fides eorum imputatur eis ad justitiam, et Joannes tertio: omnes qui in filium credunt non peribunt: sed habebunt vitam aeternam.

SEXTUS

Quod fides haec non sit opus humanum neque ex viribus nostris possibile: sed quod sit opus Dei et donum quod Spiritus Sanctus per Christum datus, in nobis operetur: et haec fides dummodo non sit inanis opinio aut obscuritas vel obtenebratio cordis: qualem falso credentes habent: sed potius sit vigor novus, vividus et efficax multum fructificat, semper agit bene apud Deum, laudando, gratias agendo, orando, praedicando, et docendo, et erga proximum amando illum et ei serviendo: auxiliando, consulendo, dando et sustinendo varia mala, usque ad vitae finem.

SEPTIMUS

Ad assequendam autem vel dandam nobis mortalibus hanc fidem Deus constituit officium praedicatoris vel verbi quod ex ore procedit: Nempe Evangelium per quod hanc fidem et suam potentiam: ac utilitatem et fructum illorum annuntiari sinit: et per hoc quasi per medium

case is rendered. But the only way to righteousness and redemption from sin and death is when without any merit or work we believe on the Son of God who suffered for us, etc. This faith is our righteousness which faith indeed God is willing to regard and hold as right and holy; and all sins are pardoned, and then eternal life is bestowed upon so many persons as have faith in God's Son, because on account of his Son they have grace and are sons in his kingdom, as St. Paul, and John in the Gospel, have abundantly proved all these things: And in Romans 10: With the heart man believes unto righteousness; and in Romans 4: Their faith is imputed unto them for righteousness; and in John 3: All who believe on him shall not perish, but have eternal life.

SIXTH.

That this faith is not a human work, nor possible from our own powers; but that it is a work of God and a gift which the Holy Spirit, given through Christ, works in us, and this faith is not indeed a vain imagination, or an uncertainty or darkness of heart, such as false believers have. But rather is it a new strength, living, efficacious, bringing forth much fruit, and always acting properly toward God by praising, giving thanks, praying, preaching, and teaching; and toward a neighbor by loving him, and by serving, assisting caring for and giving to him, and by bearing various ills to the end of life.

SEVENTH.

But for obtaining, or for bestowing this faith upon us men, God instituted the office of preacher, or of the word that proceeds out of the mouth:

dat fidem cum Sancto Spiritu quomodo et ubi voluerit: Alia non est via, modus, nec medium habendi fidem. Nunc cogitationes extra verbum oris illius utcumque sanctae et bonae appareant, mera tamen mendacia sunt et errores.

OCTAVUS

Juxta hoc verbum oris Deus etiam instituit signa aliquot exteriora quae sacramenta dicuntur: Baptismi scilicet, et Eucharistiae, per quae Deus juxta idem verbum largitur fidem et spiritum suum et omnes confortat illius cupidos.

NONUS

Quod primum signum sive sacramentum baptismi in duobus consistit videlicet in aqua et verbo Dei, vel quod aqua baptizetur: et verba Dei dicantur: et quod non sit simplex aut pura aqua vel ablutio sicut Anabaptiste docent, sed potius cum illi insint verba Dei et baptismus ille verbo Dei fulcitus sit: Res ideo est vivida, sancta et efficax; et ut Paulus ait ad Titum tertio: et Ephesos quarto: Lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti etc. Et quod hic baptismus infantibus etiam sit comunicandus verba autem Dei in quibus baptismus consistit haec sunt: Item et baptizatae in nomine patris et filio et Spiritus Sancti. Mathei ultimo. Et qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit haec oportet credere

DECIMUS

Quod Eucharistia sive sacramentum altaris etiam in duobus consistit: Nempe quod vere et substantialiter in pane et vino presens sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi, secundum verba ipsa hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus, et quod nequaquam sit panis et vinum, tamen sicut alia pars nunc asserit: Haec verba simi-

Namely, the Gospel, through which he permits this faith and its power, and also their use and fruit, to be proclaimed; and through this as through means he gives faith and the Holy Spirit, as and where he will. There is no other way, mode, nor means of acquiring faith. For thoughts apart from the word of that mouth, however holy and good they may appear, are nevertheless nothing but lies and errors.

EIGHTH.

In addition to this word of mouth God also, instituted some external signs which are called sacraments: Namely, Baptism and the Eucharist, through which, besides the same word, God bestows faith and his Spirit, and strengthens all who desire him.

NINTH.

That the first sign, or the sacrament of Baptism, consists of two parts, namely, of water and the word of God, or that we be baptized with water and that the words of God be spoken; and that it is not bare or mere water or washing as the Anabaptists teach, but rather with it are the words of God, and Baptism itself is founded on the word of God. It is therefore a living, holy, efficacious thing, and as Paul says in Titus 3, and in Ephesians 4: The washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Spirit. And that this Baptism is to be bestowed also upon children. But the words of God upon which Baptism rests are these: Go and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Matthew, last chapter. And he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. These things ought to be believed.

liter requiruntur et asserunt fidem quam in omnibus iis exercent qui sacramentum illud petunt et non contra ipsum agunt: quemadmodum et baptismus etiam fidem imbuunt et concedit, si credatur.

UNDECIMUS

Nullum esse dubium quin sit et maneat in Terra una Sancta Catholica Ecclesia usque in finem saeculi juxta verba Christi Mathei ultimo: Ecce apud vos sum usque in finem saeculi: Haec autem Ecclesia non nisi ex Christi fidelibus constat, qui suprascriptos articulos tenent, credunt et docent et propter ipsos a mundo persecuntur et martirizantur. Nam ubi predicatur Evangelium et rectus usus est sacramentorum: haec est Sancta Christi fidelium Ecclesia que non est obnoxia legibus et exterioribus apparatibus neque etiam locis, temporibus, personis et moribus astringitur.

DUODECIMUS

Quod Dominus Noster Jesus Christus in die novissimo veniet ad iudicandum vivos et mortuos, et liberandum fideles suos ab omni malo et deducendum eosdem ad vitam aeternam et ad puniendum infideles ac impios et damnandum eosdem una cum diabolis in Inferno in perpetuum.

TERTIUS DECIMUS

Et donec dies iudicii Dei veniat omnisque potestas et dominium tollatur quod pareatur superioritati seculari eaque honoretur tamquam status a Deo ordinatus ad defensionem bonorum et castigationem malorum et quod hunc statum Christianus aliquis si ad eundem rite vocatus fuerit sine dauno et periculo fidei et salutis suae benegerere et in eo servire possit. Roman. tertio decimo: Primae Petri tertio.

TENTH.

That the Eucharist or Sacrament of the altar also consists of two parts: Namely, that truly and substantially in bread and wine are present the true body and blood of Christ, according to those words: This is my body, this is my blood, and that by no means is it bread and wine, as nevertheless the opposite party maintains. These words likewise require and implant faith, and strengthen it in all who desire that sacrament, and do not act contrary to it, as also Baptism brings and imparts faith if it be believed.

ELEVENTH.

There is no doubt that there is and remains upon the earth one Holy Catholic Church according to the words of Christ in the last chapter of Matthew: Lo! I am with you even unto the end of the world. But this Church consists of those only who believe in Christ, who hold, believe and teach the articles written above, and on account of these are persecuted and martyred by the world. For where the Gospel is preached and there is the right use of the Sacraments, there is the holy Church of believers in Christ; and it is not subject to laws and to external arrangements, nor is it bound to places, times, persons, and customs.

TWELFTH.

That our Lord Jesus Christ will come at the last day to judge the living and the dead, to deliver those who believe on him from all evil, and to lead the same away to eternal life, and to punish the unbelieving and the impious, and to condemn the same together with the devils in hell forever.

THIRTEENTH.

And that until the day of God's

QUARTUS DECIMUS

Quod Canon Missae qui hucusque loco oblationis et operis quo alter alteri gratiam impetraret habitus est deleatur : et quod loco missae divina ordinatio servetur in qua sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi sub utraque specie : unicuique super fidem suam et ad intellectum suum proprium ministretur.

QUINTUS DECIMUS

Quod ceremoniae Ecclesiae quae verbo Dei repugnant etiam aboleantur. reliquarum vero usus sit liber secundum affectionem ne sine causa detur occasio offendiculi et per hoc publica pax sine necessitate perturbetur et labefactetur.

judgment come, and all power and dominion be taken away, obedience may be rendered to the secular government, and it may be honored as a state appointed by God for the defense of the good and the punishment of the bad; and that any Christian, provided he shall have been lawfully called thereto, may properly rule over this state, and serve in it without loss or peril to his faith or salvation. Romans 13; I. Peter 3.

FOURTEENTH.

That the Canon of the Mass, which has been hitherto held as an oblation and a work by which one person may obtain grace for another, is abolished, and that instead of the Mass the divine ordinance is preserved, in which the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is administered under both forms to each one for his faith and according to his understanding.

FIFTEENTH.

That the ceremonies of the Church which conflict with the word of God are also abolished. But the use of the rest is optional according to love, lest without cause occasion for offense be given, and thereby the public tranquillity be unnecessarily disturbed and destroyed.

When through Professor Brieger's notes we learned of this Confession we at once made up our mind to try to obtain a copy of it. We named the matter to the Rev. H. G. Ganss, Chancellor of the Diocese of Harrisburg, who *ea sua urbanitate* at once proffered his service in aid of the realization of our desire. He laid the case before the Rev. D. J. Dougherty, D. D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in *St. Charles Theological Seminary*, Overbrook, Pa. Dr. Dougherty wrote to his friend the Rev. Dr. Casacca, of the Order of St. Augustine, a distinguished Professor of theology in Rome, who immediately instituted

search for the document, and, having found it, had a copy made according to our instructions. We are permitted to quote from Dr. Casacca's letter to Dr. Dougherty: "With the greatest possible care I have had copied by a specialist of the Secret Archives of the Pope the 15 articles desired by your friend, the Rev. H. G. Ganss. I say by a specialist, because the writing in the original requires an expert to decipher it. The directions given by Rev. Dr. J. W. Richard were inexact, and two days' search was required to find the documents in the Archives.* The exact citation is found on the first page of the manuscript that I am sending you, and please to tell Dr. Richard not to change the citation."

We heartily thank the three gentlemen named above for their kindness and promptness, and for the interest they have thus shown in the promotion of theological science. The copy of this interesting historical document which is now for the first time published, is not indeed a certified one in the formal sense of the word *certified*. But Dr. Casacca's testimony that the copy was made with the greatest possible care by a specialist of the Secret Archives of the Pope, has all the value of a certificate, and makes it amply certain that the document placed in our hands, and now laid before the reader in print, is a faithful reproduction of the "original." Besides, the MS. itself bears the most convincing evidence of accuracy. It is a beautiful specimen of chirography, and shows the hand of the expert in every word and letter. Manifestly the transcriber has had large experience in copying Latin documents. We are satisfied that he faithfully executed our commission, viz., to make a literal and exact copy of the Archival Document. Hence the few obvious *errata* of the text must be charged to a former transcriber, either to Aleander's secretary or to the one who made the copy that accompanied Campeggius's Despatches to Rome, for it is altogether probable that the copy in our hands is removed just three steps from Melanchthon's original, which, as an important official document, would be retained by Charles, and may have been deposited in the Imperial Archives at Mayence, or at Brus-

*We had given the citation found in Brieger's note.

sels, or it may have been carried to Madrid. Its recovery, as much more the recovery of the originals of the Augsburg Confession, and of the "Apology" as sent to Luther, May 11th, would be hailed with joy. Such original documents, could they be placed in our hands, would help to settle some very important questions connected with one of the greatest events of Christendom.

ERRATA.

It is proper to call attention to a few obvious *errata* in our text, and to make the necessary emendations.

1. First Article. The words: *et quod Spiritus Sanctus a patre et filio procedens ab aeterno in aeternum verus et naturalis sit Deus cum patre et filio*, corresponding to the German: *und der heilig gaist, bedt vom vatter und son ist, auch von ewigkait zu ewigkait rechter naturlicher got sey*, have been omitted. In all probability this is a case of *Homoiooteleuton*, so familiar to textual critics. A scribe wrote the words, *verus et naturalis sit Deus cum patre*. Then on looking back to his exemplar his eyes fell upon the same words lower down in the column, and, remembering that he had just written those words, he proceeded to write *et filio*, and what follows, overlooking the words about the Holy Spirit; for it cannot for a moment be imagined that the words about the double procession of the Holy Spirit were purposely omitted by Melancthon from the original; nor can it be supposed that any scribe would have intentionally omitted so important a clause. Of course it is possible that Melancthon, who evidently prepared the articles hastily, may have accidentally omitted the words in question. But whatever may be the history of the omission, the emendation is easy, and in the translation we have filled the gap by translating from the corresponding Schwabach article.

2. Ninth Article: *illi* for *illa* the ablative feminine in agreement with *aqua*; *comunicandus* for *communicandus*; *Item* for *Ite*, and *baptizatae* for *baptizate*.

3. Tenth: *requiruntur* for *requirunt*.

4. Thirteenth: *danuo* for *damno*.

The examples under 2, 3, 4, may be classed with ordinary *lapsus pennae*. They no more corrupt the text than do the palpable errors of a printer's proof. In each case the emendation is easy. A few other lapses are easily corrected. Would that we had as good a copy of the originals of the Augsburg Confession as manifestly we have of this Electoral Confession!

THE THEOLOGY OF THIS CONFESSION.

I.

The first three articles of this Electoral Confession are a literal translation from the corresponding Schwabach Articles. Their theology is in substance that of the Nicene, Chalcedonic, and Athanasian creeds, which have had a ruling place in the Western Church for a long time. The quotations from the Scriptures in proof of the perfect humanity of Christ are an original feature of the Schwabach Articles, and were transferred thence to the articles before us.

By means of the Apostles', the Nicene and Chalcedonic symbols the Lutherans sought to connect their faith with the ancient undivided Catholic Church. Luther declared in the Schmalkald Articles (1537), after stating the "articles concerning the Divine Majesty," "that there is no dispute nor contention about these articles, inasmuch as both parties confess them." And yet it may be seriously questioned whether the Greek Catholic, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches really understand these so-called ecumenical creeds in one and the same sense. Each Church has a different conception of the Fatherhood of God, of the offices of Christ, of the mission of the Holy Spirit. Certain it is that *credo, ich glaube, I believe*, in the mind of a Roman Catholic, has a very different meaning from what it has in the mind of a Protestant, when it is said, "I believe a holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins." The former thinks only of the hierarchically organized Church of Rome, at the head of which stands the Pope as the Vicar of Christ; of the fellowship which the faithful members of the Roman Catholic Church have with those who are or have been saints in said Church, in which even

the very idea of "saints" is different from what it is among Protestants; of forgiveness of sins closely associated with the Confessional and with the priestly absolution. In confessing a Holy Catholic Church the Protestant thinks of the company of true believers in Christ, who may or may not be united under the same form of ecclesiastical organization; and by the communion of saints the Protestant understands that fellowship which the true believers in Christ have with each other by reason of their common union with Christ; and by the forgiveness of sins he means that pardon of sin which comes alone by grace through faith in Christ. The same words are used, but often the conception is widely different. Hence there is not now, and there never has been, that consensus of doctrine and faith in regard to the articles of the early creeds that the common use of those creeds ought to imply and warrant. But the Protestants had a perfect right to appeal to those creeds and to employ them as the common heritage of Christendom; and doubtless they employed them in many articles with clearer apprehension of their original meaning than the Catholics did. And, besides, they were not seeking to establish a new Church, but were seeking to maintain and to conserve their rights under the then existing ecclesiastical organization, of which they claimed still to be members. It was not policy only, but also sincerity of belief, that led them to base their Confession on the old accepted creeds of the Church.

We thus see that Lutheranism, *in so far*, was not the introduction of something new, but the renewal of the *genuine* old. On the old accepted foundation Mediaeval Theology had erected a structure of gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble. The perishable and the imperishable, the false and the true, had been composited and articulated together in the grandest religious and philosophical system that the world had ever seen. To destroy that system would have been impossible; to propose to destroy it would have been preposterous. It had in it elements of strength and beauty that could be turned to grand account in the realms of mind and heart. It also had in it elements of weakness and deformity that exposed it to contempt and ridi-

cule. Radicalism said, Tear down and rebuild. Lutheranism said, Remove the wood, hay, stubble, and fill their places with gold, silver, precious stones. And this it undertook to do. Its task was thus two-fold. It required the elimination of whatever did not square with the *Canon* of God's Word, and of whatever could not stand the test of the Christian experience of salvation. This, the *destructive* part of the work, called for the exercise of the greatest caution, and of the wisest discrimination; for often truth and error, like the wheat and the tares of the Parable, were so closely intertwined that the severance of the one from the other was both difficult and dangerous; and so difficult and delicate was the work of disjunction that it dare not be too confidently affirmed that in every instance all the error was eliminated, and that all the truth was conserved; but it can be confidently affirmed that correct principles were established. Out of those principles the system was developed.

Elimination, however, was only half of the work of Lutheranism. Lutheranism supplied something new. This was its evangelical spirit, which it poured into the forms and concepts of the Scholastic Theology. Starting with the fundamental principle that the righteousness of God is not the righteousness by which God judges and condemns, but that in and by which he makes provision for the justification of the sinner, Lutheranism at once changed the conception of Christianity. Instead of *Nova Lex*—Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas *et al.*—Christianity was conceived of as *Evangelion*, as a gracious promise of salvation, which must be appropriated—as a promise only can be—by a living trust of the heart. This was the fundamental evangelical contribution of Lutheranism to the theology of the Reformation. But as this is Lutheranism's central principle, it set up a new Christian life-ideal, and involved, both in its antecedents and in its consequents, all that distinguishes the Lutheran theology from the theology of the Middle Ages. That is, it may be said that Lutheranism, guided by its central principle, took up the forms, definitions and terminology of the Mediaeval Theology, and gave them a new meaning, just as Christianity

itself had taken up the Hellenistic Dialect, and had put a Christian spirit into it. For instance: When we read Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, Anselm, we quickly discover that they exerted a manifold and powerful influence on Luther and Melancthon in the formal aspects of their theology; but just as quickly do also discover that the spirit that animates and the principle that shapes the theology of the Reformers are widely different from the spirit and principle that appear in the Scholastics. The spirit that animates Scholasticism is legalism, its governing principle is the righteousness of works. The spirit that animates Lutheranism is the free message of grace; its guiding principle is the righteousness of faith. For Lutheranism the New Testament is not a New Law, but the proclamation that Jesus Christ was born, lived, died, was buried, rose again, for the redemption of a race of sinners. Faith is not confidence in what the Church teaches, but confidence in Christ. Justification is not a making righteous, but a declaring righteous. The Church is not *principaliter* an institution of salvation, but *principaliter* the assembly of those that are being saved. The ministry is not a lordship *over* God's house, but a stewardship *in* God's house. The office of the ministry is not to offer propitiatory sacrifices, but to make known the One Propitiatory Sacrifice. The Head of the Church is not the Pope at Rome, but Jesus Christ at the right hand of God.

These higher, spiritualized, conceptions, all determined by the one regulative, central, principle, constitute the *novum, das Neue*, which Lutheranism added to the theological development of the Middle Ages. They bring into prominence the evangelical element, which, in comparison with the legalistic element, is relatively so inconspicuous in Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard and other Scholastics. Taken together these new conceptions do not indeed constitute a new Christianity, nor furnish the material for the erection of a new Christian Church; but they form a new representation of Christianity, and give a new significance to the Christian Church. They exhibit Christianity not so much as a system, but more as a life; and they constitute the Church not so much an organism, but much rather a

community of true believers who have their common centre in Christ. Also taken together these conceptions imprint upon Lutheranism a *progressive* character. For as on the one hand they announce themselves as an evangelical expression of dissatisfaction with a certain stage of theological development; so on the other hand they posit themselves as a new stratum on which Christian thinking and Christian living must place all the gold, silver, precious stones, quarried from the deeper penetration of the divine Word, and gathered from new phenomena of the Christian experience; for it must follow, so surely as the Word of God is divine, that each age must find new truths, and new phases of truths, in Holy Scripture; and new truths and new phases of truths must produce new phenomena in the Christian experience.

Consequently Lutheranism, to be true to herself and faithful to her central principle, must be progressive in her theology. She must not for a moment suppose that in one generation she exhausted the sources of theology, or exhibited in one individual, or in one generation of individuals, all the legitimate phenomena of the Christian experience. Much rather is she bound to apply ever anew her principle as a test of the old, and as an instrument for advancing to fuller and richer apprehensions of divine truth. Doing this her theology will meet the requirements of changing and enlarging conditions.

II.

The fourth article is a literal translation of Article IV. of the Schwabach series. It is exactly at this point that the modern creeds begin. The old creeds were concerned almost exclusively with the doctrine of the Trinity, and with Christology, and were used for the most part in the baptismal service and in the worship of the Church. They have therefore a practical bearing, and are of the character of a pledge to God of fidelity to his truth. The modern creeds are concerned chiefly with the doctrines of Anthropology and Soteriology. They are theological and polemical in character. They were not intended to be incorporated into the worship of the Church; but were meant to be a declaration to men, of the faith of those who set

them forth, concerning certain neglected or controverted doctrines. A beginning was made with the doctrine of original sin, which, conceived of as a loss of original righteousness, and as a radical corruption of human nature, was not present to the consciousness of the Greek Church. In its antagonism to the fatalistic and Gnostico-Manichæan doctrine of evil, the Greek Church felt itself called upon to vindicate the freedom of man and his power of self-determination. Man became mortal through Adam's transgression, but he did not thereby become guilty. Of an hereditary corruption, transmitted from generation to generation, the Greek Church scarcely conceived,* though Irenæus had profounder views, and probably laid the foundation for the Western doctrine of original sin and hereditary depravity. But it was reserved for Augustine to descend still more deeply into the subject of human depravity; albeit, influenced too much by his own experience, he has given a too pessimistic view of human nature. With him human nature is *massa peccati*, *massa perditionis*. All sinned in Adam because they all were Adam. Adam was the one in whom all men sinned. "The infant that is lost is punished because he belongs to the *mass* of perdition, and as a child of Adam is justly condemned on the ground of the ancient obligation."†

This extreme doctrine of original sin became greatly attenuated in the Middle Ages. Some of the Scholastics *Pelagianized*. Even Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas incline more to the negative than to the positive features of original sin. The same is true of Anselm. With Duns Scotus and Gabriel Biel, origi-

*Thomasius approves the traditional view (Münscher, Baur, Nitzsch) "that the Fathers of the Greek Church knew *nothing of an original sin*." *Dogmengeschichte*, I., p. 481. Athanasius declared that "many saints were born free from all sins." Gregory Nazianzen, Basil and Chrysostom declare that unbaptized children have no sin. "The Antiochians conceive of human corruption chiefly as weakness, and derive this from mortality." *Ibid.* See Walch's *De Pelagianismo ante Pelagium. Miscellanea Sacra*, pp. 575 et seqq.

†Quoted from Shedd's *History of Christian Doctrine*, II., 77. See Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, I., 521 et seqq., especially the notes. Also Migne, *Patrologia*, XL. pp. 71, 72: Omnes una massa luti facti sumus, quod est massa peccati. Peccatores cum propter generale peccatum unam massam fecerint. Augustine.

nal sin was chiefly, if not only, *carentia justitiae originalis*. Hence very correctly does the Lombard say that "the holy doctors have spoken with obscurity on this subject, and the Scholastic doctors have held different views ;"* and Melanchthon declared that "the Scholastics make too little of original sin, and do not well understand the definition of original sin which they received from the fathers."† And yet Melanchthon in large part supported his own doctrine of original sin with quotations from the Scholastics. But the emphasis is different. The Lutherans want back in essentials to Augustine's doctrine of original sin. They accentuated the positive,‡ as well as the negative, features of original sin, and the doctrine of hereditary depravity, without affirming, however, that corrupted human nature is *massa peccati, massa perditionis*.§

Doubtless it was chiefly in repudiation of the Zwinglian doctrine of original sin that Luther composed the fourth Schwabach article as he did, for it is manifestly more positive and Augustinian than the fourth Marburg Article. Hence the fourth article of the Confession before us would serve the double purpose of repudiating the Zwinglian doctrine of original sin, and

**Sent. Lib. Quart.*, Migne, CXCII., 721.

†Müller, *Symb. Buecher*, 79.

‡Apology, Article II., Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, II., 273-4, n.

§In his sermons on the ten commandments, preached in Wittenberg in 1518, Luther did indeed say: *Cum simus juxta B. Augustinum Una massa perditionis*. Weimar Ed. I., p. 427; and in his Commentary on Galatians 1519 he says: *Genus humanum * * * nihil esse nisi massam perditionis et maledictionis*. Weimar Ed. II., p. 526. But this very extreme conception of human depravity, borrowed from Augustine and entertained by Luther at first, did not find expression in the Lutheran standards of doctrine. The idea of original sin that seems to prevail with Luther is that of *sinfulness, unworthiness, moral inability, unbelief*. He declared: *Die Hauptbosheit ist der Unglaube*. Erlangen Ed. 12 : 178. (See Seeberg's *Dogmengeschichte*, II., pp. 225-6). He did not regard the phrase *peccatum originale* as very appropriate. He preferred the German *Erbsuende*, that is "hereditary sin." Drews, *Dissertationen Dr. Martin Luther*, II., p. 800. Thomasius is of the opinion that Luther in his doctrine of original sin went beyond Augustine, "who placed original sin chiefly in sensual desire," whereas Luther "located it in the spiritual essence of man, in his noblest and highest powers." *Dogmatik*, 3rd Ed. p. 278.

connecting the Lutheran doctrine with that of Augustine, who was the doctor of highest authority in the Roman Catholic Church. Original sin is not a defect only, nor a blemish, but it has the nature of real sin. *Intima et profundissima corruptio totius naturae* said Luther. It is of a nature that it brings with it condemnation and eternal separation from God, unless deliverance be interposed from without. Particularly worthy of note is the fact that the article bears a striking resemblance to chapter XLVIII. of Augustine's *Enchiridion*,* which is not surprising, when we remember that Luther knew Augustine almost by heart.

III.

The fifth article is a literal translation of the fifth Schwabach article. It cannot be considered as a perfectly satisfactory statement of the Lutheran doctrine of justification. It lacks the *sola*, in the connection that faith *alone* justifies; the absence of which form Article IV. of the *Augustana* caused that article to be "accepted as Catholic and in accordance with the ancient councils."† Besides, the article contains *rectificetur*, instead of *justificetur*, which former would be more acceptable to Roman Catholic ears than the latter. For while it is true that "all Catholics confess that our works of themselves have no merit," they also contend that "it is contrary to Holy Scripture to deny that our works are meritorious." They are made meritorious by God's grace. But the Lutheran quality of our article is shown to better advantage by means of the Scripture quotations by which it is supported, though it is not likely that on this or on any other account the papal theologians at Charles' court found fault with this Article. The same may be said of the sixth article, which sets forth the fruit of faith in harmony with the consensus of Western Christianity. It would be hard to comprehend how there could be teaching on the subject more rational, more Scriptural, than that of this article. Neither Roman Catholicism nor Lutheranism repudiates good works, and the charities of each must challenge the admiration of mankind.

*Migne, XL., p. 255.

†*The Confutation.*

But it is exactly at this point that the difference in life-ideal of Roman Catholicism and of Lutheranism comes to the front. Roman Catholicism, following the scholastic conception that the *natural* as such is evil, and that the natural human impulses are in themselves sinful, finds the *status perfectionis* in the renunciation of the natural, in flight from the world, in the surrender of possessions to the Church, in submission to rules and regulations imposed by superiors, in the *vita religiosa*. Luther regarded all works done under such a conception of life as legalistic, and as not well-pleasing to God, since they do not proceed from faith in God and from love to one's neighbor. And starting with faith, that is, with heart-confidence in God, Luther regarded every creature of God as good. The natural human impulses as such are not evil. They may be gratified lawfully without sin. Hence to marry and bring up children is a better work than to vow celibacy and to endow a shrine.* To serve in one's calling with faith in God and with love to one's neighbor, is a good work in the evangelical sense, and is acceptable to God; for faith makes the person holy, and the person sanctifies the work. The Christian must stand in his place, wait upon his calling, and do good to others. To be an upright citizen, to obey the civil laws, to defend the state, is a good work, if one be a Christian.† To execute the laws is the duty of the Christian magistrate. To rule well, to guard the material interests of his subjects, is the duty of a Christian prince. Faith and love make up the sum of the Christian life. *Perfectionis status est esse animosa fide, contemptorem mortis, vitae, gloriae et totius mundi, et fervente charitate omnium servum*, wrote Luther.‡ And again: "Faith is the actor, love is the act. Faith brings man to God; love brings him to men. By faith he becomes acceptable to God; by love he does good to men."§ Luther's whole conception of the Christian life is grandly expressed in the "two

*Luther once said : Lieber Knabe, schaeme du dich's nicht, dass du eines Mägdlein begehrest, und das Mägdlein eines Knaben begehret ; lass nur zur Ehe gelangen, nicht zur Büberei, so ist's dir keine Schande, so wenig als Essen und Trinken eine Schande ist. *Erl. Ed.* 10 : 440.

†Augsburg Confession, Arts. 16, 27.

‡Weimer Ed., 8 : 584. §Erl. Ed., 8 : 63, 14 : 40.

propositions concerning spiritual liberty and servitude: A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and is subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all and subject to everyone."*

There is also a difference in the end for which good works are done. According to the scholastic teaching good works are to be performed as a preparation for (*meritum de congruo*), and as an aid to (*meritum de condigno*), justification. The end was the *bona spiritualia* to be received by the doer of good works. This view is especially prominent in Bonaventura and in Gabriel Biel. Luther's conception is entirely different: "A Christian being consecrated by his faith, does good works; but he is not by these works made a more sacred person, or more a Christian. That is the effect of faith alone; nay, unless he were previously a believer and a Christian, none of his works would have any value at all; they would really be impious and damnable sins."†

Thus Lutheranism, in accordance with its fundamental principle of Justification by Faith alone, enjoins good works, not for the sake of the doer of the same, but for the good of the recipient of the benefactions; not as a condition or as a preparation for justification, but as an expression of gratitude for the blessings of free redemption. The difference arises out of the difference in the fundamental principle of each system.

IV.

The seventh and eighth articles set forth the Lutheran doctrine of the means of grace in a way that leaves nothing to be desired. In the genuine Lutheran teaching the accent is always placed on *officium praedicatoris*; in German, *Das predig Ambt, oder muntlich wort*. The Sacraments are called *signa aliquot exteriora*. This distinction is kept up in the Lutheran Symbols. In Article V. of the *Augustana*, the office of the ministry is called *Predigtampt*. This already, together with the more frequent mentioning of the Gospel, implies that the chief work of the minister is to preach the Gospel. In the Apology it is said that "the most eminent, holy, useful, and exalted service that

**On Christian Liberty.*

†*Ibid.*

God has required in the first and second commandments, is the preaching of the Word, for the office of the preacher is the highest of all." VII. And in the Large Catechism: "The Word of God is the sanctuary above all sanctuaries; yea, the one thing which we Christians know and have. For if we had the bones of all the saints, or holy and consecrated clothes together in a pile, it would still benefit us nothing; for it is all a dead thing that can sanctify no one. But the Word of God is a treasure that makes all things holy, and through which all the saints themselves are sanctified." *Third Commandment.* "And in regard to those things that relate to the spoken and external word, it must be firmly maintained that God bestows his Spirit and grace upon no one except through the external word, previously spoken. Thus can we fortify ourselves against the Enthusiasts, that is, the spirits who boast that before the word and without the word, they have the Spirit."* Hence we may say, with Thomasius: "The view that illumines the Confessions everywhere is that through the Word of evangelical preaching, faith is wrought in the heart. Such is the Word of God as means of grace;"† and with Professor Seeberg we may say "that while the Mediaeval Theology coined the doctrine of the sacraments, Luther was the first to set up the doctrine of God's word."‡

But neither Luther nor the Lutheran Church ignored the sac-

*Müller, p. 321.

†*Dogmengeschichte*, II., 387. As proof of this Thomasius refers to Müller, pp. 40; 459; 524; 600. And as to Luther's view of the Word as means of grace he quotes as follows on p. 354: *Evangelium enim prae pane et baptismo unicum, certissimum et nobilissimum ecclesiae symbolum est, quum per solum evangelium concipiatur, formetur, alatur, generetur, educetur, pascatur, vestiatur.* * * * *Breviter tota vita et substantia ecclesiae est in verbo Dei*, sicut Jesus Christus dicit: *in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei, vivit homo. Non de evangelio scripto sed vocali loquor.* *Nec de quavis concione, quae in templis de suggestu declamatur, sed de sermone, et genuino verbo, quo fidem Christi veram, non informem et thomisticam doceat, quod per papam et papistas extinctum et suffocatum per orbem totum conticuit.* Ideo enim Christus nihil tanta instantia exegit ab apostolis quam ut evangelisarant. Jen. II., 377a.

‡*Dogmengeschichte*, II., 267.

raments, though they reckoned them subordinate to the *verbum vocale*, to *das meundliche Wort der evangelischen Predigt*, as means of grace. Already in 1518 Luther called the sacraments *efficacia gratiae signa*;* and a little later, symbols that awake faith;† in the Babylonish Captivity, signs and promises of the forgiveness of sins.‡ The same designations are employed in the Confessions. There the sacraments are called signs, seals, testimonies of the will of God toward us. But they are understood to derive their efficiency from the word of the Gospel, not alone, and not indeed *chiefly*, from the words of institution;§ but from the Gospel preached and taught in its widest import and fullest application, without which, that is, without the preaching and teaching of the divine Word, they are unmeaning enigmas and *signa inefficacia*.

*Weimar, Ed., I., 595.

†Ibid., VI., 86.

‡Ibid. VI., 572.

§Perhaps no dictum of a great theologian has been more generally misunderstood and more frequently misapplied (because so often quoted at second hand) than Augustine's *Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum*. It has been supposed that Augustine meant by *verbum* the words of the institution of the Sacrament, and that when these are spoken at the *consecration* of the elements, the latter, say, bread and wine, are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ (Roman Catholic view), or that the sacramental union is formed, as some Lutherans hold. But by *verbum* Augustine did not in any way have reference to the words of institution, as such, whether of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper, but to the Gospel in general as the preaching of the Christian faith, which the receiver of the Sacrament must believe. This is evident the moment we consult the original. In his commentary on John XV : 3, Augustine says: *Jam vos mundi estis propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, mundi estis propter Baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait, propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis; nisi, quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum. Nam et hoc utique dixerat, quando pedes discipulis lavit: Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavit, sed est mundus totus* (Joan. XIII. 10). Unde ista tauta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo; non quia dicitur, sed qui creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo, aliud est sonus transiens, aliud vertico manens. *Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus*. Acts XV : 9. Migne's *Patrologia*, XXXV: 1840. This manifestly is "the evangelical element in Augustine," of which we read.

But the two chief points of difference between the Catholic and the Lutheran doctrine of the sacraments are these :

(a.) Catholicism affirms the indispensability, the absolute necessity,* of sacraments as means of grace. Lutheranism affirms the indispensability, the absolute necessity, of the Word of God, but makes no such affirmation in regard to sacraments. (b.) Catholicism affirms the *opus operatum*. Lutheranism rejects the *opus operatum*, and affirms the necessity of faith in connection with the use of the sacraments.

But these points of difference are not so brought to the expression in the articles before us as to excite the aversion of the Catholic theologians. If they found no fault with Article IX. of the *Augustana*, they would not be likely to find fault with Article IX. in this Electoral Confession. Much less would they find fault with Article X. now under consideration. Manifestly this article harks back towards Rome. The very word that the Catholic theologians desiderated in Article X. of the *Augustana*, viz., *substantialiter*,† is found here. That it was a favorite word in the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, is shown by the fact that it was used twice by the Council of Trent in the *Thirteenth Session*, and once in the *Profession of the Tridentine Faith*: *Christum, verum Deum atque hominem vere, realiter, ac substantialiter sub specie illarum rerum sensibilibus contineri*. And that it was proposed by some to put this word in the tenth article of the *Augustana* is a probable inference from the statement of Erhard Schnepff, that it was decided by the theologians and counsellors to use "only the ambiguous adverb VERE" in describing the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.‡

But in the famous Compromise Committee of Fourteen the Lutheran Seven consented that the word *substantialiter* should be inserted in the tenth Article;§ and in the exposition of the article in the Apology Melancthon added it to the *vere*, and, as Oehler says, "confessed his agreement with the Roman and

*Council of Trent, Sess. VII. *Can.* 4. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, III. Qu. 73. Art. III.

†See Spalatin's *Annales*, p. 167.

‡Cyprian's *Historia der Augsp. Conf.* p. 56.

§Spalatin, *ut supra*.

Greek doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, introducing approvingly the sacerdotal prayer of the Greek Mass Canon *ut mutato pane ipsum corpus Christi fiat*, and the declaration of the Bulgarian Archbishop Theophilact: *panem non tantum figuram esse, sed vere in carnem mutari*—a passage, the subsequent omission of which in the edition of the Apology in *Corp. Phil.* p. 130, can only be approved.* The passage was also omitted from Jonas' German translation of the Apology. It certainly is not consistent with the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence, for the Lutheran doctrine rejects all thought of the *mutato pane*, and as positively affirms the presence of the unchanged elements in the Eucharist as it does the presence of Christ.

A still more unsatisfactory word in our article is *nequaquam*, which, according to the definitions given it in standard Latin lexicons—Harpers': *In no wise, by no means, not at all*; Faciolati et Forcellini: *μηδ' αμῶς, neutiquam, non minime, particula vehementer negans*—completely excludes the thought of the presence of bread and wine in the Eucharist. It cannot be justly claimed that this word is the equivalent of *nit allain* in Luther's German article. For these two words, *non tantum* would be the Latin equivalent, as in Article IV. Hence we must conclude that by the use of this word it was intended to convey the impression that the Elector had not departed from the Roman Catholic conception of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, a presence *sub speciebus visibilibus panis et vini*. Consequently we may conclude that if the Catholic theologians saw nothing offensive in the words of the tenth article of the *Augustana*, *a fortiori* they could have seen nothing wrong in the article before us. Taken as a whole, the article is a sad instance of *Leisetretten*, that is, as one has expressed it, *Verschleierung des anti-roemischen Widerspruchs*, on the part of the Saxons, who were too much disposed to keep the difference of doctrine in the background, and falsely affirmed: *Tota dissentio est de paucis quibusdam abusibus*,† which was toned down by Melancthon in the second edition of the *editio princeps*.

**Symbolik*, Second Ed., p. 644. †C. R., XXVI., 290.

v.

The Eleventh article contains three leading thoughts :

1. It expresses the conviction that the Church shall abide on the earth as long as the world stands. This is the common faith of all Christians. If there should ever come a time when the Church ceases to be, then there will come a time when the Gospel will cease to be the power of God. "God's Word cannot be without God's people."*

2. The second thought has reference to the essential character of the Church. In its inner essence the Church consists of believers in Jesus Christ. This was a favorite doctrine with the Lutherans. They laid stress on *ecclesia invisibilis*, as over against the ecclesiastical organization so much accentuated by Rome. As early as 1520 Luther in his controversy with Alveld declared that the Church is a spiritual body, and as such is an object of faith rather than an object of vision.† In the Large Catechism he wrote: "I believe there is a holy congregation and community on earth, of pure saints, under one Head Christ." Article III., and in the Schmalkald Articles: "The Church is, namely, holy believers and lambs who hear the voice of the Shepherd," III., XII. In the Apology it is declared: "The true Church is the great body of true believers in all parts of the world." Arts. VII., VIII. *Congregatio spiritualis hominum*, says Luther in his *Operationes in Psalmos*.

But the article before us scarcely measures up to a proper Lutheran standard. *Fideles* does not necessarily mean believers, in the evangelical sense, as those who with the heart believe unto righteousness. It can, and in the thought of the Middle Ages, it did include all baptized persons who, in antithesis to unbelievers and heathen, faithfully adhered to the Church and accepted her *dogmata*.‡ All such, according to the conception prevalent in the Roman Catholic Church, are *fideles Christi*, and are in the way of salvation. Hence to make this article unam-

*Luther, Erl. Ed., 25 : 360.

†Köstlin's *Luther's Theologie*, I., 320.; Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, II., 279.

‡See Bellarmin, *De Ec. Militante*; Du Cange, *sub voce*.

biguously Lutheran we must supplement it from Article VIII. of the *Augustana*: *Congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium*: *Versammlung aller Glaebiger und Heiligen*. But it is not evangelical to limit the true Church to those "who hold, believe and teach the above written articles." Such limitation tends to make adherence to *dogmas* the test of Christian life and character; whereas it must be confessed that there are many in the congregation of saints who could not with a good conscience "hold, believe and teach the above-written articles" in the sense which they were intended by their authors to convey; and it is not the Lutheran teaching that only those are *vere fideles*, and therefore members of the *ecclesia invisibilis*, who hold, believe and teach the doctrine of her Confessions as she holds, believes and teaches them. Lutheranism has a wider hope than that. There is a *fides implicita* that embraces the Gospel of salvation, at the same time that it refuses assent to some of the doctrines of Christianity as formulated by the Church. This *fides implicita* as certainly places its possessor in the true Church of Christ as does the *fides explicita* that avows all that the Church teaches,—which can be conceded without invalidating the importance of creeds and confessions, and without releasing the Church from the responsibility of striving to maintain and to inculcate pure doctrine. And such being the case we may congratulate ourselves that Article VII. and VIII. of the *Augustana* propound a test of the true unity of the Church that differs very widely from that propounded by this Electoral Confession. Lutheranism does not identify Christianity and the doctrines of theology, nor comfound faith with dogma. It was, therefore, a serious departure from the original Lutheran doctrine of faith, and the beginning of a Protestant *Doctrinarianism*, when the authors of the Form of Concord wrote: "The Gospel is properly a doctrine which teaches what the sinner ought to believe in order to obtain remission of sins with God."* The Gospel is not a *doctrine*, much less a system of *doctrine*, but a joyous message of salvation; and faith is not the comprehension of doctrines, but the apprehension of Christ. Hence Luther

*Epitome, Art. V. *Sol. Declaration*, Art. V.

could write: "There is only one article and rule in theology, and he who does not know and understand this is no theologian: Namely, true faith and confidence in Christ. Into this article flow and out of it go again all the others, and without it the others are nothing."*

3. The notes of the Church are the preaching of the Gospel and the right use of the sacraments. What other necessary notes of the Church could there be? The preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments form the charter of the Church, and distinguish it from any and every other community on earth. They make it a community *sui generis* in essence. They constitute it a Church of Christ, and fit it to become *catholica*; and as they are spiritual in essence, they form the Church into a spiritual body which subordinates and directs the external organization. Here Lutheranism stands in sharp antithesis to Roman Catholicism. The latter has indeed always maintained a preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments; but she has laid an equal, if not the superior, stress on the ecclesiastical organization, on orders, on a man, as witness the standard definition of the Church given by Bellarmine: "Our doctrine is that the Church is only one, not two, and that this one true Church is the assembly of men bound together by the profession of the same Christian faith and by the communion of the same sacraments, under the government of legitimate pastors, especially of the Roman Pontiff, sole vicar of Christ on earth."† Thus Catholicism really subordinates the Church to the ministry, and especially to the Pope. Whereas Lutheranism places the office of the ministry in the possession of the Church, and recognizes only the headship of Christ. And in the very fact that she magnified the office of preaching and teaching in the Church, and held fast to the external means of grace, she rebuked the "enthusiasts," who sought to abolish the office of the ministry, and boasted that they had the Spirit before and without the external word. Her procedure, therefore, was both reformatory and conservative.

*Erl. Ed. 58 : 398.

†*De Ecclesia Milit*, Cap., II.

She abolished the unevangelical institutions of men, but conserved the things enjoined by the divine command.

VI.

The twelfth and thirteenth articles here, as well as the XIII. and XIV. in the Schwabach series, are aimed at the Anabaptists and some other "enthusiasts," who looked for the coming of Christ before the last day, had shown violent opposition to the civil government and had denied the eternity of future punishment. The Lutheran Church has resisted every form of crass millenarianism that teaches the destruction of the wicked and the establishment of a kingdom of the righteous on earth before the Resurrection (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. XVII); and most firmly has she maintained the eternity of future punishment. Her attitude towards the civil government has been that of loyal support. While she has claimed for Christ the things that are Christ's she has rendered to Caesar the things that are Caesar's. Unfortunately in some countries she has been subjected to the control of the State, and as a whole she has been hindered in the development of her doctrine of the freedom of the Christian man; and among her greatest misfortunes is this, namely, that she has had to bow to the haughty dictations of monarchs and civil counsellors. But she has never ceased to maintain that the province of the State and the province of the Church are different. The former is God's jurisdiction among men, appointed to protect the good and to punish the bad. To this all men owe allegiance. The latter is an elect company over which God rules in the ministrations of his grace. Kings and princess may be its members, but they have no divine right to exercise lordship in the Lord's house, where all are alike sons.

VII

The fourteenth article embraces two matters around which centered the chief contention of the Reformation, viz: The Canon of the Mass and "both forms" in the Eucharist.

1. The Canon is that part of the Eucharistic service in which the Priest is believed to offer Jesus Christ in unbloody

sacrifice "propitiatory both for the living and the dead."* Luther regarded the Canon as the abomination of abominations. He never wearies of fulminating against it the thunders of his wrath, and he sets over against it the one sacrifice made by Christ on the Cross. In the *Formula Missae* (1523) he "rejected all those things that sound of oblation, together with the entire Canon." In his *Deutsche Messe* (1526) he says: "Papal worship is so damnable on this account, because they have made a law, work, or merit, out of it, and therefore have suppressed faith." In his *Of the Abomination of the Private Mass, which is Called the Canon*,† he recites the Canon "word for word," and indignantly rejects all its teaching. "In the Mass the papal priests cry without ceasing: We sacrifice, we sacrifice, these sacrifices, these gifts, and they say nothing about the sacrifice made by Christ, nor think about it: yea, they despise and disown it, and come before God with their own sacrifice.

"Beloved, what will God say when you come before him? He will say: Must I then be considered a fool and a liar? I have given you a sacrifice, my own Son. Him you are to receive with thanksgiving and gladness. You dare to come before me without saying a word about him, and you despise the most precious treasure I have in heaven and earth. What do you think I should give you as a reward?"

It was preëminently against the Private Masses that Luther's

*Council of Trent, 22nd Session. We must not overlook the fact that according to the Scholastic theology, "participation of the Eucharist by believers does not appertain to the essence of this sacrament." Thomas Aquinas distinctly says this, and adds: "Hoc sacramentum perficitur in consecratione materiae, usus autem fidelium non est de necessitate sacramenti, sed est aliquid consequens ad sacramentum." *Summa*, III., Qn. 74, Art. VII., Con. That is, the essence of this sacrament is the consecration. How different is the Lutheran fundamental principle: *Extra Usus nullum Sacramentum*. The consecration is unto the use, and it is the use that makes it a sacrament, that is, a sign and seal of promised grace. We recall Melancthon's splendid aphorisms, uttered at the Regensburg Diet in 1541: "Nothing has the nature of a sacrament apart from the divinely appointed use." "Christ is not present for the sake of the bread, but for the sake of man."

†Erl. Ed., 29; 114 *et seqq.*

anger burned. He declared that they were celebrated for the most part by lazy, drunken priests who cared only for money.* Hence he called them "mercenary masses." Sometimes he called them "corner masses," because they were celebrated in a corner, that is, on the side-altars which abounded in the churches; and of the great number of such masses we may form some idea when we read that in the *Schlosskirche* at Wittenberg more than 35000 pounds of wax candles were consumed annually in saying Mass, and that 9901 masses were held annually in that church.†

Now these Private Masses were abolished and the side-altars disappeared almost entirely, wherever the Reformation was accepted. One altar was retained, not as a place of sacrifice, but as a convenient place from which to administer the Lord's Supper, "as the use of the Gospel and the communion of the Lord's table, which belongs to believers, and to each one in particular." But even in the communion the preaching of the Gospel was considered the chief thing, inasmuch as without the Word the sacrament cannot be understood. Hence in abolishing the Canon, the Lutherans did not abolish the divine service. They only sought to purify it, and to restore it to its ancient evangelical simplicity and fulness. Instead of elevating the Host for adoration, they held up the ever-living Christ to the contemplation of faith. For the chanting of the priests they substituted the sermons of the preachers. Choirs were not abolished, but the entire congregation was taught to sing the songs of redemption.

2. For both forms in the Eucharist, the Lutherans never ceased to plead and to contend. That both forms are to be administered to every communicant is in accordance with the divine command: "Drink ye all of it," which the Lutherans interpreted as applicable to all who appear at the Lord's table. Besides, for more than a thousand years after Christ it was the custom in the Western Church, and is still the custom in the Eastern Church, to administer the cup to the laity. Thus both Scripture and ancient usage were on the side of the Lutheran

*De Wette, II., 389 *et seqq.*

†Köstlin, *Friedrich der Weise*, p. 96.

contention. Consequently the administration of the cup "to each person for his faith, and according to his knowledge," was not an innovation, but a restoration. Innovation, as well as deprivation, could be justly alleged against the Catholics. They, not the Lutherans, had departed from the true tradition. Transubstantiation, which for a long time had been violently opposed, but which at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, had been erected into a dogma of the Church, was followed by its logical conclusion: *Communio sub una specie*. By concomitance the whole Christ is contained in either element. Therefore the blood is in the species of the bread, since the bread has become the body of Christ, and the body cannot be without the blood. The logic is complete.*

In the celebrated reunion-negotiations that followed the delivery of the Confession, the Catholics would not yield one iota in regard to "both forms," neither would the Lutherans surrender the right of the laity to the use of the cup. Indeed it is a matter of record that "both forms" and the Canon were the principal rocks on which those reunion-negotiations split and went to pieces.† Neither party would assent to the demand of the other. So near, and yet so far apart! These obstacles to harmonization had not indeed been named in the doctrinal articles of the Confession, but they involve, as between the two parties, diverse and antagonistic conceptions of the Gospel in some of its fundamental aspects. The withholding of the cup from the laity is the withholding from the Christian of a part of the sign, of a part of the witness, of a part of the seal, of the promise of the forgiveness of his sins. The Canon turns the New Testament ministry into an Old Testament priesthood, and stifles the voice of the Gospel. It makes Christianity a religion of sacrifice. Its office is to procure grace by a propitiatory oblation for the Catholic Church, "for the redemption of souls, for the hope of their safety and salvation." As a sacrifice the Eucharist is a gift to God. On the contrary according to the Lutheran conception the sacrament is a gift from God to man, which,

*Council of Constance; Council of Florence, Denzinger Ed., pp. 158, 163.

†C. R. II., 336.

as it offers the free pardon of sins, awakens gratitude and joy. The conceptions are mutually exclusive. They cannot dwell together in the same system. In all probability it was this article that inspired the severe condemnation of the last part of this Confession by the Catholics; namely, that it was full of poison.

VIII.

The fifteenth article proceeds in harmony with the well-known Lutheran principle that whatever conflicts with the Word of God must be abolished, and that whatever is not contrary to the Word of God may remain as a thing indifferent, that neither makes nor destroys the fundamental attributes of the Church. It was in consequence of the practical application of this principle that the Lutheran Church has not only not laid stress on *uniformity* of ceremonies, but has not laid stress on *ceremonies*. Her ceremonies have been different in different countries, and different in the same countries. Her forms for the conduct of worship and for the administration of the Christian rites are legion. But worship may be equally acceptable, and the administration of the rites equally valid, with or without prescribed ceremonies. Hence her forms of worship and administration have not the nature and authority of laws, but the nature of a *voluntary agreement* to be used in whole or in part, or to be discontinued and changed as the circumstances and conditions of the congregations require. All this is different in the Roman Catholic Church, which has imposed ceremonies with the greatest solemnity, and has sought to have uniformity of ceremonies prevail throughout the entire Church.*

*Council of Trent, 22nd session.

ARTICLE II.

THE PROTESTANT PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY.

BY REV. C. F. SANDERS, A. M., B. D.

Protestantism is rooted in the Church of all the preceding Christian centuries. At the conclusion of the *Augustana* it is confessed: "This is about the sum of doctrine among us, in which it can be seen that there is nothing which is discrepant with the Scriptures, or with the Church Catholic, or even with the Roman Church, so far as that Church is known from writers."* Its identity with the past consists in its confessing the scriptural truth which the past held; its distinction from the past consists in its renouncing all anti-scriptural doctrine and practice found in the Church. "A Reformation in the higher sense of the word is always a great historical result, the issue of a spiritual process, extending through centuries. It is a widely felt and overpowering necessity, entered into, no doubt, spontaneously by the individual, and carried into effect by eminent leading characters, but which at the same time is essentially based upon a large and comprehensive public spirit, such as cannot possibly be evoked at a given moment, but forms itself slowly and gradually by an inward and irresistible exigency."†

There is a principle dating back to Socrates, that the concrete is in intimate union with the universal, which implies that its relation with the universal is part of its definition. It is the problem of philosophy to define the phenomena of matter and spirit, and to reason to the truths which lie behind them. These definitions, expressing the concrete, and the resulting conclusions, expressing the relation to the universal, compose the substance of the doctrine. It is the province of theology to reduce the truths of revelation to a scientific system by means of definition and synthetic statement. To show that the purpose of

*Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, p. 47.

†Ullman, *Reformers before the Reformation*; Clark's Trans., p. 1.

these truths is the redemption of man and their necessary adaptation to that purpose; and to give expression to the method of the application of these truths to those comprehended in the divine plan. Inasmuch as the plan has in view the organization of the whole race into a kingdom of the redeemed, the end must be attained by some method which will at once and continually unite the believers and be a mark of distinction from the unbelievers. This is at once the reason for, and the purpose of Confessions. The Confessions are more than a simple expression of faith. "They are products of the co-operation of the most significant theological ability of their time, relatively the results of a church theological process of development which has come to its final settlement in them."* We will, therefore, best come to a correct conception of the Protestant principle of authority by first studying the soil out of which that principle grew.†

By the Reformation two long-striven-for principles were realized; viz., the destruction of the false notion of a temporal religious authority centering in the Pope, and the establishment of Scripture as authority in religion solely and absolutely. It is true that at the time of the Reformation papal infallibility had not yet received any official sanction, but the erroneous dogma was already in practical operation. At the Vatican Council in 1870 the infallibility declaration was nothing more than the official announcement of the logical conclusion of the principle to which the hierarchy was committed already at the time of the Reformation. Now the Pope is the Church of Rome by con-

*Oehler, *Symbolik*, p. 4.

†"Ecclesiastical confessions must ever become richer and more definite, as well in the positive as in a negative aspect. On their negative side the confessions indicate which perversions of the doctrine and facts of salvation, in other words, which errorists a church has overcome in her doctrine or at least thinks she has overcome. Among the abandoned fundamentals the church erects the positive expression for her conception of Christian truth which she has until then attained as the most adequate and which thus forms the type of her public doctrine." Oehler, *Symbolik*, p. 3, 4. "Just as little as a tree can deny the root and stem whence it grew, so impossible is it for the churches of the present to deny their organic connection with her origin." Op. Cit. p. 5.

fessional statement.* By profession he is the Church of Christ with ultimate authority in matters pertaining to Christianity vested in himself.† The doctrine of authority as it existed in the pre-Reformation Church, the form of which we shall presently look into, was the result of a line of erroneous theological definitions and deductions, from a true principle, to a principle utterly corrupt and without warrant in God's Word. It is this true original principle which the Reformation discovered and drew forth from the ruin under which it had been obscured.

The Church, after Augustine, recognized Scripture and Tradition‡ as co-ordinate sources of religious knowledge, and claimed to be the authority over conscience and the dispenser of grace by reason of the Apostolic succession. But matters changed with the rise and progress of Scholasticism. The renewed study of Greek philosophy, especially of Aristotle, gave rise to a spirit of investigation which demanded a certainty to which reason must yield in all matters of faith. The central fact of the Christian religion, the Risen and Ascended Lord, could not be explained by the rules of the Aristotelian metaphysics. The Church—identical with the hierarchy—required belief of its dictum upon the authority of its "infallibility."§ The dictates of this Church infallibility, and the conclusions of philosophy, gave rise to radical antithesis between faith and knowledge. Anselm had said *Credo ut intelligam*, but Abelard repudiated this for the formula *Intelligo ut credam*.|| Thus an

*Tradition is the ideal, the hierarchy the real, side of the Church. Oehler, p. 259.

†I. A. Dorner; *Hist. Prot. Theol.* vol. I. 29.

‡Scripture was also regarded as tradition in the sense that it was documentary evidence of facts of religion which depended for their claim to belief upon the authentication of the Church. The idea of tradition overshadowed everything.

§Dorner; *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I. 28.

||We cannot here discuss the various definitions and explanations of the relation between faith and knowledge with their respective bearing upon the doctrine of authority. We have found the following works to give the history of this phase of thought. Isaac A. Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, vol. I. 35-37.; Aug. Dorner, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, 300-399.; Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, vol. II. 55-99.; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, vol. VI. 149-178. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doct.* II., 161-174-; Good but very

irreconcilable contradiction between authority and reason results. Dorner says quite correctly that "placing an unlimited faith in authority upon the basis of caprice as the supreme principle which ultimately governs everything, is already in its very nature absolute scepticism."*

The problem, therefore, of the later Scholastic period was the reconciliation of these antitheses. In this situation there were two logical alternatives: Scholasticism must either shift the principle of authority to its true source, Jesus Christ, and define the means of its exercise as through the Word of Holy Scripture vital in the Holy Spirit, or prove man an automaton, with the Church (hierarchically defined) as the mechanism intervening between him and the source of all thought and action. The latter is impossible, and for the former,—implying the overthrow of the existing order, the release of the grasp which the hierarchy had upon secular government, the denial of necessity to the efficiency of the Sacraments, and the acknowledgement that the basis of the hierarchical claims is presumption, in short, an entire transformation of the doctrine of salvation,—it was unwilling.

The unsolved problem issued, then, in a sceptical philosophy and a mystical religion. The former doubted all of the elements of religion—Holy Scripture along with everything else; the latter aimed to satisfy the religious consciousness by means of contemplation, direct revelation, self-abnegation and renunciation of the world. Over both of these forms of religious conception hung the Nemesis of probability ominously verging toward the improbable. A hopeless state of corruption ensued. "The dualism between the dogma based on authority and the spirit, which had existed from the beginning, being concealed, but not overcome, broke forth more and more openly in a thousand symptoms, especially in Italy, the seat of the Papacy,

brief is Fisher, *Hist. of Doct.*, 233. Neander, *Hist. of Dogmas*, II., 606 f. Kaftan, *Truth of the Christian Religion*, vol. I., 139-187, discusses the whole matter in its direct bearing on succeeding Protestantism according to his point of view (Ritschlian). Windelband, *Hist. of Philosophy*, 348; Erdmann, *Hist. of Philosophy*, I., 541, f.

*Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., n. 1, p. 38.

where the heathen nature, softened by the culture of the beautiful, especially of the forms of the antique world, or, more correctly, awakened as it were galvanically to the resemblance of a new and splendid life, seated itself upon the throne, and began to treat Christianity as a profitable fable suited for the common people."*

Mysticism was the remaining leaven within the Church, but it was not of the Church. It appealed to those deep spirits who were intensely conscious of sin and consequent condemnation in the sight of God. They recognized that philosophy could not find reconciliation with the Church. Without finding any other way out of the difficulty they decided that reason itself is sin. They turned from speculation as they would from crime. In matters of conscience the mystics continued to appeal to the visible Church for healing. Along with their strict observance of ecclesiastical requirement they practiced a rigid self-discipline. But after their utmost endeavor the anxious conscience would still inquire: "Has enough been done?"

The situation at the close of the pre-Reformation period found the Church at the point of dissolution. The mystics craved something of which the Church had no knowledge; the philosophers had ceased believing in any revealed religion; the Church claimed an authority, which, because it could not be defined consistently, was denied by the philosophers and was regarded as unsatisfying by the mystics.

A fruitless attempt at reformation was made. There was an

*I simply note here because of its striking reference to the doctrinal situation the following: "Perhaps the plainest evidence of the decline of an inwardly grounded doctrine of salvation and of a growing attachment of value to creaturely goodness in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, is the doctrine of Mary, as embracing both the doctrine of her immaculate conception and the doctrine of her co-operation in the work of redemption." Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, vol. VI., 312. Aug. Dorner directs attention with much suggestion to the fact that Scholastic Theology is the theology of the Monks, and their personal interest is best conserved by the existing system. *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, 311. Isaac A. Dorner: "There were not wanting in Rome those who said: 'This fable of Christ has brought us great gain.'" *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 49.

unmistakable consciousness that there must be a change. But, fatal for all its attempts at reform—the Church could not get away from its error of infallibility and the consequent supreme authority of tradition. It exercised its self-assumed prerogative of authority and sought to maintain itself by silencing its enemies. Instead of grounding its authority in the truth and then converting men, it maintained its false notion of authority and summoned dissenters to the inquisition and the stake. The strong argument of the enemies of Christ and truth has always been persecution. It is, however, a very questionable strength—it is rather a confession of weakness.

The hopelessness of the situation appears concretely in the axioms laid down by Prierias in the conference which he held with Luther: "1. The Roman Church is virtually the Universal Church; the Cardinals represent the Roman Church, and the Pope is *virtualiter* the college of Cardinals, as the head of the Church; 2. The Pope, when he decides *ex cathedra*, cannot err; 3. Whoever does not abide by the doctrine of the Roman Church, and of the Pope, as the infallible rule of faith, from which even the Holy Scriptures derive their power and authority, is a heretic; 4. The Roman Church or the Pope teaches not only by words, but also by deeds, whether in matters of faith or life; he is therefore a heretic who thinks evil of the deeds of the Church."* "Speeches of this kind challenged Luther to critical reflections concerning the validity of the Papal authority."

A soul so deeply in earnest as Luther could not rest satisfied without a faith which rested on certainty. He was certain that the sale of indulgences was an error for which there was no support either in Scripture or in the writings of the Fathers. It was an easy syllogism which in the present circumstances led him to question the papal authority. And yet this very questioning was said to be sin. The suggestion of a council implied the possible self-contradiction of tradition, which was the supreme authority. To this the Roman Church would not

*Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, vol. I., 90. See also Köstlin, *The Theology of Luther*. Hay's Translation, vol. I., 279.

commit herself. Luther then could find no authoritative standard in the Church upon which he could feel it safe to base his faith. He found the accepted standard false, and he set out to find the true. He found it in Holy Scripture. The Roman Church had also regarded Scripture as *a* source of authority, but Luther calls it *the only* authority.*

We shall now treat of the Reformation principle as developed by Luther, by the early dogmaticians, as set forth in the Confessions, and as defined in recent orthodox theology.

Once thoroughly certain that the presumed authority of the Church was false, Luther took his stand squarely on the Scriptures, and never deviated. He asserted the possibility of error by council as well as by Pope. "The Word of God alone stands firm." "God's Word alone is the infallible truth and far above every human word or ecclesiastical decision."† Having swept away the authority of the Roman Church it became necessary for him to tell why he believed the authority of Scripture. He had once said, in language similar to that of Augustine: "I would not believe the Gospel unless I believed the Church." In his explanation of this expression, or more correctly of Augustine's, which was very like it, he showed that Augustine did not mean that the Church was the convicting authority, as well as the authority that continued to bind him, but that it was one of the evidences which moved him. But of personal faith he says: "It arises in the heart, not by the authority of any, but by the sole Spirit of God, although man may be moved thereto by word and example."‡

*"The fundamental distinction which he made between Scripture and ecclesiastical doctrine is what was new." A. Dorner, *Grundriss*. 407. "The authority of Scripture therefore indicates the great renovation of its doctrinal groundwork as compared with that of the Mediaeval Schoolmen." Kaftan, *Truth of the Christian Religion*, vol. I., 189. "The Divine authority of the Episcopate, * * * and of the Pope, as the vicar of Peter, * * * is the viewpoint of the Church of the Middle Ages." Thomasius. *Dogmengeschichte*, II., 6. "Scholasticism is the science of Papists, credulous as to data, rigorous as to consequences. Let authority supply the premises, and logic can supply the conclusions with the mathematical rigor of the syllogism." Cave, *Introduction to Theology*, 97.

†Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, II., 331, 332.

‡Köstlin, *Luther's Theology*, I., 321.

The necessity of establishing the principle of authority so as to be free from the old false principle, brought him to the discovery of the relation of faith to the truth. His explanation here savors somewhat of mysticism. The divine authority of Scripture authenticates itself by the Holy Spirit. But the assurance that Scripture has divine authority becomes a fact for the individual only apprehended by the subjective spirit. There is in his conception an intimate union between the Holy Spirit and the Word. To the sinner the Word stands as a law condemning him. Convicted conscience is an act of grace (or rather a result) which is the beginning of the recognition of the divine authority of the Word. By receptive faith the convicted sinner is drawn nearer to God. Through the Word the Holy Spirit bestows on the sinner, through the matter received in this receptive faith, the consciousness of justification, and works regeneration. And it is only after the Word has thus wrought its work of grace that the full attestation of the Divine authority of the subject matter of Scripture is apprehended.* The certainty of salvation was, if not identical with, at least the final argument for the sole authority of Scripture. The universal Church gives the Scriptures, but it may have erred; faith must take the evidences and come to its own decisions.

Upon the consequences of this conclusion Aug. Dorner observes: "If he lays so great a weight upon the certainty of salvation, he can then only in the next place call faith the inner individual experience—feeling. But such a faith cannot be historical."† It appears from a review of the historian that Luther did not systematise the consequences of this doctrine. Aug. Dorner thinks it became finally impossible. Harnack thinks he did not concern himself about such matters as testing the practical consequences of his theories, but that "he had the genius to recognize the truth in decisive moments." Isaac A. Dorner faces the difficulty squarely. He very clearly analyses the points of criticism it involves, and then makes a very consis-

*Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, vol. I., 238f.

†*Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, 412; see also I. A. Dorner., *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 234.

tent reply: "Faith (I abbreviate) is a product of Scripture, its essence is assurance of salvation, and this faith shall turn on the instrument which produced it, and in which it lives, and criticise its authority and pass decision. Can these ideas harmonize? Does not historico-critical investigation require the suspension of faith for the time being? Is not then the critic by unbelief theoretically incapacitated? Does not criticism imply the possibility of error? Does not the admission of the freedom of criticism suspend faith in thin air? How about the universal priesthood of believers, if faith is conditioned upon learned researches which can only be the concern of the few? Does this doctrine not seem to place faith above Scripture in the moment when it decides its authority, whilst it acknowledges Scripture as its previous source? To the unbeliever Scripture acts as an infallible authority, but is not recognized as such; the later product of assurance decides upon the fallibility of the instrument which brought it into being. But the deciding power of faith is not authenticating of that which is canonical. It is only a recognitory power which it exercises towards the medium which presents Christ. Its critical right is negative. The center of the Holy Scriptures, Christ, is the standard of canonicity; corresponding to the self-interpretation of the Holy Scriptures is their self-criticism."*

The apparent difficulty dissolves as the correct conception of Luther's factors of salvation are considered. Faith is the subjective apprehension of the Holy Spirit who is given in the Word. Faith is not without the Word, the Word is not effectual without the Spirit, the Spirit does not operate without the Word, the Word and Spirit do not operate magically without the conscious realization of faith. Scripture testifies of Christ, and the deciding principle "as to whether a writing is to pass for canonical turns on whether it is occupied with Christ." Faith is produced by the Holy Spirit, not magically, but through the Spirit's means, viz., the Word. Faith is not at any time self-sufficient. The individual subject is under the light of the Word by fact of its presence with him. But he has not yet

**Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 249f.

apprehended the light before faith has come into being. The subjective spirit leads to the objective word and finds it essential to life, and in that moment, faith being born, the word becomes an authority to the consciousness. Upon the canonicity of any Scripture faith can only pass negative decision upon what contradicts saving faith. That which is in accord with saving faith became an objective authority for the individual consciousness in the moment of faith, and the child must own its parent, but the parent's existence in no sense depends upon the child's acknowledgement of canonicity there isn't any change, the word is only apprehended in its efficient accidents. The canonical Word is known to be such from its being the originator of saving faith as well as the continuing basis of the life of that faith. It in no way depends on faith for its authority. It has impelled recognition. Having in this way established the independence of Holy Scripture as the efficient source, and faith as its natural offspring, Luther's principle of criticism follows as essentially a rule by which Scripture is the test of Scripture. There isn't any assurance of salvation outside Scripture, so that what assurance there is is one with Scripture. Then when assurance discerns contradiction it knows the non-canonicity of such contradiction.

To one who has not yet come to a saving knowledge the authority of Scripture is not yet sure. This is the only logical alternative after man or any body of men is denied prerogative of deciding in matters of faith what is authoritative for others than themselves.* This is in perfect accord with the High-priesthood and the Kingship of Christ, to whom every subject is individually responsible. This doctrine attains its full and complete statement in connection with the doctrine of grace. Scripture is, by virtue of its divine character, a means of grace everywhere, whether so recognized or not. Scripture is no less divine because the unregenerate do not perceive it, any more

*This principle can safely challenge investigation in practical experience. It may be true that a very large proportion of Christians accept the authority of Scripture because such authority has been ascribed to it by the Church, yet those who have attained a real certainty would ascribe a higher reason. See I. A. Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 254.

than the sun is less a light-giving body even though the blind man does not perceive it. As means of grace it accomplishes its impression of grace everywhere, and when its power opens the eyes of the spiritually blind he sees in the Word its independent divine authority, and thus Scripture authenticates itself independently.

But faith, in order to maintain its identity, must be a personal consciousness of confident resting in approved evidences—evidences apprehended in the unity of the whole person. It presupposes the preaching of the Gospel as appointed by Christ. This, its fundamental presupposition, is the transmitting medium of the rays of divine truth. As such, its very existence, presupposes convincing evidence which can graciously approve itself. The preaching of the Gospel is proving to the sinner his redemption in Christ revealed in the Gospel. Faith is not an irrational thing. In form it is not otherwise begotten than belief in ordinary things. Its matters being religious its apprehension is of a religious kind, and through religious means. This constitutes its distinction.

The internal nature of the Scripture is begetting, and the internal nature of faith is that it is begotten. Scripture being begetting of salvation, faith is salvation begotten. They are correlatives. Each finds its explanation in the other, and their respective natures at once define their relation and distinction.

The relation once established, and the independence or distinction of Scripture—the self-authentication of Scripture—recognized, does not mean that everything has already been accomplished, in the sense that assurance of faith is now self-sufficient. The child is dependent upon its mother. The new creature needs development. "Faith, therefore, requires the Holy Scriptures for its maintenance and development, as a sure rule and standard whereby to try its purity and Christian soundness."*

It is this principle of the Reformation theology which formed the centre of its divergence from Rome. According to this doctrine there isn't any religious authority which binds except

*I. A. Dörner, *His. Prot. Theol.*, I., 256.

God's Word, and God's Word is its own proof. This religious principle, operating through the consciousness of faith, conforms the whole person—intellect and will—to the divine idea, even the sanctification of the person. The unmistakableness of its correct operations is in its very nature. "Those who have once laid hold of the Shepherd, cleave with all confidence to him and hear no other doctrine, for they have very fine ears, and are almost expert to know and distinguish from all others the voice of the Shepherd. For they now have the experience of their conscience and the testimony of the Holy Spirit in their heart."*

Upon this principle rests the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers. We no longer need priest, council, or Pope, to make us sure of revelation and the authority for Sacraments, for we are in direct communion with the Great Head of the Church. There is no longer need of sacrifice or priestly intercession, the invocation of saints, and doing penance for merit. We "have one Mediator, Jesus Christ the Righteous."† The certainty of salvation rests upon its direct apprehension by the individual through faith.

The principle was generally destructive of the Roman Catholic basis in that it needed nothing of what belonged to the essence of Catholicism. The word is its own proof of its inherent divine character; the Sacraments rest for efficiency upon Grace—a Divine principle—which needs not, (indeed by its very nature it cannot use) authentication outside that which constitutes it; the correlate, faith, cannot be produced by either the command or the promise of a secondary (with the possibility of irresponsibility) person, but is the fruit of the principle of regeneration, which principle can proceed from God alone. The whole of the plan of salvation is thus compassed by the principle of the direct authority of Holy Scripture, leaving Catholicism with its list of Sacraments, severally dependent upon the intention of the priest, the authority of the priest in

*Ibid., Luther quoted; see also Oehler, *Symbolik*, 276.

† "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." 1 Tim., II., 5.

turn dependent on the validity of his ordination, &c., outside the pale of true Christianity.*

We shall now present Zwingli's doctrine of the principle of authority. So far as agreement with Catholicism is concerned Zwingli's doctrine was just as fatally divergent as that of Luther. In its results for the determination of the standard of faith and practice it ultimately comes to the same conclusion substantially. The method, however, by which Zwingli would determine the authoritative character of Scripture is altogether different from that of Luther. The difference results from the difference of the fundamental conceptions in the respective systems of doctrine. Luther's conception is Christocentric, whilst Zwingli's conception is Theocentric. While Luther places the decisive test in the assurance of salvation through justification by faith in Christ, Zwingli places it in the consciousness of divine election.†

Zwingli's contention is against the heathenism in Catholicism, whilst Luther's is against its legalism. Consequently his effort was to avoid every possible indication of exaltation of the creature. He regarded Scripture as creature in its nature, and as incapable of any divine content. With the glory of God as his ma-

*"His writings now controverted not merely isolated dicta of the Pope and the Councils, but the very principle on which such a mode of deciding points in dispute was based—in fact, *the Authority of the Church*. Luther repudiated that authority, and set up in its stead, the *Bible* and the testimony of the Human Spirit. And it is a fact of the weightiest import that the Bible has become the basis of the Christian Church; henceforth each individual enjoys the right of deriving instruction for himself from it, and of directing his conscience in accordance with it." Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, 435, Bohn Trans. "Holy Scripture served him (Luther) as by all means the pure fountain of revealed truth and as the Norm by which to judge of every human and ecclesiastical doctrine." Thomasius, *Dogmengeschichte*, II., 332, see also page 7f.

†"But to him (Zwingli) the weight of evidence in assurance of salvation lies, not in the forgiveness of sins, but upon the consciousness of being elect of God." Aug. Dorner, *Dogmengeschichte*, 415f. "The consciousness of being justified by God in Grace is by him subordinated to the consciousness of election." 417. "Zwingli's Predestination makes man wholly dependent upon God's election. But he is elect to do God's will." 418. "Inasmuch then as the law is already in the law of nature, there is nothing in his way of accepting the salvation of pious heathen." 419.

principle, he regarded it idolatrous to attribute the presence of a divine energy either in Word or Sacrament. (The severance of the divine from the creature by Zwingli, as well as by Calvin, in both Word and Sacrament, borders on an absolute, deistic, separation). The authority for the Sacraments is Christ's example, and their purpose is commemorative—to glorify God. The will of God is supreme and Scripture reveals to us His will. But the quickening Spirit operates *directly* without any necessary connection with the Word. The Word is regarded legalistically. It exists as the revealed will of God, but one must not rest upon it absolutely, for that would be trusting to a creature.* Neither can God be limited to any creatural forms or substance. Dorner says that with Zwingli the sentence, "the creature can have no saving causality" is fundamental. Scripture is rather the ethical code of divinely perfect conception, than anything else. As such it is above every other authority and is ultimate. Scripture rests upon its own internal evidences for its claim to authority. The supreme test of its real authority is the consciousness of election.

With his doctrine of assurance of faith resting in the direct spiritual communication to the subject, completely separate from the creatural form of the Word as it appears in Scripture, mak-

*I. A. Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 297f. "No one can deny that Zwingli, too, with his rest in God and union of the soul with him in faith, knows the mystic element in true piety, although his living in it is less associated with phantasy and contemplation." as supra, 299. "His mysticism, so far as one may speak of it with reference to the certainty of salvation, has much more to do with God himself, with the consciousness that God's Spirit makes us certain of election." A. Dorner, *Dogmenges*, 418. "Zwingli's theology is a system of rational supernaturalism, more clear than profound, devoid of mysticism, but simple, sober, and practical." Schaff, *Church History*, VII., 89. "In the treatment of the History of Dogma from a universal historical point of view Zwingli may be left out. Anything good that was said by him as the Reformer, in the way of criticising the hierarchy and with regard to the fundamental nature of the new piety, is to be found in him as it is to be found in Luther, and his arriving at greater clearness regarding it he owed to Luther." Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, VII., 268n. We regard the difference between the mysticism of Luther and Zwingli as a matter of the subject rather than of the objective fact. Both show a strong mystical tendency; Luther with reference to the objective word, Zwingli with reference to the subjective word.

ing the possibility of salvation of pious heathen identical in origin with that of those within the pale of acknowledged Christianity, (for they too have this same direct divine Word operating directly on their soul. Whatever makes for piety, or is not contrary to the Christian rule, is God's Word), his doctrine of the Church becomes very vague. It is rather a moral community than a fellowship of the redeemed. His doctrine of authority, therefore, is, in its ultimate basis, the same as Luther's, but it is quite differently realized. It has not, nor can it have, objective reality except as it is in the divine Spirit of the Godhead. This radical separation between the objective Word of Scripture and the real subjective energy of the Word takes away the true form of the objectivity of the Christian Norm. Scripture loses its distinguishing dignity as a divine revelation bearing internal witness to its authority. It is received and respected as a moral code because it is the "oldest, the most complete, and highest doctrine."*

Zwingli's doctrine of the authority of Scripture, therefore, comes to this: It is the ultimate, sole rule for faith and life, because by comparison with other moral codes it approves itself to the moral consciousness as the one which should have the distinction of preference because it is "the oldest, the most complete, and the highest doctrine." This appears to us to rob Scripture of its necessary existence. Christianity becomes the realization of the highest moral idea knowable, therefore a follower of Confucius, having attained the highest morality known to him, is a good Christian. This may a little overstate the necessary conclusion of his doctrine, but it is true to the direction in which it points.

We pass by Calvin with the brief reference which covers his relation to the subject in hand: "Generally speaking we may call this type the Reformed. For in the ground thoughts Calvin had made no material modification. According to him, also, Scripture is not the direct bearer of the Spirit. But the Holy Ghost assures us of our election, Scripture teaches us

*Schaff's *Creeds*, p. 211, *Confessio Helvetica Prior*. Art. I., Von der heiligen Schrift.

what God's will is, partly what we shall do, and partly what God wills to give us."*

The Reformed type of doctrine undeniably separates more radically between the faith in the historical Christ and the Christ apprehended by faith than the Lutheran. In both types, among the Reformers, there is too much separation. Faith in the historical Christ,—God's revelation in history in the person of his Son,—is so overshadowed by the faith in the Christ active in the individual consciousness of justification on the one hand and election on the other, as to be almost lost sight of.† This one-sidedness in the early Reformation period receives its sufficient explanation in the necessary contest against tradition.

The emphasis of subjectivity resulted in a number of erroneous issues. We need not give them attention in passing, inasmuch as they were lost in their having been overpowered by the progress of orthodoxy.

Principles in such radical contrast with the established principles of the Church could not continue without confessional, definitive, statement. It was essential to Protestantism, as it is essential to Christianity generally and always, to define its doctrine. The new faith, by its own natural impulse, had to confess itself.‡ The *Augustana* presupposes the authority of Scripture without giving any explicit statement on the subject. The introduction to the Formula of Concord says: "We believe, teach and confess that the only rule and standard according to which at once all dogmas and teachers should be esteemed and judged are nothing else than the prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testaments, as it is written (Ps. 119, 105); 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.' And St. Paul (Gal. 1 : 8): 'Though an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, let him be accursed.'" The Reformed Confession of the Westminster Assembly in Article II., of the first chapter, confesses the Holy Scriptures, giving each separate name of the books of the Old

*Aug. Dorner, *Dogmengeschichte*. 422.

†As supra, 425 ff., also I. A. Dorner, *Hist. Prot. Theol.*, I., 389 ff.

‡Schaff, *Creeds*, I., 4f.

and New Testaments, "to be the rule of faith and life."* In the Schmalkald Articles, part III., number 15., the Lutherans made a defensive statement against tradition. The *Confessio Fidei Gallicana* states this distinguishing characteristic very well, as follows: "Whence it follows that no authority, whether of antiquity, or custom, or numbers, or human wisdom, or judgments, or proclamations, or edicts, or decrees, or councils, or visions, or miracles, should be opposed to these Holy Scriptures, but on the contrary, all things should be examined, regulated and reformed according to them."†

Confessions are the expression of the highest theological and practical conception of their age, *i. e.*, the age which produced them. Their subject matter is the positive expression of the matter of belief as against what is no longer believed.‡ They may, therefore, be termed the theological constitution of their respective churches. We know Protestantism more definitely from its Confessions than from its theology. Theology is a development from the ground principles of the acknowledged faith, but it varies through a wide range. We believe we can now best arrive at the proper conclusion by studying our principle with direct reference to the Confessions, and conclude with a study of the relative place of the Confession in the scheme of authority. As Luthardt, in substance, says: "The doctrine of faith is not merely Biblical, but also ecclesiastical. The Confession, resting in the Biblical, expresses the ecclesiastical."§

By the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Scripture in matters of religion, the Confession bears its own witness to its subordinate position. The Confession knows nothing, and believes nothing, except as it expresses the faith which Scripture produced. Scripture is, therefore, authority for the Confession, and for those acknowledging the Confession.

Tradition is referred to Scripture and can have no authority

*Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, 491; also see Schmalkald Articles, part II., Art. 2, page 312; Schaff, *Creeds*, III., 91f and 601f.

†Schaff, *Creeds*, III., 362.

‡Oehler, *Symbolik*, 4.

§*Glaubenslehre*, 79 f.

in itself. Antiquity, and Catholicity, will not serve to create authority. "What has been wrong for centuries was never right for a single hour. And if years made right, then were the Devil, who is over five thousand years old, easily the most righteous person on earth."*

The inherent authority of Scripture is grounded in its nature. This finds expression under the *necessitas*,† *sufficiencia*, *perspicuitas*.‡ The *necessitas* is used in a relative sense. It is necessary, because of its being God's chosen method of founding and maintaining his Church. It is not regarded as absolute, *i. e.*, that God might not have accomplished his purpose otherwise. But this is the way he has determined to do it; it is, therefore, necessary—being a part of his plan. Chemnitz notes the fact that a writing of revelation—the tables of the Law—is the basis of the Mosaic discipline and faith.

Sufficiencia implies that Scripture contains everything essential to salvation, and, as the Gallican Confession adds: "quidquid ad cultum Dei requiritur," (all that is required for the service of God).

Perspicuitas too is used in a relative sense. Absolutely it would imply that misunderstanding, and hence unbelief, would be impossible. Its presupposition is the preaching the Gospel to which it is appointed. The awakened consciousness seeking light then finds itself prepared by the Spirit for understanding the Word.

The doctrine which completes the Scripture principle is divine inspiration. "Holy men of old wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The inspiration doctrine has passed through various forms and degrees of error. It is one of great importance. Protestantism acknowledges no other authority; this must be firm. In the extreme emphasis of this doctrine Protestants have been blamed, with Romanism, not altogether unjustly, for regarding Scripture essentially divine. Of the Sacraments Catholicism had said: "They are the pure objective depositum of the divine Spirit. Scripture as the judge of pure

*Luther quoted, Oehler, *Symbolik*, 303.

†Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, IV., 251.

‡Oehler, *Symbolik*, 279.

doctrine stood in analogy to the educational judicial function of the priest, and in antithesis to the judicial decisions of the Church in the Roman system."*

We cannot here go into details with the doctrine of inspiration. The definitions given vary through almost every degree between that form of doctrine which regards inspiration as an entire appropriation of the writer, so that God is really writing, to that which evaporates the divine intervention entirely. "Spiritualism knows only the divine factor in the means of salvation; rationalism only the human; Calvinism places these side by side, the Lutheran doctrine binds them in an organic unity, comprehends their relation as a living interpenetration."† "Holy Scripture owes its origin both to a human and divine factor."‡

The doctrine, therefore, upon which our principle of authority ultimately rests, is the inspiration of Scripture. It is implied in every doctrinal statement. The system of doctrine theoretically grows out from this its originating source. But practically we drink from the fountain long before we inquire about its source, just as people appropriate the water from the river without first examining its source. We are already fully conscious that the stream is one of living water when we, if ever we get on so far, think to inquire about its source. We have all the while appropriated it with the presupposition that divine inspiration is its origin.

Starting then from the idea of inspiration,§ we have its product, in Holy Scripture; ||as God's rule for his personal creature.

*Aug. Dorner, *Dogmengeschichte*, 468.

†Thomasius, *Dogmatik*, II., 262.

‡Thomasius, *Dogmatik*, II., 274.

§1. I cannot treat of inspiration, but refer to the following: Thomasius, *Dogmatik*, II., 272-276; Oehler, *Symbolik*, 283, 288; Luthardt, *Glaubenslehre*, 518-581; Kuyper, *Encyclo. Sacred Theol.*, 413-553; Fairbairn, *Place of Christ in Modern Theol.*, 496-499; Allen, *Christian Institutions*, 377 ff.; Harris, *God the Creator, &c.*, I., 92 f.; *Self-Revelation of God*, 457, 469; Clarke, *Outlines of Theol.*, 45; Hasting's, *Bible Dict.*

||This is the orthodox theory of inspiration. It is maintained by Luthardt, Thomasius, Dorner, Philippi and others. It is what we Lutherans believe and confess. Paulsen, in his *System of Ethics*, raises a peculiar

This rule has authority from its very nature, expressed in the relation between author and the material he proposes to use in accomplishing the development of his plan. It is conditioned by its fundamental presupposition, viz. : the matter to be worked into the consummation consists of moral persons. The conception of the rule must take this into account. The doctrine of religious authority must comprehend the method by which an energy operates upon persons. Otherwise there is danger of regarding man pantheistically as a mere thing which is what it is by mechanical force—he is then no longer a person*

With these two factors fixed the doctrine must conform to their possibilities. The authoritative energy is in operation by its inherent nature, or, if preferred, by divine appointment. It sheds its rays of true light abroad. It lays hold of the person. By its power he becomes conscious that he is under sin and the consequences of guilt.† This first consciousness is a divine op-

question about the veracity of preachers with reference to this point. We are not troubled by it. See his work (Eng. Trans.) 703. Kaftan, in an article in *The American Journal of Theology* for Oct., 1900, discusses the principle of authority : also in his *Truth of the Christian Religion*, vol. I. But what he pleases to call the "new doctrine" minimises the supernatural even to nothingness. There is no place in his system for the orthodox doctrine of inspiration.

*A development of the idea of the apprehending person might here be in place, but it appears rather as a separate idea. In so far as it is essential to complete the authentication of the normative value of Scripture we have dwelt upon it sufficiently in our presentation of Luther's Doctrinal teaching. But we give here a quotation from Frank, *Christliche Gewissheit*, which is quite to the point: "Or let, if you will, Christian belief be belief on the ground of authority,—although no evangelical Christian will admit this in the sense in which the opponents use the expression,—yet the Christian is able to say, or ought at least so to be able, why he feels inwardly impelled to submit to the authority which comes to him with this claim; he is able and ought to be so, not in the first place for the sake of others who require an account of the living hope that is in him (1 Pet. 3 : 15), but in the first place for his own sake. The question is thus not merely as to the nature of that certainty, but at the same time as to the right of its existence; for without the consciousness of this right, of this inner necessity, all would be over with the joyfulness of faith, as with its veracity." (quoted from Eng. Trans. of vol. I., p. 5). "That Word of God was for him (Luther) not ecclesiastical doctrine, nor even the Bible, but the announcement of the free Grace of God in Christ." Harnack, *Wesen des Christenthums*. 169.

†"I had not known sin except by the law."

eration. "It is the gift of God." It draws men to the light and shows them God's plan of redemption. It awakens faith graciously in the promises. To a stranger to the operations of grace, this is not comprehended. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned," (1 Cor. 2 : 14). The development of the creature begotten of faith finds that that new thing begun in his person can only subsist upon the Word by which it was begotten. The Word, therefore, becomes and is its only norm, operating now consciously. The faith thus originated, or generated, by virtue of its nature confesses itself. A community of persons with the same confession find in it a bond of fellowship. The visible Church is the objective expression of this apprehension of common origin, common purpose, and common destiny. The acknowledged authority was and still remains the same among the individuals with whom the Church took form. These state the articles of their common faith in simple form, or in a form which is more involved, as circumstances require. This statement of the articles of faith is found to be a necessity in order to the maintenance of the identity of the original conception. The articles of faith are the sum of what is believed. The antithesis is implied. That which is not believed is that which is not in accord with the adopted articles. This method of articulating the confession of faith accounts for—as wisdom would at once suggest—the growth of the articles of faith from the simple to the more complex and comprehensive.*

*"*But anyone who, in contradistinction with his view, sets up the Creed, whether the strictly Lutheran Creed or any portion of it, as an unalterable legal ordinance, and demands subjection to it before all things—nay, sees in such subjection the preliminary condition of Protestant Christianity,—anyone who does this, I say, is to that extent of the Catholic opinion.*" Harnack, *Thoughts on Protestantism*, 37. Just as the final copy of this paper was being made the April number of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY appeared (1901). I should like to pay high tribute to the excellent setting of the place of the Confession in our Lutheran system as there given in the article by Rev. S. G. Hefelbower. The reader may regard it adopted and incorporated right here.

The articles of faith are found to be a necessity in a twofold sense. They form the standard of the doctrine, or rather they are the expression of the distinctive faith which organized the community (denomination). It serves, therefore, as the bond of union for the communion and the line of distinction between it and those who are not of it. The articles never become an ultimate authority. That is and forever remains the peculiar distinction of Scripture.* The Confessions are only witnesses of the ecclesiastical comprehension of Scripture in the time they were produced. But whilst they are the products of particular crises, the truth of Scripture which they confess makes them historical factors.†

The Confession, then, derives all that which gives it value from Scripture; with its derived value it exerts a positive influence on history by concentrating attention upon its distinctive features of Divine revelation drawn from God's Word. But does this not amount to making an authority of tradition? Most certainly not. The Confession never invades the realm where Scripture alone has value. Christian truth is proved by the sole norm of Scripture. That in which the Confession serves as norm is within the boundary of the larger realm where Scripture authenticates. The Confession,‡ therefore, becomes the stated expression of the faith of the individuals under it; a faith attained upon the authority of Scripture and never referred to the Confession. One's Christianity does not depend upon his acknowledgement of the confession, but his fellowship with the communion does.

The question of the normative value of the Confession has its chief bearing upon the relation existing between the Confession and the servants of the Church, those who fill her ministering

*I am constrained here to note the fact that Luthardt (*Glaubenslehre*, p. 85 f); Oehler, (*Symbolik*, 4); Aug. Dorner, (*Dogmengeschichte*, 442); specially emphasize the fact that Confessions are the expression of the faith of their time.

†See Luthardt as above.

‡"The Scriptures are the decisive norm in questions of Christian truth, the confessions on the other hand form the norm in questions as to the ecclesiastical authorized doctrine and its validity."

offices, no matter what they are for. To them the Confession becomes a norm of very decisive import. Its authority here is quite material. It lies in the very idea of the ministering relation. Luthardt illustrates this point as follows: "Would it be permissible for one who did not believe infant baptism to be scriptural, to minister within a communion that believed it? So long as he remains in contradiction with the fundamental doctrines of the communion he is unfit to be one of its ministers."* (This is not his language, but it is substantially his illustration). For one to remain a minister within a communion when in conscience he is in contradiction to the fundamentals of the communion is a breach of trust, in its very nature immoral.

But does this not exalt the Church to the position of an authority after the manner of Rome? Certainly not. The Church does not presume to decide in matters of faith, but of fellowship. The Church, or communion does not anathematise those who differ with her. The anathemas of the Church of Rome are her logical attributes consequent upon her presumed authority, whilst the *damnamuses* at the conclusion of several of the articles of the Augsburg Confession are inconsistencies—logically in fundamental contradiction with the positive sense of the Confession. Protestantism denies its fundamental principle when it presumes to exercise authority in human right over conscience. It can define the trust which its servants undertake in her service under her Confession and can bind them by Scripture authority to these distinctive doctrines; but beyond this it may not go.

It may be said that this seems to imply that the foundations of faith lie in uncertainties; that the spirit of interpretation is dangerously vague. But not so; if the matter in issue with the communion and a certain subject in disagreement be one of theory, purely intellectual difficulty, it has no direct bearing upon salvation, where heart-faith alone counts. If it be a matter in contradiction to the manifest evidence of Scripture, it is no longer a matter between the individual and the Confession, but between the individual and Scripture itself. Doctrine is always

*Luthardt, *Glaubenslehre*, 86.

proved by reference to Scripture, never by reference to the Confession. If not proven by Scripture, it is not proven. Between intellectual theories which are divergent, but not in open conflict with Scripture, the Church does not presume to pronounce categorical sentence. Each communion, by fact of its relation to its confession, stands for its peculiar point of view. It is conscious of its part in the great plan to the consummation of which it must contribute its share of effort. In this consciousness it would be a breach of trust to be indifferent to its characteristic claim.

The question may also arise whether or not this normative value of the Confession would militate against, or hamper a symmetrical development. We believe it fosters symmetrical development. The universe is too large to be surveyed in the abstract. We must, such is our limitation, lay off a base line. From it we may go forth and map the world, but each succeeding line will bear relation to the original base, which relation will be determined by chain and compass and have note of the contour of the country in which it was drawn. The symmetry of the map will be proportional to the degree of conformity between the successive lines with the original base, the exactness of the measurements, and the corresponding exactness of the plot made of each measurement. The base forecloses nothing. The chain and compass by which it was drawn will draw each successive line. The chain and compass will be true every time they are laid down, regardless of whether or not the reading is correctly made. It will be these instruments by which every line will be determined, and not the base. If in the course of the larger survey and of increased skill with the instruments it be found that, due to some misreading of the compass, or of the chain, or of both, a few inches of the base must be taken off or its angle slightly changed, it will be done, because the instruments are always true. A change under such circumstances does not reject the preceding work, but acknowledges the excellent purpose it served. Just so in the universe of divine relation. Scripture serves as chain and compass. It remains true, no matter what the skill of the readers. The skill acquired by

usage and the adaptation to the varying conditions of successive generations with their varying mode of thought may make it necessary to clip or extend the Confession (the base), but this will be nothing to the discredit of the framers of the Confession. It will simply be the due acknowledgement of the better skill of the succeeding generations. (I regard the statement that the Confession is of equal extent with Scripture, preposterous—well nigh blasphemous. When Confessions attain such perfection the second Advent will be at hand).

The normative value for the communion, for ecclesiastical development of the Confession, is rather the condition of its success than a hampering burden. Confessionalism is unpopular on account of excess, but its legitimate sphere is the hope of pure doctrine, and it must be maintained.

Here we might conclude our dissertation, were it not for the fact that the empiricism of modern philosophy has had a tendency to rule out everything which does not find explanation according to the principles and categories of reason.* We therefore proceed to treat of the realization of this idea of authority.

The philosophical attitude to which we refer is something like this: Knowledge is in accord with fact, and consequently exerts a positive influence over the intellect and will. Faith is the absence of knowledge, a negative thing, and by consequence of this negativity incapable of positive influence.

Our subject here touches upon the problem of epistemology in general, and moral as well as religious science in particular. Once admit that faith is essentially negative and you have swept away not only religion, but the very possibility of knowledge and you introduce absolute scepticism.

Strauss says: "Science is without presuppositions; Faith is all presupposition." Let us see. The history of every civilized government proves that man hopes that his nation will preserve its place in history by a constitution which is a law to its citizenship. Now what is law but a thing which is based upon the science of morals which rests wholly on presupposition? It

*Gottfried Hermann says: *credere est nescire*; to believe is not to know. Luthardt *Glaubenslehre*, 10.

presupposes a distinction between right and wrong, and that right is the principle of safety. Empiricism cannot deny this, neither can it prove what is right, and that which decides is right is the principle of safety according to its own categories.

Des Cartes began his philosophy with the thinking subject: *Cogito ergo sum*. If this is presupposition, it is one that lies at the foundation of every science. It is the presupposition of a thinking subject—a person. It is this person who is the believer in the authority of religion. He receives the evidence of the objective world through the senses. By believing the senses he has knowledge of the material world and seeks to conform his conduct with continual reference to this knowledge. He finds himself exercising judgment and effort, and by reflection he becomes conscious of a field of knowledge entirely different from that of which the senses gave him acquaintance. But this new world or subject matter of knowledge is not less knowledge than that obtained through the senses. It has authority for him just the same. By reflection he discovers a moral relation which he believes to be as much a part of his being as the relations he knows and adapts by the knowledge obtained through the senses. But reflection upon the moral or ethical relation brings the consciousness of contradiction between the ideal and the natural and the consequent superiority of the ideal. The conscience is then recognized as a factor of the highest order in the development of the moral person.

"The conscience," says Luthardt, "is the innermost point of the human person, by which he is in connection with God, a witness of the contact between the human and the Divine Spirit."* It is indeed a subjective consciousness, but not the product of the intellect and will of the person. It is in its nature a witness to that which is above, because its energy is one which only acts in deciding over the facts of consciousness otherwise obtained. This very fact of universal experience precludes its explanation by reference to any combination of the other faculties. "It is the witness of his (God's) truth, not however of his reality but

*Luthardt, *Lehre vom Freien Willen*, 444.

its correlate.”* Religious faith receives its complete definition when it is made with reference to the nature of conscience. On the practical side conscience is moral motive, but in order to have such a practical side it must have as its correlate the moral judgment. The moral judgment, however is clouded by sin, and and thus the motive is weakened. God by his revelation comes to restore the judgment and supply the motive strength. Subjectively, this proffered strength apprehended by faith—faith is the natural means of comprehension to the conscience. But the fact of a new motive and a new strength, opposed to sin and sinful weakness, does not, cannot, consist of the old nature. It demands a new person. This new person is the regenerate man. The ideal of the authority of Scripture is realized in the regenerate man. The regenerate *ego* is conscious of a relation produced by another than himself.† This consciousness is the certainty of salvation comprehended in faith.

Human knowledge, in all of its forms, is a personal experience of facts or what purport to be such. Conscience experience, even though it be comprehended in faith, is none the less real. It is by the fact of conscience being the subjective moral authority that Scripture authority is realized. It is due to the fact that only Scripture, *i. e.*, divine revelation, impresses the consciousness with power sufficient to open the eyes of the spirit. By divine revelation alone has the wanting motive and strength been supplied. “No one is able to make the world of color certain to a blind man. For he does not experience color. So one cannot make certain the things of God to one whose spiritual eyes are sealed.”‡

*Ibid, 445. “A conscience not conscious of a moral law is simply no conscience at all.” Flint, *Theism*, Appendix criticism of Schenkel, 400.

†Frank, *Christian Certainty*, 202, ff., and 270 ff.

‡Luthardt, *Glaubenslehre*, 17.

ARTICLE III.

THE TWO THEORIES.

BY REV. JOHN TOMLINSON, A. M.

There has always been a great deal said about one faith and one mode of worship. This would be very desirable indeed. Christ prayed to his Father to preserve his apostles in unity and truth. And St. Paul says: "I beseech you brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing; and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." Christ's promise, that there shall be one fold and one Shepherd, John 10 : 16, has been in course of fulfilment ever since the time of the apostles, whenever, by conversion, a soul was added to the communion of believers. All Christians agree on the main article of the Christian religion, namely, justification by faith and not by works. Yet there is a great deal of division in the churches. This is emphatically true in regard to *development* and *conversion*. It is the purpose of the writer to discuss as briefly as possible these two theories:

1. By development is meant the early and persistent training of the children of the Church in the way of righteousness, in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Christianity begins in baptism. For Christ says: "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." Mt. 28 : 19. The IX. Article of the Augsburg Confession teaches, That through Baptism the grace of God is offered, that children are to be baptized and through Baptism are offered to God and received into his favor. For the promise of God's grace and the gift of the Holy Ghost connected with Baptism, pertains also to children. Every child lawfully baptized, until the contrary is made to appear, is presumed to be grafted into Christ, regenerated and made a true member of the invisible Church. Children should be so trained that they would never commit actual

sin, nor ever remember a time when they did not love God. Jeremiah, John the Baptist, Timothy, Baxter and the Moravians, are good examples of this kind of training. Of the latter not one in ten could tell when he did not love God. The suppression of depravity, a predisposition to sin must receive *early* attention, or vice in flagrant forms will appear. The right kind of training includes remembrance of the Lord God, his existence, perfections, works, and law enjoining duty to both God and man. It involves both a public profession of religion and regular communion as sanctioned by Christ and St. Paul. In short the end of the best training is a *finished character*. Any other training is defective. Solomon says: "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Prov. 22 : 6. And Christ says: Feed my lambs. John 21 : 15. Christ and Solomon both are high authority in favor of the development theory. But the best religious culture does not always secure the end intended, *a finished Christian*. And the writer appeals (1). To thousands of Christian families throughout the land, which contain scores of unsaved and ungodly children. And (2). To every church in Christendom which can show its young people on the high road to ruin, though St. Paul says: "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, to fear and obey God." Ep. 6 : 4.

2. By conversion is meant a remedy for the failures of development. Luther asks this question: If any one fall from the covenant of baptism, how may he be gotten back into it again? His answer is: By conversion. There is a difference between regeneration and conversion. Regeneration is passive; conversion, active. "Regeneration is the act of the divine Spirit on the soul. Conversion is the act of the soul under the influence of the divine Spirit. Neither can exist without the other. No philosophy can distinguish between the two. Yet metaphysically, every Christian converts himself, but is regenerated by the Spirit of God. The change of will is his own, but the influence under which this change takes place is God's."

The principal things in conversion are repentance and faith.

The specific idea of repentance is sorrow for sin. But to particularize, it includes (1). a knowledge of sin, (2). a deep sense of sin, (3). hatred of and aversion to sin, (4). sorrow and regret for sin, (5). confession of sin, and (6). forsaking sin. The specific idea of faith is confidence, that confidence in Christ which will lead us to act on what he says as a certain fact. It requires, (1). a knowledge of the truth; (2). the assent of the understanding to the truth; and (3). the consent of the will to gospel terms. Mat. 16 : 24. It comprehends an act of the understanding, the sensibilities and the will. Repentance and faith constitute Paul's order of salvation, or evangelical conversion, Acts. 20 : 21, which furnishes a remedy for the failures of development. The conversion theory says: Let us continue our efforts to renew them in the spirit of their minds and bring them in new obedience to the service of Christ. This is what is understood by conversion in this connection. The two parties in the Church do not differ about doctrine, nor as to the course to be pursued with the young, but on the question of *theories*. It should, also, be borne in mind that the Church proper don't embrace all society. Vast multitudes have attained to manhood and have never enjoyed a pastor's instructions, nor a parent's prayers. They are in a Christless, graceless, hopeless condition. Whilst a child may be so trained that it will never know when it did not love God, we must deal with God's sinners as we find them. And the proper thing to do in either case, is to preach conversion to them, tell them to repent and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, for the moment any one cordially believes that Jesus Christ by his life and death satisfied the justice of God, peace and joy will enter his heart. Those who have grown old in sin can not be taken back and brought up in Christian homes—taken through the whole *curriculum* of a Christian education. It is too late for that. Some of these people are often met with on a death bed, in the near approach of death. It avails but little, then, to talk about the externals of religion. The only thing the writer has found helpful and consolatory in such cases was a thorough conversion, or a change of the carnal mind into the mind of Christ. Egregious mistakes are undoubtedly made. Those

who lay too great stress on conversion, allow their children to grow up, largely, at least, without a Christian education, to be converted in the future, in a revival, perhaps. But a man has no more right to let his children go *into* sin, than he has to leave them in it after they get into it. Besides it is difficult to convert old people. According to Dr. Spencer's statistics 650 out of 1000 of those who are converted, are converted under 20 years of age; 250 between 20 and 30; between 30 and 40; 12 between 40 and 50; 3 between 50 and 60. Above this no estimate has been made. One writer says only one in a hundred of those who repent on a death bed and get well, prove faithful to the end, and another writer says only one in a thousand holds out to the end. In view of these facts, it is not wise to neglect the early training of the young. Parents should as early as possible teach their children to fear God and set them a good example. The Lutheran Church has always been educational rather than emotional. But in view of the facts patent to all, it must be conceded that those who adopt the development theory and reject the the conversion theory, have no remedy when the former fails. They must let their failures go to Hell, without any further effort to rescue them. They have tried baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, in short, Christian education, the best *possible* in an imperfect state, and all has failed. What now is to be done. Anything or nothing. Why continue the effort by preaching conversion to them? This is all that can be done. If this avails nothing, they must go lost. This conflict between theories is much sharper than most people are aware of. The writer once attended a funeral at which the officiating clergymen collided with each other to the discredit of both. The one claimed the deceased as a trophy of development and the other as a trophy of conversion. After quite an altercation which no one present enjoyed, one of the contending parties called on another brother to offer the closing prayer. This brother was equal to the occasion. He arose in his place and repeated the Lord's Prayer and sat down. No other prayer would have suited half so well. The conclusion, presumably, was that it was not wise to com-

mit one's self, unqualifiedly, to a particular theory. Each of the theories under discussion has its advantages, and religious teachers should do justice to both. Experience recorded and unrecorded abounds with testimony in favor of both theories. And the Germans say: "*Erfahrung macht die Wahrheit begreiflich* (experience renders truth comprehensible)."

The question: "How can we reach the masses," has been discussed without end. Well, says one, the masses can not be reached. Men and women who have lived all their lives without God and without hope in the world, and have not been reached, will not, in all probability, ever be reached. Reach for the boys and girls. Get them and the masses will be reached. The boys and girls can be reached, but when they have grown up in sin they have gotten into the non-reachable state. "Back to Luther" and his Catechism. Instruct the children in religion every day from childhood, and the masses will be reached. It is the only sure way. Moreover, that is the way to settle the saloon and the drink questions. Teach religion to the young. Do not wait for a cyclonic revival. The writer quoted gives us a very concise solution of this difficult question. But to most minds, it is not entirely satisfactory. Some startling facts confront the careful student. In a certain town in the South only 114 out of 9,000 young men, were in the Wednesday evening prayer meeting and 1,008 were in the saloon the same evening. According to the last religious census of Philadelphia, there were about 272,472 church members and about 1,000,000 did not belong to any church at all. In New York there are about 718,948 church goers and about 2,718,948 non-church goers. Fewer people go to church and fewer children go to school in New York than in any other American city. One-half the people in Manhattan and Bronx do not go to church. About 3,848,257 in England and Wales do not go to church. In Manchester, England, 3,500 houses out of 13,000 make no profession of religion at all. Of 400,000,000 of a population in China, 1,000,000 are Catholics and 600,000 are Protestants. Of the inhabitants of the world 500,000,000 are Christians (200,000,000 are Protestants) and 1,000,000,000 are non-Christians,

(Press Almanac). Now while this is the condition of things both in Christian and heathen countries, there will be a crying demand for such men as Peter, Tauler, Luther, Knox, Whitefield, Edwards, Nettleton, Finney, Moody, etc., to preach conversion. The Holy Ghost blows on a man here and there and regenerates him, and nobody else knows anything about it. Facts interfere with theories, no matter how carefully set up, or, masterly defended. According to sacred history, circumcision was first instituted in the time of Abraham. Enoch, Noah, etc., must, therefore, have gone to heaven without it. They were regenerated, but neither circumcised nor baptized. They lived before Abraham was born. Again when the Lord instituted baptism, he had all Christians baptized, both Jews and Gentiles, circumcised and uncircumcised. What necessity was there for two spiritual new births—of regenerating them twice? Regeneration by circumcision as a doctrine was opposed by both the old prophets and the apostles, Jeremiah, 9 : 27., Acts 7 : 51 and 2 : 28. Now if circumcision of the heart was not necessarily tied to circumcision of the flesh, neither is baptism of the heart tied to baptism of the flesh. There are also some examples of persons mentioned in the Scriptures who were regenerated before baptism and others afterwards. To the dying thief, Jesus said: "To day thou shalt be with me in Paradise," but he was not baptized. Cornelius was regenerated before baptism. He was a devout man, Acts 10, and had received the baptism of the Holy Ghost before the baptism of water. Simon Magus was baptized, but not regenerated; for he proposed to buy the Holy Ghost with money. Hymeneus, Phygellus, Hermogenes and the great transgressor so severely censured in the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, were all baptized, but not regenerated. Regeneration may take place without baptism and baptism without regeneration. Every one who is baptized, is certified of his right to all the blessings of the Christian Church, but he must fulfill the conditions of the covenant of baptism, namely, repentance and faith. There is reason to dread the doctrine that all the baptized are regenerated. The transmission of saving grace by the Sacraments is one of

the fearful errors of the times. Jesus is the Saviour. There is only one fountain to which we can go for the washing of the soul. Finally both theories must be insisted on earnestly and persistently till truth shall completely triumph over error and all opposition, and the praise of Jesus Christ shall fill all lands. It is hoped that the reader will remember what Thomas a. Kempis says: "He is truly great that is great in Charity."



ARTICLE IV.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM AND THE GOSPEL.*

BY REV. HIRAM KING, A. B.

The philosophy of life teaches that, while the lower orders are complete by creative act, the divine energy makes man, in part, *rudimentary*. The divine agency is of necessity thus limited, since the moral being cannot be created, but must be developed by the subject himself. Man is, accordingly, *self-made*.

The fall, however, enfeebled man's natural powers, impaired his faculties and robbed him of his rectitude. It, moreover, adversely affected his environment, subjected him to baneful influences, and made him rudimentary for his *alter ego*, which St. Paul calls the "old man" (Ep. 4 : 22). This ill-begotten "man" embodies all moral malformation, and is, therefore, quite the reverse of man's ideal of moral integration. He indeed dehumanizes and brutalizes the race in the exact degree of his own development.

It is the counter bearing of these adverse conditions in man's being, that not only retards and minimizes the development of his manhood, or prevents it altogether, but makes his whole life a problem for his own solution. Man's social integration, in particular, is therefore the social problem.

Society, moreover, is not Jovian-born; but, like the other

*It is not the purpose to discuss the social problem "scientifically," but to trace the social principle and the social factor, and to ascertain their respective functions in human relations.

branches of ethnology—governments, laws, arts, languages and religions—it develops with the growing manhood of the race.

THE SOCIAL FACULTY.

The social faculty was included in the mental and physical equipment of the first man, and is therefore innate in his descendants. The social faculty is, moreover, much more than men's aptitude for social relations. It is not only the trend of his mind toward social relationship, but it is also the capability of directing his mental action for the promotion of his social interests. The corresponding faculty of beasts is wholly instinctive, and therefore forms them into *herds*. The social faculty, on the contrary, is exercised in the sphere of ethics, and man is therefore not gregarious, but social; he is formed, not into herds, but into communities.

LOVE THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SOCIAL CONSTITUTION.

The development of the social order proceeds through the functions of the social faculty, but the social order itself develops from the social principle, which is *love*. Love is, however, a *complex* emotion and is not indiscriminately the principle of social evolution. It is indeed as diverse as the objects upon which it terminates. Thus, the matron devotes her life to her children—paints their cheeks, as it were, with the bloom of her own—but her love being material, is *domestic*. So, too, in the marriage relation, the offering of the life is made, but the love of husband and wife, being conjugal, is *dual*. As to the soldier who lays his life on the altar of his country, his love, being patriotic, is bounded by the national frontiers. Love thus restricted could not possibly be the social principle, since society is a race-development as much as government or law, and is, accordingly, *Cosmopolitan*. As the social order develops thus in the bosom of the race, as such, the deduction is certainly warranted, that love, as the principle of the social constitution, must be *philanthropic—love for man*. Parental love and conjugal love are self-seeking as well as self sacrificing, since they are consummated in the *possession* of their objects. Thus the children *belong* to the parents who love them, and the loving husband and wife

belong to each other. Philanthropic love, on the contrary, finds its satisfaction, not in the possession of its objects, but in the self-sacrificing benevolence of its subjects. Thus, men, who love their fellow men, practice private beneficence or promote public interests, not as beneficiaries, but as *benefactors*.

The social principle, being thus love for man, irrespective of kinship, friendship or class-distinction, it is plain that society is the *concrete expression of man's good will to man*.

RELIGION THE MAIN FACTOR OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

Geographical situation, natural resources, government, legal and moral codes, race characteristics and inventions are elements in social progress, but the main factor of social evolution is *religion*—the truth of the affirmation will appear from the following consideration :

In religious devotion man becomes Godlike. Man's moral being, it has appeared, cannot be created, but must be formed by man himself. Since, however, man is created in the image of God, his moral ideal must be God himself. It would therefore appear that the elements of his moral growth cannot be wholly human. It is indeed certain that the *formative powers* of the moral being are not in man at all, but in God (John 15 : 5 ; 1 Cor. 15 : 10).^{*} Nor can these powers become operative in man's moral nature with his spiritual union with God. This union is, however, established in religion, and the life and spirit of God are mediated to men in their religious devotion. As men are thus joined to God in the relation of the stream to the fountain-head, they are endowed with divine attributes and become *Godlike*. They become not good, simply, but benevolent and self-sacrificing, like the Son of Man, who came, "not to be ministered unto, but to minister." (Mark 10 : 45).

Religion becomes preëminently a social factor as it thus makes men unselfish and helpful. As men become Godlike,

^{*}Not only does Sophocles speak of "the unwritten and indelible law of the gods" in the hearts of men, but St Paul speaks of Gentiles showing "the works of the law written in their hearts" (Romans 2 : 15). It is therefore plain that the divine potencies for the formation of man's moral being are available, to some extent, in natural religion.

they also become like-minded and are necessarily *fellows*. As men, moreover, are in religious fellowship, they not only come into constant reciprocal contact, but they are a social community.

Would, then, the elimination of religion really make the social community impossible? Yes, as these examples attest: "Am I my brother's keeper (Gen. 4 : 9)?" was Cain's repudiation of social duty, and was the defiance flung into the face of God wholly because that original breaker of the social compact was essentially *irreligious*. Romans and Frenchmen, alike, became cruel and bloody; the former, when they learned to scoff at the gods in the Pantheon; the latter, when they decreed the deity of the reason in the National Convention of '92. In Italy, the social community became putrescent; in France, its richest blood soaked the saw-dust under the Guillotine. The conclusion seems to be warranted, that man without religion would be brutal and that, therefore, the social order would be impossible.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM NOT SOLVED IN NATURAL REVELATION.

If the philosophy of Locke were true, that men get ideas only through sensation and reflection, it is certain that man would not be religious by nature—if at all. As he could not possibly be religious without a knowledge of God, it follows that a revelation is being made. Versus the reasoning of this Englishman, the Scriptures teach that the Son of God is the "light of the world" (John 8 : 12), and that he "lighteth every man coming into the world" (John 1 : 9). He illumines the mental intuitions* of the race, and all men know *without reflection* that God exists.

The inference is here warranted that religion, like revelation,

*The revelation of God in the mental intuitions is *immediate*, and is, therefore, not identical with his revelation in the objects of nature (Romans 1 : 19-21; Acts 14 : 17; Ps. 19 : 1, 2). The latter is properly "natural" revelation and is contingent on man's rational nature. The former is *natural* as being a condition of man's normal state, without which he would not be truly human. So also of religion as under present consideration, which is *natural* only in the sense of being normal to man.

is universal, because it originates from the knowledge of God thus communicated to all mankind. Do the facts of ethic history confirm the conclusion of logic? and is religion so great a moral power that men everywhere acknowledge its claims? Yes. All nations, at their emergence from the pre-historic void, have appeared as religious communities quite as much as political divisions. Temples, altars, sacred groves, oracles and fetishes are ubiquitous, and proclaim man's common worship of the gods. The lands of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges; Europe and the "dark continent;" America, China and Japan! All pay the homage of religious devotion at templed shrine or forest fane, whilst the primitive Greek and Latin races are actually designated by the historian as "religious societies." Absolutely, all tribal and national divisions of man—savage, barbarous and civilized—alike acknowledge the jurisdiction of the supernatural powers over human affairs, and confess a religious creed. Not in any age, have any people conceived the standard of right and wrong, even, to be fixed by man. The concensus of civil communities has always been that rules of conduct were prescribed, not by men, but by the gods. Even the "master of the Roman world," although an autocrat among men, was but the pontifex maximus of the supreme ruler.

The ubiquity of religious oracle and shrine in the world is the historical proof, not only that religion is normal to man, but that it is an irrepressible moral force, mighty enough to assert itself along the ages at the inception of every life.

Religion is thus not the result of man's intellectual progress, like geometry, or chemistry, but a divine institution, whose author is the second person of the trinity. As touching the general province of religion, it is not only the sphere of the formative powers of God for the moral being of man, but it is also the medium of the sovereignty of God for the moral government of the world. Surely religion must be the greatest moral force in history.

As then religious sentiment was especially dominant at the climaxes of ancient history, why did the great civilizations of antiquity perish? Why did not religion thoroughly permeate

the state, and, not only conserve the results of mental, moral, social and civil progress, but promote the civilizations already so great? Not just because the religious life became debased, but chiefly because natural revelation is inadequate to man's *religious ideal*. Under the very highest inspiration of natural revelation, man can inscribe his altars only to an unknown God (Acts 17 : 23), and, though he seek after him (Acts 17 : 2), he cannot find him (Romans 10 : 14). The civilizations of Egypt and Assyria and Greece and Rome, it is true, were marvelously great, for their times, as their national archaeology well attests. Nevertheless, these greatest of ancient peoples, being but the children of nature, were really groping after God in the dark, inasmuch as he never sent them a teacher nor wrote them a precept. It is certainly not strange, then, that their religious instincts, which originally were correct, became so perverted that their religious rites degenerated into orgies and injected the fatal virus of immorality into all strata of the social order. As the social community is the heart of a people, and therefore vitalizes or vitiates their civilization, it must be plain that the old world's greatest nations could not possibly have survived the moral infection of their social life, and the prostitution of their religious rites to wanton revelry at the altars of the gods *

Natural religion, being thus plainly inadequate to man's salvation, it is fair to assume its inadequacy, also, to his social integration. A people's social status cannot be superior to their religion, because religion is the principle factor of social development. The social order of the natural man, like his religion, can therefore not rise above the natural plane. The inference is indeed fully warranted by the state of social life among the Gentile nations of antiquity, which was as far from *ideal* in great Babylon and Rome as it is in Peking and Tokio.

*Natural religion is none the less, on that account, the *true* religion, since its Author is the Son of God. The religious devotions of the natural man are, therefore, acceptable to God, although the worshiper is not in saving relation to him. Then, the prayer of the Gentile Cornelius was "heard," and his alms were "had in remembrance in the sight of God" (Acts 10 : 31), but he was, nevertheless, directed to summon the Christian Peter, who should speak "words" to him, whereby he should "be saved," and all his house (Acts 11 : 13, 14).

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM SOLVED IN DIRECT REVELATION.

Revelation became adequate to man's religious ideal at the advent of its Author. As the "Word" (John 1 : 1), simply, the Son has no tongue, but makes an *unspoken* revelation, and men see God "as trees." Thus the great Plato "saw" him, who could not recognize any of his attributes except that of Being. As the "Word became flesh" (John 1 : 14), however, he acquired the organs of speech, and God speaks to men in him (Heb. 1 : 2). The divine communication is the gospel, and in it the Son "declares" (John 1 : 18) God by revealing him in his *attributes*. He predicates of him *goodness* (Matt. 19 : 17), *mercy* (Luke 6 : 36), *righteousness* (John 17 : 25), but *love* is the divine *essense* (1 John 4 : 8) as well as a divine attribute (ver. 9). Love is therefore the *dominant* characteristic of God.

The supreme question here is, whether, or not, divine love—love from the being of God as light from the sun—is communicated to man? Is the heart of man thus set on fire at the divine flame? The interrogative proposition is affirmed in the Scriptures. God is not only declared to be the Author of love (2 Cor. 13 : 11) but also its *source*. "For love is of God" (1 John 4 : 7) affirms the apostle.

The fountain of divine love is, however, not opened for man in natural generation, but in spiritual birth. As the Word became flesh, he also became the ruler of the universe (Dan. 7 : 13, 14; Matt. 28 : 18). Unlike other monarchs, he was without subjects at his coronation, but he made the significant proclamation: "Behold, I make all things new" (Rev. 21 : 5). Like other monarch he could reign only over beings of his own order. He had, however, proved to be so unlike man in his advent that man had crucified him. He would therefore create men, not only anew, but in his own image (Romans 8 : 29), and thus make them citizens of his kingdom. He meant not, however, to utter again the old creative "word" (Ps. 33 : 6), but he made religion the medium of his benevolent purpose. He founded not a new religion, but he *equipped religion with the ordinances of the gospel*, and made it his intervening instrumentality for the regeneration of the race. He endowed religion

thus to make it fully grace-bearing. Thus, he ordained the preaching of the gospel (Mark 16: 15, 16), that men might be "begotten again through the word of God" (1 Peter 1 : 23), become the "sons of God" (Romans 8 : 14) and "cry Abba, Father" (ver. 15). As the specific ritual observance in connection with the preaching of the gospel, he instituted baptism (Matt. 28 : 19), which is the "laver of regeneration" (Titus 3 : 5), that men might be "baptized into Christ" (Gal. 3 : 27) and thus be "born of water and the spirit" (John 3 : 5).

As the fatherhood of God is thus established over men, it follows that the divine love, as well as the other qualities of manhood in Christ, is transmitted to them as a *parental characteristic*, after the analogy of natural generation. Of this there can be not doubt, since they "become partakers of the divine nature" (2 Peter 1 : 4) itself.

It is now plain that the new humanity, being "born of God" (John 1 : 13), is not only a "brotherhood" (2 Peter 2 : 17), but that the brotherhood is *divine* as well as human, is "brotherly love" (Heb. 13 : 1), then, to be measured at the lofty standard of divine love? Yes, and the affirmation is fully warranted by the Scriptures. It is not only written that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life" (John 3 : 16) and that Christ "laid down his life for us," but also that "we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren" (1 John 3 : 16).

Brotherly love, therefore, not only precludes the selfishness of the natural man, which always filled the world with cruelty, rapine and bloodshed, making thus the social order, such as it was, ephemeral; but, on the contrary, it exacts supreme self-sacrifice in behalf of its objects. Instead of making men competitors for pleasures and wealth and honors, it makes them rivals in self-sacrificing generosity and mutual good will.

It has now been made to appear : (1). That, in natural revelation, religion is inadequate to social integration, because it joins man, at best, to "an unknown God;" (2). that, in direct revelation, religion is equipped with the ordinances of the gospel and

is made the channel of its grace; (3). that men are "born of God" at the font of the Church and "become partakers of the divine nature;" (4). that therefore the sacred fire of divine love is transmitted in the new birth and burns on the altar of the heart.

Is it, however, a historical fact that the transformation, here indicated, is wrought by the gospel? and does Christianity exemplify the conclusion arrived at, that Christians are *social* instead of *selfish*? That the gospel produced a change at its original proclamation, and that the change was *radical* and to the foregoing effect, is well attested:

1. *By the Evangelist.* Thus, Christ made "of twain (Jew and Gentile) one new man" (Ep. 2 : 5). "The old things are passed away; behold, they are become new" (2 Cor. 5 : 17). The three thousand at Pentecost "continued steadfastly in the apostle's teaching and fellowship, in breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts 2 : 42). "And the multitudes of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common" (Acts 4 : 32). "For neither was there among them any that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need" (Acts 4 : 34, 35). According to this testimony, Pentecost was not only the consummation of the new creation, but the formation of the Christian brotherhood was the immediate result of the inauguration of the economy of the gospel. It appears, moreover, that the primitive Christian community was *excessively* social. It was, indeed, exaggerated into a moderate form of communism itself. When, however, the new community had undergone two decades of social development, the churches in Macedonia and Corinth exemplified *true* Christian socialism by contributing "of their own accord," and "beyond their power" for the relief of their needy brethren at Jerusalem (2 Cor., chapters 8, 9).

2. *By the Pagans.* The enemies of the first Christians bore

negative testimony—though none the less conclusive—to the power of the gospel to transform the world. Thus, brought the charge against the first evangelists, that they were turning the world “upside down” (Acts 17 : 6). Over the social prodigy they, however, exclaimed in admiring surprise: “How these Christians love one another!”

It is thus the testimony of friend and foe, alike, that the primitive Christian community was *dominated* by “brotherly love” (the principle of the social constitution), and as brotherly love itself originated in the consummation of the new creation at Pentecost, it is plainly demonstrated that the gospel solves the social problem.

It is, however, only in *principle* that the social problem is solved at the new birth. The gospel supplies adequate conditions for social integration as it thus transforms the “natural man” (1 Cor. 2 : 14) into the “spiritual” man (ver. 15), but it solves the social problem *actually* only as it develops the spiritual being of men from babehood in Christ (1 Cor. 3 : 1) to Christian manhood (Col. 1 : 28). It thus appears that it is the function of religion (the factor of social evolution) to mediate the grace of the gospel, not only for the spiritual birth of men, but for their spiritual growth as well.

After the analogy of the natural life, however, the “sons of God” must be dependent on a parent’s faithful care for personal qualification to assume the responsibilities of spiritual manhood. The Heavenly Father indeed discharges the parental obligation through the Son, who is a “teacher come from God”—this teacher from heaven instructs not, however, in the secular sciences, which lie within the mental scope of the natural man, but he teaches his gospel, one feature of which relates to the spiritual science of sociology, which the natural man can never hope to master. (1 Cor. 2 : 14).

The Lord’s teachings, unlike those of others, is *mandatory*, because he is man’s master in the new creation as well as his teacher. *First*, he makes imperative for his disciples (learners) the social principle: “This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you” (John 15 : 12), and,

second, he imposes on them a rule of conduct towards others : "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them" (Matt. 7 : 12).

It is thus that this wisest of teachers would solve the social problem. Unlike the social reformer, who seeks to repair the broken image of God in the natural man, he creates men anew in the religious ordinances, and then brings the gospel into contact with them in its social bearings, precisely, where the social problem awaits solution, namely, *in their relations to their fellow-men*. And surely as men are constrained by the grace of the gospel to exercise brotherly love and to practice the "golden rule," the social problem can no longer exist for want of the selfishness out of which it rises.

The Family. Society must always be rudimentary in the family and therefore develop from it, or decay with it. As, moreover, the family-life is fontal for the life of the community, it follows that the moral status of society is fixed by the morals of the family. It is, accordingly, quite plain that the family is the primary sphere for the solution of the social problem.

The Creator himself instituted *monogamy* as the basis of the family. He joined together the first man and the first woman as "one flesh" (Matt. 19 : 5) for the propagation of the race (Gen. 1 : 28). Since he classed them as the world's primitive progenitors (Gen. 1 : 28), it is evident that the connubial relation is the divine provision for the moral purity of man's life at its inception. As, moreover, the union of man and woman in holy matrimony is the normal order of life, it is but plain common-sense, that "what God hath joined together" may not be "put asunder" by man. It is indeed the teaching of the Lord himself, that man cannot dissolve the marriage relation at his whim. Thus, the wife, who is put away, "saving for the cause of fornication," is made to commit adultery if she marry again, and the man who marries her commits the same crime against social purity (Matt. 5 : 31, 32). It is here taught that nothing but the breach of the marriage vows can terminate marriage. The woman in the aforesaid contingency is therefore an adult-

ress, because her former marriage is still in force, and the man is an adulterer, because he marries another man's wife.

As there can be no doubt that the Lord is the authoritative exponent of marriage, it plainly follows that the divorce courts, instead of promoting social morality, are the greatest of all menaces to the social order. They not only grant divorces in appalling numbers, but they issue the majority of decrees in divorce, not for the one "cause," which dissolves the marriage relation, but for "every cause" (Matt. 14 : 3), which does not.

Man thus substitutes polygamy for monogamy, and the consequences for the social community are deplorable. In these mock marriages, men and women live, at best, in *legalized* adultery, and their offspring are bastards under the statutes of the kingdom of heaven. As, moreover, but few of the offenders against the sanctity of the marriage contract suffer social ostracism, it is quite plain that the moral status of society itself is not at the loftiest level. It is, indeed, true that the practice of this civilized form of polygamy is the gauge of social morality itself. Aside from the one cause of divorce, the divorce courts are but the organized sentiment of the social community, expressing its hospitality against the monogamy instituted in Paradise.

What, now, is the remedy for this fatal prostitution of marriage to selfishness and lust? The high crime against domestic pravity is committed, not under tolerance of the law, but through its agency. Can, then, the law be expected to reverse itself and *guard* the sanctity of the home? No. Human laws are but the formulation of the prevailing sentiment, relative to matters of legislation, and the popular sentiment against the indissolubility of the marriage ties is growing. It is only the gospel, which is the law of love, that closes this fountain-head of social immorality. As husband and wife are inspired by the "brotherly love" of the Christians as well as by the love of the sexes, and as they exemplify the golden rule, it is not possible for either of them to give cause for divorce, or to put the other away for "every cause." If, moreover, husbands and wives,

the world over, would keep the Lord's commandment and regulate their mutual conduct by his rule, there would not be a single suit in divorce instituted anywhere.

The Social Evil. The gospel is equally the remedy for sham divorcement and the "social evil;" and it closes up "disorderly houses" just as it puts divorce courts out of session. As men and women are "born again" and learn to love one another as Christians, they cease to lust after one another as pagans.

Labor and Capital. As to the material element in man's social integration, the problem is involved, in part, in the *industries*. Labor and capital are the complementary essentials to the world's industrial progress. The mutual relation of the laborer and the capitalist is *commercial*; their mutual attitude is that of *producer* and *purchaser*. The capitalist seeks to procure labor at a profit to himself; the laborer asks fair remuneration for his services.

It is by the fair exchange of values between capitalist and laborer, that material well-being of the social community is promoted. The exchange of values is fair, however, only as the labor performed is profitable to *both the employer and the employee*. Labor being a true product, the laborer must receive more money for it than it costs him to produce it,* just as the capitalist must realize a profit on his investment. This, indeed, is the only basis on which traffic can be successfully carried on in any branch of commerce, and it is on the mutual profits of producers and purchasers, in general, that the social well-being of the community must always depend.

It is evident, however, from the protective measures taken by great labor federations, and the frequent and persistent "strikes" by many thousand of workmen for higher wages, that labor and capital, instead of being in mutual amity, are in deadly conflict. Capitalists take advantage of an over-supply of labor, and, by *excessive wage-reduction*, destroy the profits of labor. The result is that the laborer cannot provide for his family; his children

*The laborer's outlay, in the production of labor, is the amount necessary to support his family. His labor is profitable when his wages exceed the outlay.

cry for bread; he becomes desperate and—"strikes." Or, as laborers, like capitalists, are not always proof against avarice, they are quite capable, it is to be feared, of "going out on a strike" with the deliberate purpose of extorting *excessive wages* from their employers.

It is this conflict between labor and capital that is the "labor problem," and it cannot possibly be solved in the old world, because the *acquisitiveness* of the natural man is abnormally enlarged. The gospel, however, establishes peace between labor and capital by creating both sides to the conflict "in righteousness" (Ep. 4 : 24), making them, thus, not only brotherly, but also *just*.

Monopolies. In the realm of commerce, there are monopolies organized "in restraint of trade" and operated, well-nigh, *in control of trade*. These are great commercial vampires, hungrily gorging at the arteries of the public.* The monopolistic trade corporations in the United States alone, are now exacting hundreds of millions of dollars of unearned profits from its citizens. Their mode of operation is to destroy competition, limit production and advance prices. It is easy to see the adverse bearing which these immense losses have on the social community. Secular and religious education, the necessities, the conveniences and the elegancies of life are all essential conditions of social elevation. But all are minimized, or made impossible, by the constantly increasing robber tax, levied by these commercial autocrats on the people's limited resources.

The monopolists are, however, not only the autocrats of commerce, but they are also, to some extent, the plutocrats of the country. The people are, therefore, without a remedy—*except the gospel*. If it even were wise to fix the price of commodities by law, the capitalized interests, it may be presumed, would dic-

*The late strike of the anthracite coal miners in Eastern Pennsylvania furnishes a case in point. The miners were granted an advance of *ten cents* a ton on their output. Notice was, however, given that the price of coal at the mines would be advanced *seventy-five cents* a ton. On this the *New York World* comments, in part, as follows: "This probably means a full dollar a ton delivered, a tax of \$50,000,000 a year on the public, an unearned profit of \$32,500,000 to the coal-mining railroad corporations."

tate the schedules. The gospel, however, is the remedy for monopolistic extortion, because it is the greatest of all monopolies itself. It adds not, indeed, to the burdens of the poor by taxing the comforts of life, but it exacts the *hearts* of men for God, and teaches them that "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20 : 35). It is quite plain that as the autocrats of commerce come to pay the tribute of their hearts to the world's monopolist, they not only cease to "restrain" trade, but they re-adjust their corporations in the *interest of trade*.

Drunkenness and war. The twin foes of society are drunkenness and war. Each sits at the hearthstone of the home, spectral, grim-visaged, relentless, and makes "Rachel" weep inconsolably for her lost children. Each lowers the moral standard, leaves millions of victims in its wake and wastes billions of treasure.

The legislator has failed to part the drunkard from his cups. The Son of God offers to save him, through his gospel, and succeeds. As men, by divine grace, come to exemplify the golden rule, they cease to furnish one another, even at a business profit, with the means of wrecking their lives, breaking the hearts of their friends and extinguishing their hope of heaven (1 Cor. 6 : 10). As, on the other hand, the drunkard himself comes to practice the precepts of the gospel, it is plainly not possible that he should still undergo the swinish transmigration, and wallow in the mire (1 John 3 : 9).

The Disarmament Conference was held at the Hague in the interest of international peace, but *armed menace* is still its best guaranty. The utter futility of the attempt to abolish war by international agreement was promptly demonstrated by the booming of British cannon in South Africa. When, however, the military powers of the world shall become the contemplated brotherhood of nations (Ps. 2 : 8) and adopt the golden rule as the standard in international affairs, then the era of "peace among men" (Luke 2 : 14) will be fully inaugurated, and the "Prince of peace" (Isaiah 9 : 16) will reign over the world in fact, as well as in principle.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, that, as the gospel

regenerates the offenders against the social order and thereby solves the social problem in all its phases, the world must be *evangelized*, as the Lord directs (Matt. 28 : 19), instead of *reformed*, as misdirected zeal attempts.

ARTICLE V.

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 270.

BY REV. EDGAR GRIM MILLER, A. M.

Thus far we have dealt with principles and generalities. Now we must turn to specific conditions, and to the duty of the Church with reference to them.

The most skeptical cannot deny that there is a social problem. The struggle between capital and labor has taken a form which shows it to be more than a sporadic discontent. The colossal fortunes on the one hand, the grinding poverty on the other; the large profits for capital, the low wages and scant recognition for labor; the tremendous power of the great corporations and trusts, and the growing, hostile power of trade and labor unions; the ominous mutterings and threats; the class feeling that is being fed and fanned, first into dread, then into hatred, holding menace and danger; these things are not to be pushed aside as idle dreams of alarmists. They are facts, conditions which must be met; the great problem of the day, which must be solved, lest the result be greater chaos and wrong.

First, a glance at some of the schemes presented for the social salvation. It is important that we have the most prominent of these clearly in mind, and clearly distinguished.

Anarchism, the apostles of which were Proudhon and Kropotkin, is extreme individualism. Proudhon's social ideal "was that of perfect individual liberty." He believed that "if the state in all its departments were abolished, if authority were eradicated from society, and if the principle of *laissez faire* were made universal in its operation, every form of social ill would

disappear. * * * If the individual, after coming to the age of discretion, could be freed from repression and compulsion in every form, and know that he alone is responsible for his acts, and must bear their consequences, he would become thrifty, prudent, energetic; in short he would always see and follow his highest interests. He would always respect the rights of others; that is, he would act justly." * The anarchist would abolish binding marriage, and substitute "autonomistic" marriage, *i. e.*, it, like all other contracts under the regime, might be dissolved at the option of either party. Herr Most lately defined an anarchist as "a man who wants real liberty—a society where there is no king, no emperor, no president, no law, no parliament, no state, no Church, no authority, and, first of all, no master and no servant."

In method, anarchism is revolutionary, justifying assassination by poison, knife or bomb, as a means of destroying all existing institutions, governmental, ecclesiastical and social. Nihilism, under Bakunin, is a phase of anarchism.

Yet while this is anarchism pure and simple, it is but fair to quote Prof. Wyckoff's statement, that at present in the United States, he finds "even among anarchists, the upholders of bloody revolt against the social order, rare. * * * Their views, reduced to the simplest terms, seem to take the form of the epigram, that the cure for the evils of freedom is more freedom"—An application of "*similia similibus curantur*" which Hahneman would scarcely approve.

Communism is more difficult to define. At times it admits of anarchistic methods, and looks to revolution to accomplish its aims, but there its similarity to anarchism ends. In reality it lies at the opposite pole from anarchy, Instead of the individual being supreme, it seeks the social salvation through the practical abolition of the individual, except as a unit in the commune. It demands a redistribution not only of capital, economically considered, but of all things. It would do away with

*H. R. Osgood, Art. "Scientific Anarchism," Pol. Sci., Quar., March, 1889.

individual ownership, frequently extending the communal idea to wives as well as to possessions.

Socialism, or as it is coming to be more commonly called, collectivism, is to be clearly distinguished from communism, in that it does not do away with private ownership. Private property remains, and ordinarily, the right of inheritance. It is capitalistic property alone that is to become the common possession, *i. e.*, the land, the mines, the railways, telegraphs, all the great sources of production, and the machinery of manufacture, everything which as wealth-producing, except the labor of man, is to be the collective property of all, worked for the common interest. The principle of distribution, according to the most practical schemes, might be given in a modification of the famous formula of St. Simon: "From every man according to his ability: to every man according to the service rendered; and, unless a man be sick or otherwise incapacitated, if he will not work, neither shall he eat."

It leaves room, as now, for individual incentive, but personal possessions become merely so much reserve, to be drawn from at will, but bearing no interest and paying no dividends.

This, in general, is socialism, though its details vary with every exponent of its doctrines. With some it is boldly anti-Christian; with others, distinctly and avowedly Christian, appealing to gospel teaching for its support; while in between are all the gradations from the one to the other. With all, it is viewed as an evolutionary, rather than a revolutionary movement. Revolution plays no part in the socialistic program. It stands in direct antithesis to anarchism, and, while some claiming to be socialists approximate closely to communism, the two are essentially different.

These distinctions are necessary to a clear view of the field. To repeat, anarchism, is individualism run to seed. Communism, is a deal level, in which the individual is lost in the crowd, and all things are in common.

Socialism is collective ownership of the sources of wealth, with place for individual incentive, and personal ambition.

All of these schemes, with their hundreds of different phases,

and their finely wrought theories fail, apart from the question of their morality or immorality, because they overlook the essential elements of human nature. They are constructed for their author's ideal man, under ideal conditions, not for men as they are found in the actual world of passion, struggle and ambition. The best of them needs something to complete it. While over against them all, ready to combat whatever is false or evil in them, or to utilize whatever is good, stands the gospel of Jesus, fearlessly claiming that it, and it alone, holds the key to the world's old problems, in the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man; and it calls on all men to be born again, through Christ the Lord, and then to take up the cross and follow him.

Laveleye declares that "the essential truth which arises from the whole teaching of Christ, is that no improvement is possible without first making the man himself better."* Earlier, he says: "How superior is Christianity, considered merely from the point of view of social reform, to all these systems, in which either true charity, or a just appreciation of facts is wanting! An infinite tenderness for the oppressed pervades the gospel, together with a sublime sentiment with social justice." Frances Willard once epigrammatically put it: "Only the golden rule of Christ can bring the golden age of man." In the same line, Prof. Shaler Matthews: "The world can become the kingdom (of God) only by repentance and a moral change, on the part of its members, that replaces the spirit of revolt against goodness and a loving God, with the spirit of sonship.

And Jesus saw aright: a perfect society cannot be created from imperfect people. That which stands in the way of the realization of many a man's ideal for society, has not been its own logical inconsistency, but its failure to find or to produce the right sort of men upon which to work. The plan of the house called for marble, the only material at hand was mud. Jesus proposes to furnish good material as well as a noble plan."†

Christianity has not always been looked upon as a plan for

*Socialism of to-day.

†Lorimer: "Christianity and the Social State.

the redemption of the world as such, and the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, in more than a spiritual sense; but the Church has unconsciously sown the seed which has made men dream of that coming kingdom, whether they were of the Church or not. Laveleye draws attention to the significant fact that it has been the Christian countries, and they alone, which have evolved socialism and the other social schemes. There is no parallel to the movement in Mohammedan lands, or in the Orient. The explanation given is that "socialism has its root in Christianity." The same author gives a number of quotations from Bossuet (1627-1704) and the early fathers, which the most rabid might take for their text, and in which riches and the inequalities of social life are ineighed against as vehemently as can be done by the most radical socialist, communist, or even anarchist. "The murmurs of the poor are just. Wherefore this inequality?" Bossuet—"The rich man is a thief," St. Basil—"The rich are robbers; a kind of equality must be effected by means of gifts out of their abundance. Better all things were in common," St. Chrysostom. "Opulence is always the product of a theft, committed, if not by the actual possessors, by his ancestor," St. Jerome. "Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation," St. Ambrose. "In strict justice, everything should belong to all, iniquity alone has created private property," St. Clement.

Quotations might be multiplied indefinitely. The brotherhood of man and the dignity of human life, which form the core of every social plan, are distinctly the fruit of Christian teaching, and, while it is startling to find such radical sayings in the writings of the Church, it helps to account for the origin of some of the extremer trends. The social problem, plainly, has sprung from the gospel, and if that gospel has launched us into turmoil and strife which otherwise would not have existed, and holds no solution for the questions which it opens, it fails at a crucial point. It is because we believe that it does not fail, that we can face the future with such assurance.

Emanuel Fichte (ob. 1879), summing up the faith of the

evangelical socialists, declares that "Christianity still bears in its bosom a renovating power of which the world has no conception. It will one day become the immanent and organizing force of society, and then it will reveal itself to the world in all depth of its conceptions, and in all the wealth of its power for good."*

Considering Christianity, not only as a means of saving souls from eternal death, but as the factor in social regeneration and redemption, the relation of the Church to the social problems of the day becomes intimate and real. Determining what that relation should be, involves, (1) the study of the gospel message with reference to its social bearing; (2) a study, close and persistent, of the conditions and problems which exist, in the light of Christ's ideal; and (3), a study of the Church's method of delivering its message, with reference to what has been, what is, and what should be.

1. The study of the message of the gospel, with reference to its social bearing. Read the gospels for their social message, and the bearing which their teachings have on the problems of the day, and it is seen that if the teachings of the Master were absolutely obeyed, the problems would every one disappear. It is not because the gospel holds a fully developed social scheme, but because, instead of dealing with specific symptoms of the diseases of the body politic, it strikes at the root of the matter, and finds the source of all the trouble in the sinful heart of man. Its first aim is to cleanse the heart, then to educate to a recognition of the true relation of man to man, as well as to God; and finally, it lays down the principles which make plain the duties growing out of those relations.

How far the Scriptures do furnish a social scheme, logically deducible from their teachings, each may judge, after a fair and candid study; but it is a significant fact that those social reformers who recognize the Bible at all, boldly claim its authority for their teachings.

William Dean Howells quotes a radical clergyman, as replying to such a claim: "Yes, those are doubtless the teachings

*Laveleye, "Socialism of to-day."

of Christ; but the political economy of Christ was ignorant and mistaken."

Believing Christ to be divine, we cannot accept a solution such as that. It is arbitrary to dispose of the matter by relegating his words to the domain of the figurative, and it becomes our duty to study what Christ did teach, and then proclaim it fearlessly. This much is certain: he taught an individualism of the most intense sort, so far as responsibility and accountability are concerned; and at the same time, a human brotherhood, a community of interests and duties, a kingdom of God on earth, far more real and comprehensive than the Church has ever appreciated, or dared to preach. Its preaching of brotherhood has been vague, indefinite, idealistic, with only sporadic efforts to put it into actual practice.

Witness the hymn books of all the Churches; praise to God, worship, thanksgiving, petition, consecration, and confession are the subjects which furnish the themes of sacred song. We look in vain for any number of hymns that exalt the idea of brotherhood, or emphasize the manward side of Christian duty. This fact has special significance from the importance which has always been attached to hymns, as embodying the real faith of the people.

What do the gospels teach? That must be the first concern of the Church as it confronts the social problems of the day. In answering the question we must cast aside all preconceived notions, and all the teachings of tradition, which cannot be verified. We must go back to Christ himself, and with unbiased minds, learn from him the answer.

2. The second step is a study of the conditions which we find in the world about us, in the light of Christ's ideal. The man who fails to study the actual situation which he wishes to effect by spiritual truth, is like the farmer who would study the seed which he would sow, with all the minuteness of a naturalist, and make no inquiry as to soil or climate or methods of cultivation. No successful political leader would begin a campaign, without first studying the situation, with the idea of finding out the exact truth concerning it—the peculiarities of the

people, their prejudices, their needs, the problems to be solved and difficulties to be overcome. The successful merchant makes an equally careful study of his field. So the Church must take the world as it is, and strive to learn its inner life and thought, with all its virtues and shortcomings, its difficulties and trials, its problems and unrest, in order that it may understand its needs, and how best to minister to its requirements. We must investigate class distinctions and class feeling, how far they exist, and how far they influence life; the labor problem, the position of woman, marriage and divorce, the social evil, the temperance question, Sabbath observance, education, prevalent amusements, sanitation and its influence on life, and even the housing of the people. All these things are subjects for direct and careful study, as a pre-requisite for a proper adjustment and ordering of the Church's work. Last but not least, we must master the question of the true position and influence which religion occupies in the age, and with the people, wherein it is a living force moulding the thought and lives of the community, and wherein it fails, and why. This cannot be done in the shadow of a cathedral, or by the study of church rolls, but in the busy marts of life, in studying the standard of life and morals that prevail, and in learning what honor is paid to the religion of Jesus.

The social conscience, hardened as it is in some directions, has advanced marvelously in others. The contrast between the social conditions of to-day and those of a century ago, and between the social conscience of the same periods, is so great as to be almost inconceivable. The condition of the "sans-coulottes" of the French Revolution, and of the English poor in the days of Robert Raikes' first efforts for the social uplift—conditions, which, bad as they were, scarcely excited a comment—is paralleled only in the lowest slums of the great cities to-day, and rarely there; while the moral life of men of high degree in Church as well as state, was, without protest, or a second thought on the part of the people, foul and vicious to a degree that would not be tolerated now for a single hour. The public conscience has made tremendous strides, and not only demands an outward observance at least of a morality laughed

at then, but is touched by the sufferings of humanity, and responds to a feeling of brotherhood and responsibility, then unknown. The great work of the Church to-day is to educate this social conscience, to transform men so that they will fulfill the basal duty of doing unto others as they would be done by, and will understand both the scope of their obligations toward their fellowmen, and the fact that possessions bring responsibility for the manner of their use. That accomplished, the master-key to the social problems has been found, the key which, rightly used, will solve, or lead to the solution of every one.

3. The methods by which the Church delivers its message and performs its work, as tested with reference to its social responsibility, next occupies our attention.

It is not a matter to be dismissed cavalierly by pointing to what has been accomplished in the past, in giving form to modern civilization, and giving the modern standard of morals and life, or by pointing to the triumphs of Christian teaching and labor. There is an inherent power in the truth of the gospel which makes itself felt, in spite of poor or inadequate methods. The question is not whether something has been, or is being accomplished, but whether all is being done that might or should be done; whether the methods in vogue, however effective they may formerly have been, are adapted to present day conditions and needs. Men cannot learn to love God with their whole hearts without being made better citizens and better neighbors; and, "so far as religion makes men temperate, moral, industrious and unselfish, it has an important part in improving social conditions." But, the point is well taken that "the avowed endeavor has not been so much the salvation of *man*, as the salvation of the soul. * * * There have been many beautiful ministrations, in the name of religion, to the needy, the sick and the suffering; but such ministrations have been commonly classed under philanthropy. Especially have the organized activities of religion been directed to spiritual results." *

The activities of the average Christian Church to-day include

*Joseph Strong, "Religious Movements for Social Betterment."

beyond the routine spiritual work, contributions to the stated benevolences of the denomination with which it is connected, an occasional response to a philanthropic appeal, and perhaps the oversight of a few of the poor of the congregation. That is the limit. The community, as such, is untouched, except as forces for its betterment are put in motion through the regeneration of individual lives. Distinctively Christian movements for the moral uplift, such as the Y. M. C. A. and kindred organizations, are given to understand that their work is not only outside of, and distinct from the Church, but outside of legitimate church activity. The church building is open only at the hours of service; the pastor's function is held to be distinctly and only spiritual, and if he steps out of the traditional lines and takes part in the life of the community at once he is the object of criticism.

Yet there is a noticable breaking down of the traditional conception. The world is becoming more familiar with the idea of a clergy who are active in the broader effort for the kingdom of God, and who must be reckoned with as leaders in all that is for the general welfare, whether it be the suppression of vice, or the advancement of virtue or prosperity. So too, the social side of life holds a growing place in the activities of the Church everywhere. Church architecture is already showing the effect of this trend in providing for church parlors, often for kitchens, in the plans for the church. Parish houses are becoming common.

As yet the movement is largely a groping, a half recognition of a great truth, that in too many instances leads to developments which detract from the old spirituality without adding anything to real effectiveness. What is required is an appreciation of the full mission of the Church, and then a bold turning of the face toward the problem of fulfilling it. We need to realize the fact that the greater number of the problems which the Church has to meet, are social problems, and that they must be met squarely, before even the spiritual work can be successfully done.

The Church, working under present methods, has come to be associated largely with wealth and power, and consequently

been made to appear as a class institution. The dilettante social activity found in certain quarters, is resented instead of welcomed, by those who feel this class distinction. What is to be done? A revolution of present methods is not what is needed. There is not one of the present functions of the Church which dares be diminished in the least. They stand for the first of Christ's two commandments. What is required is the proper coördination of the second of Christ's commandments, and its duties, to the first, and the extending of the Church's work so as to cover it. There must be the effort to embody, in distinctive church work and activity, the whole of the Master's work, as well as of the Master's law—not lowering religion into mere humanitarianism, or exalting it above the earth into the clouds of spiritual ecstasy, but joining the two elements in a God-decreed union, not to be separated or divorced by the will of men. "A religion which neglects the spiritual life becomes formal and sensuous; while one which ignores the physical life, becomes more or less mystical and effeminate, loses virility and has little influence over men or affairs."* The trend is toward a strong, virile religion. Vice President Roosevelt, in a recent article on "Civic Helpfulness," pays eloquent tribute to the influence of the religious teachers, the pastors, priests and workers, with whom he has come in contact in a public and in a private way—men who live in touch with the people, and seek the uplifting of the life; who seek and work for the coming of the kingdom of God, as well as the winning of the soul.

All this will remain vague, impractical and useless, except as a starting point for further investigation, unless there be some definite plan which shall make the Church a heart of the community, sending out into all the arteries of life, strong, rich impulses for good, and bringing it into vital connection with the life and needs of the people, in such a way that it may win, and not repel them.

It is not a new problem. We are not treading on virgin soil in attempting to solve it. A plan for its solution has already

*Dr. Josiah Strong. Religious Movements for Social Betterment.

been suggested which is, in spirit, in harmony with what has been outlined. It is found in the platform of the open and institutional church league, and is, in part, as follows: "Inasmuch as the Christ came not to be ministered unto but to minister, the open and institutional church, filled and moved by the Spirit of ministering love, seeks to become the centre and source of all beneficent and philanthropic effort, and to take the leading part in every movement which has for its end the alleviation of human suffering, the elevation of man and the betterment of the world.

"Thus the open and institutional church aims to save all men, and all of the man, by all means, abolishing the distinction between the religious and secular, and sanctifying all days and all means to the great end of saving the world for Christ."

The experimental stage of the application of this plan to practice is not yet past, and it would be strange if in the transition from the old methods, there would be no objectionable developments. It is too radical an innovation to be accepted heartily and cordially, until it has proved itself worthy. Still, the plan is so scriptural in its conception of the Christ mission, and its principles of work are so in line with the Master's own work, that it demands at least a respectful hearing.

While it leaves wide scope for adaptation to local needs, it furnishes a clean definite plan of action. Where the experiment has been tried most thoroughly, there is the greatest success, and the greatest enthusiasm over its possibilities. Dr. Strong in his monograph on the subject, declares that as the value of these methods is recognized they are gradually being adopted by churches which would not think of calling themselves "institutional." Thus in the boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, New York City, out of 488 Protestant churches, 112 are engaged in one or more forms of institutional work. Trade and manual training schools, cooking and sewing schools, gymnasiums, reading rooms, baths, dispensaries, day nurseries, kindergartens, penny-provident banks, employment bureaus, and other agencies for help and development are features of their work. Instead of these temporal concerns weakening the spiritual

power of the churches which have adopted them, it is these churches which report the greatest spiritual results, at the conventions of their denominations; to say nothing of the mighty influences for good which are set at work by them in the community, and the seed of spiritual truth which they sow, to bear harvest by and by. The first table of the law is not neglected for the second, but, on the contrary, the second makes the first more real to men, as they find the Church of Christ actually touching their lives, and showing a genuine, practical unselfish interest in their welfare.

The social problems are grappled with from a Christian standpoint, and in that act a part of their solution is already found. Needy men are met with sympathy and love, and not merely bidden "depart in peace," but "warmed and filled," and put in the way of living a righteous life. All men, in Christ's name, are given a higher plane of living, and provided with that which is good and pure, in exchange for that which is condemned and put away. For it is not merely for mission work and work among the poor, or even for the unchurched. Its forms vary with local needs, and may be confined to the gymnasium and reading room, to keep the young from the streets, and provide a healthful place for congregating, with proper amusements, and under proper influences.

This broadening of the Church's functions, so that it embraces work done heretofore by other organizations, raises the questions of its effect on denominational life, and of the attitude of the Church, in the new regime, to extra-churchly agencies for good. Denominationalism is not to be looked upon as wholly regrettable, even from the standpoint of the new conception of the Church's mission. It has enabled the truth of Christ to be presented in various forms, and by various methods, calculated to appeal to men of different types and temperaments. The emphasis laid on the "social" obligations of the Church, does not mean the doing away with denominational lines. As the idea of brotherhood is developed, and practical Christianity more and more insisted upon, the divisive points will of necessity fall into less prominence, while the great essen-

tials, on which all are agreed will be more and more emphasized. Doctrine will be preached only as it can be made a dynamic of life, and the rest left to the theologians. But, as before Santiago, cavalry, artillery and infantry were encamped side by side with marines from the fleet, and the great warships patrolled the coast, each part of the forces retaining its individuality, and fighting in its own way for a common object, and with a single flag; so the Churches, each in its own place, true to its own traditions, go forward as a single army of the Lord, with the cross as the common standard, fighting for the kingdom of God on earth.

The Reformation has been called "a period to start from, not an era in which to anchor the Church,"* and if we, as a Church, have the advantage of beginning with a theology which stands the test of the present day; and which, from its Christo-centric basis, and its teaching of the universal love and fatherhood of God, lends itself with special power to the proclaiming of the whole gospel of Christ, we have but to thank God, and recognize the added responsibility which comes with our greater opportunity.

The attitude of the Church towards extra-churchly agencies for the social uplift, must be thoroughly understood and carefully guarded. On the one hand they must be recognized as co-laborers with the Church, demanding support and encouragement—parts of the machinery of the kingdom of God, drawing power and inspiration from the same source as does the Church herself. There is no philanthropic or reform effort attempted, however it may include in its ranks of workers Jews, agnostics, and others, which has not its roots in Christian teaching; or which has not formed its ideal from that of Christ. Whether a Y. M. C. A., a Rescue Mission, or the Salvation Army, whose work is done in the name of Christ, or a college settlement or civic Reform Club, the spirit of the work is the spirit of the Master. It is his work, and must be so recognized and encouraged. But on the other hand, these things cannot be looked upon as taking the place of the Church, with the

*Stuckenberg.

Word and Sacraments. The Church has a distinct place in the divine plan for the regeneration and education of the world, and the realizing the kingdom of God; and that place dare no more be usurped by organizations outside of it, or within it, than it dare delegate its work to these other agencies and feel its duty done.

We cannot close without the specific consideration of the relation of the pulpit to social problems. The greater part of the question has already been disposed of in what has been said; for a true conception of the attitude of the Church, must of necessity include, and largely define, the attitude of the clergy. If the Church is to study the social situation, it must do it largely through the clergy; if it is to teach, they are to be the teachers; if it is to act, they are to be the leaders. The clergyman must therefore be a student not only of theology but also of sociology. Pres. Ely says: "I would say that half the time of a theological student should be devoted to social science, and theological seminaries should be the chief intellectual centres for social science."

Herr Todt, quoted by Lavèleye, makes this clear statement: "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution, must have on the right hand the works on Political Economy, and on his left, the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep his New Testament open before him." "Political Economy," he adds, "plays the part of anatomy, it makes known the constitution of the social body. Socialism is the pathology, which describes the malady; and the gospel is the therapeutics which apply the remedy."

The attitude of the clergyman, both in fact and in method, must be that of the earnest searcher after truth. His position must be that of a leader among men. He must be a manly man, in all his relations; preaching a gospel of hope, for this world, as well as for the next, a gospel which touches the every day thoughts and needs of men, strong, virile, Christlike!

The gospel which has been committed to us is a gospel for men, and is not meant to waste its strength in the pulpit, either on philosophic discussions which only the trained intellect can

follow, or in flowery rhetoric, or conjectures about what has not been revealed. It is to teach men how to live. It is to solve the problems of their lives. It is to bring peace and good will among men, as well as to declare God's good will toward them. It is to save men's bodies, as well as their souls; to continue the work which it has begun, of wiping out the injustices and cruelties of man to man, and to bring the kingdom of God on earth. The preacher is the herald of that kingdom, as well as a captain in its army, and he must learn to see things as they are, that he may best muster his forces for the battle.

No visionary Utopias dare solve for him the problems of the day. He must learn that legislation of itself never made men moral. That is the work of the Holy Spirit, through the gospel which he preaches. He must learn that his vocation, while holy, is not merely spiritual, but has to do with temporal, physical things as well. His work is soul-winning, but it is also soul-culture, and temporal helpfulness. It is character building, but character building in the community, as well as in the individual.

The pulpit is to be a guide to the thought of the people, opening up new avenues and channels, pointing to truths which otherwise would be ignored, and bidding men "think on these things." There must be much seed sown which shall bear fruit only in long years to come, and the preacher must learn the lesson, so difficult to master, and often so bitter in the learning, that great movements are slow of realization, and call for tact and sacrifice, as well as consecration, patience and perseverance, on the part of those who help them on.

There are social problems which are also moral questions, which therefore demand place in the preaching of the Word, a fearless rebuke of wrong and calling to duty, with a "thus saith the Lord." There are others, not usually classed as moral, which involve a civic duty, clean and real, which also demand that the pulpit speak with no uncertain sound. There are still others which must be met in other ways. The clergyman in these days, is not only a preacher. He is the pastor, the organizer, the friend, the *man* whose hearty hand-clasp and sym-
pa-

thetic spirit, bring him into his people's lives as a man among men. He is not to be a thing in clerical garb, posing on a pedestal, sipping tea with adoring women, and despised by the men. In a hundred ways he may sow the seed of the kingdom, and bear no small part in its realization, by making plain the fact that Christ has made all men brethren, each with a duty to his fellows; by showing that Christ's religion ennobles labor and demands of all men, rich or poor, high or low, employer or employee, that they do unto their fellow-men as they would be done by. It depends on the clergy to teach that the religion of Jesus is a life, and that it holds the key to the problems which perplex.

The outlook in the world is full of terror from every point of view excepting that of faith. The "classes and the masses" are being as clearly arrayed against each other, as they were in France before the horrors of the Revolution. Not only the whole country, but the whole world, is in a state of ferment, and the Social Problem with all its minor problems stares us in the face. We believe the promises of God, and we face the crises confident of the power of the gospel of Jesus, as the means for the solving of the problem, and the bringing of peace on earth—a social scheme if you will, but a plan which involves first a change in the human heart, which by transforming man, will make benefit for the kingdom of God, with its liberty and blessings. In that old, old gospel, only half of which has been preached, we find the message which shall save the world.

So, recognizing the social problems as primarily the problems of the Church, we would urge the study of those problems; the preaching of the gospel as Christ gave it, whole and entire; and the taking up of all the Master's work, that the Church may be the force in the world's regeneration for which she was designed and commissioned.

So we cry to the Church, as to a great giant who sleeps, and bid her awaken, and use her God-given power in this crisis of the world, and say, in the Master's name, to the storm which threatens, "Peace be still!"

ARTICLE VI.

CHRIST UNDER OATH.

BY REV. J. J. YOUNG, D. D.

The object of this article is not to set forth Christ's attitude toward the legal oath, but to examine his testimony concerning himself whilst under oath. This may seem somewhat strange, but the times in which we live require a study of the original sources; a going back to the fountain-head; testimony that can be relied upon under all circumstances. The learned men of this age prefer—yea, even demand—first-hand and reliable testimony. From this they desire to draw their own conclusions, instead of relying upon those drawn by their predecessors. This is doubtless the reason why some learned theologians have raised the cry, "back to Christ." We have reason to believe that they aim to find out what Christ has said concerning himself, instead of taking for granted what others have said about him.

Whilst it may not seem wise to yield to the demand of scientific men, we nevertheless believe that Christology will not suffer by subjecting it to first-hand and reliable testimony. The Church need not fear to study and proclaim Christ according to his own words. It may be that the difficulties, which have arisen in several branches of the Christian Church, could have been avoided if Christ had been studied and proclaimed according to his own words, instead of those of scientific investigators. Since the age demands it, why should we refuse to tell the world who Christ is according to his own testimony? By refusing we not only strengthen, but even confirm the Unitarian spirit of this age.

Since Christ is universally acknowledged to be a pure, good and great man, the best and greatest man that ever walked upon the face of this earth, we can safely depend upon his testimony concerning himself. Whilst we have implicit confidence in his words, regardless of the circumstances under which they were

uttered, we nevertheless prefer to have them under oath upon this vital subject. We give preference to this not because we entertain *the least* doubt concerning his statements, but that his evidence may be legal. If we mistake not, all legal evidence must be sworn to; hence our desire to have this testimony concerning himself under oath, in order that no question of legality may invalidate the same. Providentially his enemies secured such testimony for us. Whilst he stood before the council, Caiaphas put him under oath to tell them whether he be "the Christ, the Son of God." This of course was not done to secure legal evidence concerning himself from his own lips for future ages; but rather to deliver themselves out of the great dilemma in which they then were, and also to make Christ's condemnation doubly sure. They succeeded in gaining their end; but in doing so they unwittingly furnished the world with most valuable legal testimony concerning the person of their envy, and that from the innocent victim's own lips. The oath administered by Caiaphas reads, according to Mat. 26 : 63, as follows: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." According to this most solemn oath Jesus was to give legal testimony whether he be the Christ, the Son of God.

Whence did Caiaphas get the ideas thus set forth? Did some one maliciously misrepresent Jesus, or did he actually lay claim to the same in his teachings? There must be some foundation for the same, and this foundation we will endeavor to discover before we will consider his legal answer. In fact it will be necessary also to find out the real meaning of the words he is to answer under oath. If we have but an imperfect conception of these words, we will necessarily have an imperfect conception of his legal testimony concerning himself. The real meaning of these words is of the greatest importance to reach a true conclusion.

DID CHRIST CLAIM TO BE THE CHRIST?

We have no reason to believe, from the records in our possession, that Jesus was maliciously accused of claiming to be "the

Christ;" but rather, that he in his teaching laid claim to the same.

Matthew tells us (Mat. 16 : 15-17) that when on a certain occasion he questioned his disciples about the people's views concerning himself, he put the following question to them: "But whom say ye that I am?" To this Peter replied: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Whereupon the Saviour answered: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." The fact that Jesus did not correct Peter's statement, but spoke of it as a revelation from his Father in heaven, is an evidence that he wanted his disciples to look upon him as "the Christ." In fact he not only wanted them to look upon him as "the Christ," but he also warned them against false Christs. This is evident from the following words of Jesus, as found in Mat. 24 : 23, 24 and Mark 13 : 22: "If any man shall say unto you, lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." In his conversation with the woman of Samaria, at Jacob's well, he also claims to be "the Christ," and from that conversation we learn that the word Christ has the same meaning as the word Messiah. The woman said: "I know that Messias cometh, which is called the Christ;" to which he replied: "I that speak unto thee am he" (John 4 : 25, 26). In the gospel of John (1 : 14) we are also told, that when Andrew found his brother Simon he said unto him: "We have found the Messia, which is, being interpreted, the Christ." Here we see that Jesus claimed to be "the Christ;" and since the Greek word Christ has the same meaning as the Messia, it must therefore refer to his Messiahship.

DID HE CLAIM TO BE "THE SON OF GOD" ?

Having thus settled his claim to and the meaning of the word "Christ," let us see whether he also claimed to be "the Son of God." In the above mentioned answer of Peter, found (Matt. 16 : 15-17), Jesus is described as "the Christ" and "the Son of

the living God." His Messiahship and Sonship of God are here clearly set forth, and in his answer he claimed both. According to John 9 : 35-37, Jesus put the following question to the man whose sight he had restored: "Dost thou believe in the Son of God?" to which he replied: "Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him?" The question Jesus answered in the following clear words: "Thou hast both seen him, and it is he that talketh with thee." Replying to the Jews, who had accused him of blasphemy, because he had called himself the Son of God, he said (John 10 : 36): "Say ye of him, whom the Father has sanctified, and sent into the world, thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?" According to these words Christ must have publicly said: "I am the Son of God," that Christ made such public statements, both in the presence of the people and their rulers, is corroborated by no less authority than the unquestionable gospel of Matthew itself. Here we read, that the people, passing the Cross, said (Matt. 27 : 40): "If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross." Whence did they get the idea that he claimed to be the Son of God? According to the words of the chief priests and scribes this idea must have originated from Christ himself. Whilst standing under the shadow of the cross, and in the presence of the people, the chief priests and scribes said, according to Matt. 27 : 43: "He trusted in God; let him deliver him now if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God." This is not only original, but also unbiased testimony; proving, beyond all doubt, that Christ claimed to be the Son of God; that he said: "I am the Son of God."

A careful study of the Lord's conflict with his unbelieving adversaries, as found from the fifth to the twelfth chapter of John's Gospel, will show that Christ not only claimed to be the Son of God, but proved also that nothing so embittered the Jews as this very claim. It is this very claim that aroused that bitter, cruel and unrelenting hatred, which finally nailed him to the cross. His claim to the Messiahship never embittered them

thus ; in fact they seem to have paid little or no attention to the same.

WHAT DID HE MEAN THEREBY ?

Since it is the Saviour's claim to the Sonship of God that set his enemies so against him, there must be something of vital importance in that claim. Hence it will be absolutely necessary to find out what Christ meant when he said : "I am the Son of God ;" otherwise we will not have a clear and true conception of the Saviour's legal testimony concerning himself. In what sense does Christ claim to be the Son of God ? In the sense that he knows God unlike any one else ; or in the sense that he is really the Son of God ? Prof. Harnack, in his late book, "*Das Wesen des Christentums*," pp. 80, 81, takes the view, that Christ's Sonship of God means nothing more than his knowledge of God. He considers the words : "Son of God" to be a synonym for "Son of David ;" and this assertion he makes without furnishing the least proof from ancient or modern, original or second-hand sources. Having thus with one master stroke settled—in his mind at least—the meaning of the words, "Son of God," the learned professor proceeds to argue, that Christ's Sonship of God consists in his knowledge of God. This argument is then quickly succeeded by the following conclusions : "His consciousness, to be the Son of God, is therefore nothing else than the practical result of the knowledge of God as Father and his father." And just as he, through his knowledge of God has acquired the Sonship of God, thus it is also his mission—according to Prof Harnack—to bring all others to the same sonship through the knowledge of God. Hence, according to Prof. Harnack's view, it is through our knowledge of God, and not through faith in the redemption of the Son of God, that we receive the adoption of sons. The scripture authority for all this Prof. Harnack finds, not in John, but in Mat. 11 : 27, namely, the words : "No man knoweth the Son but the Father ; neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." Since the great scholar does not tell us by what process he secured his

view of Christ's Sonship of God from the above quoted text, we are left entirely to conjecture. To his great mind it is doubtless all clear, but to men of inferior intellect it is, to say the least, somewhat hazy and puzzling.

Had Christ said nothing further upon his Sonship of God than the words quoted by Prof. Harnack, we would be left in the dark upon this vital subject; but we have words from the Master's own lips, showing that the Sonship of God consists not in his knowledge of God, but in his being really the Son of God, in his being equal with God. The following words of Christ, found in John 5 : 22-23, show that he actually claimed to be equal with the Father: "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son: That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which sent him." Since the Son is, according to Christ's own words, to be honored, even as the Father; and since, according to the same words, the Father would have the Son to receive equal honor with himself; there can be no inferiority in the Son to the Father. In order to remove all doubt upon this vital subject Christ said further: "I and my Father are one" (John 10 : 30). This testimony from the original source, from the fountain-head, from Christ's own lips, shows that there is no inferiority in the Son to the Father, but that they are equal and one. Hence Christ's Sonship of God must consist in this being equal and one with the Father.

HOW DID THE JEWS UNDERSTAND THIS CLAIM?

Having thus is clear words from Christ's own lips, the meaning of his claim to the Sonship of God; let us now see how those people who personally saw and heard him, understood the same. We want no other than first hand testimony; the testimony of persons who saw and heard Christ themselves. Did the Jews, with whom he came constantly in contact, and in whose presence he claimed to be the Son of God, understand him to mean thereby that he was equal with God, or not? In John 5 : 17-18 we are told that Jesus, after healing a sick

man on the Sabbath day, said unto the fault-finding Jews: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," whereupon they "sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." The words: "Making himself equal with God," show that the Jews understood him to claim equality with God. After Jesus, on another occasion, had said unto the Jews: "I and my Father are one" (John 10 : 30), they took up stones to stone him, whereupon he put the following question to them: "Many good works have I showed you from my Father; for which of those works do ye stone me? The Jews answered him, saying: For a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God" (John 10 : 31-33). These words, from the lips of persons who saw and heard Christ themselves, show unto us how they understood Christ's claim to the Sonship of God. They understood him thereby to claim equality with God. Hence the reason why they accused him of blasphemy, and why they took up stones to stone him.

Since the object of those who put Christ under oath was none other than his death, they must have known that he had claimed to be equal with God, or divine. How else account for the words: "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." Whence did they get the information that he claimed to be equal with God, or divine? Let Prof. Harnack, and all who reject or speak lightly of the fourth gospel, tell us. Caiaphas, being aware of the fact that the prisoner before him claimed to be equal with God or divine, puts him under oath to give legal testimony concerning this claim, or his divine Sonship as Messiah. If he testified that his Sonship of God was divine, they could condemn him on the charge of blasphemy; should he, however, maintain that majestic and awful silence, that was causing them so much anxiety, they could condemn him on the charge of perjury. Hence he was to bear legal testimony concerning his Messiahship and Divinity, or to his divine Sonship as Messiah. To this divine Sonship as Messiah he laid claim; of this claim the

Jews were aware and sought several times to kill him on account of it; on the strength of this claim he is put under a most solemn oath and condemned to death.

CHRIST'S TESTIMONY UNDER OATH.

Having thus secured from original and reliable sources the real meaning of the words Christ is to answer under a most solemn oath, let us now proceed to examine his legal testimony. According to Matt. 26 : 64 he answered: "*Thou hast said;*" and according to Mark 14 : 62: "*I am.*" He thus, in a clear, distinct and unequivocal answer, affirms under a most solemn oath and in the presence of the great council, his divine Sonship as Messiah. This is not only first hand testimony, testimony from the sacred lips of Christ himself, such as our present scientific scholars demand; but it is also legal testimony. And according to this testimony, as found in Matthew and Mark, Christ is the Son of God—divine.

From the actions of the high priest and the condemnation that immediately followed, it is evident that Caiaphas and the assembled Council interpreted Christ's answer as an affirmation of his Sonship and oneness with the Father; or that he declared himself to be divine. This is doubtless what the high priest aimed to secure, when he put him under that most solemn oath. The result must have been highly gratifying, not only because the awful silence was thus broken, but because Christ's answer was a most solemn affirmation of his divinity. Immediately the high priest rent his clothes, as though some awful thing had happened, then turning to the council he cried out: "What need we any further witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy; what think ye? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death." (Mark 14 : 63, 64).

Now when we carefully study Christ's attitude during his condemnation on the charge of blasphemy, we must confess, that he intended his legal testimony to be understood in the very sense in which the high priest and the council understood it. He makes no effort, whatever, to explain what he meant by the words: "Thou hast said," or, "I am;" neither does he modify

his statement; much less does he retract his claim to divinity, which was the ground of his condemnation. Notwithstanding the fact that the most cruel, painful and ignominious death stared him in the face, and that he stood in the shadow of the cross; he, nevertheless confirms with his majestic silence the solemn affirmation made with his sacred lips. His Messiahship and divinity are thus established beyond all doubt.

Now if the Sonship of Christ be not divine, as some would have us believe, then he must either be a blasphemer and deceiver, or a man of unsound mind. Had he been the latter, Pontius Pilate would have most gladly availed himself of the opportunity, discharged the prisoner and reprimanded the high priests for condemning to death a person irresponsible for his words and actions. A careful study of the Saviour's words, deeds, life, sufferings and death, as we have them on record, and the entire testimony of those who were personally acquainted with him, will not detect the least trace of weak-mindedness. Since it is, therefore, impossible to detect any sign of an unsound mind he must have been a blasphemer and deceiver. Now as far as this is concerned we are told that Pontius Pilate, after a careful examination, found him not only an innocent man, but also one whom the chief priests had condemned to death and delivered to him out of pure envy. It was the envy of the high priests that accused him of blasphemy and deception, according to the testimony of Pontius Pilate himself. And from the day that the Roman procurator publicly declared Christ a perfectly innocent man, down to the present, has he been considered a good, pure, righteous and holy man. In fact our present scientific scholars and religious teachers consider him not only a good, pure, righteous and holy man, but also the very best man that ever walked upon the face of this earth; a man of matchless perfection and the greatest moral and religious teacher that ever lived. Since he is, therefore, upon the very best and most reliable authority that can be secured, neither weak-minded nor a blasphemer and deceiver, he must of necessity be what he under a most solemn oath affirmed and with his untold sufferings and ignominious death sealed, namely, divine.

We might close our article here were it not for the words Christ uttered in connection with his solemn affirmation or oath. His legal testimony includes more than his divinity; it also includes his humanity. He is, according to his own testimony not only true God, but also true man. Whilst he is the Son of God, he is also the Son of man—the God-man. *Deus et homo*. Having replied to the high priest: “Thou hast said,” or, “I am,” he turned to the members of the council and said unto them: “Nevertheless, I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven” (Mat. 26 : 64). Whilst these words again set forth his equality in honor, as well as power, with the Father; they also set forth his humanity. Having borne legal testimony that he is the Son of God, or divine; he now bears testimony, whilst still under oath, that he is also the Son of man, or human. It may seem strange that he should affirm his Humanity simultaneously with his divinity. This he very likely did in order to establish, under a most solemn oath, his humanity as well as his divinity.

Through these words he testifies that his divinity and humanity are so inseparably and yet so unconfusedly united, that where the one is the other must be also; that we cannot have the divinity without the humanity, nor the humanity without the divinity. As the two natures are united in the state of humiliation, thus shall they also be united in the state of exaltation. Hence, “hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power.” Here is a distinct allusion to Dan. 7 : 13–14, and an assurance that they shall see this exaltation to that position by the power he shall manifest upon the earth. From that very day, down to the present, his power has been continually and most wonderfully manifested. His pierced hands have not only established an imperishable kingdom upon the ruins of their theocracy, but have also “lifted the gates of empires from their hinges;” and shall continue to do so, till the kingdoms of the earth shall confess, own and adore him, as King of kings and Lord of lords. He shall, however, not remain there forever, but he shall come again “in the clouds of

heaven." When he ascended into heaven a cloud received him out of their sight, and when he cometh again, he shall come in the clouds of heaven. Thus we have his ascension and his second coming, as well as his divinity and humanity testified to whilst under a most solemn oath.

We have thus endeavored to follow the method employed by the scientific investigators of our age. We have, in our study of Christ, gone back to Christ, to the original source; to the fountain-head itself. In doing so we have confined ourselves to his legal testimony in order to make assurance double sure. According to this indisputable evidence Christ, the Son of God, is equal with the Father, or divine. He is, however, not only divine, but also human; for he is the Son of man as well as the Son of God. He is the God-man. The two natures—the divine and human—are inseparably and yet unconfusedly united in the one person, Jesus Christ. This God-man has, after his crucifixion, death, burial and resurrection, ascended to the right hand of power, whence he shall come again in the clouds of heaven. "Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

ARTICLE VII.

THE SUCCESSIVE PHASES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
DOCTRINAL STANDPOINT OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

BY PROF. J. L. NEVE.

1. The first constitution of the General Synod had no clause recognizing the Augsburg Confession. This lack is sufficiently explained by the peculiar conditions at that time (1820) when there was in the Lutheran Church in this country no clear apprehension of the necessity for a definite confessional statement. Not until 1835 was a paragraph added to the constitution which required synods uniting with the General Synod to accept the fundamental doctrines of the Bible as our Church teaches them. (Schmucker, "American Lutheran Church," pp. 233). But it would not be correct to think that the General Synod remained so long without a confessional obligation. For already in 1829 she adopted a constitution for her district synods containing a Form of Ordination in which the candidate was required to assent to the following questions:

(a). Do you believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only infallible rule of faith and practice?

(b). Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of the Scriptures are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession?

Even earlier than this, 1825, the confessional basis of the theological Seminary at Gettysburg was expressed as follows:

In this Seminary shall be taught, in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confession.

Every professor was required to profess the following under oath:

I believe the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of

Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God.

The constitution for the District Synods, as well as the constitution for the theological seminary, was formulated by Dr. S. S. Schmucker, and if we wish to be just in our estimate of the real meaning of these paragraphs, we must not lose sight of the fact that at this early period in Dr. Schumcker's career, he was more Lutheran than most of his fellow-pastors. It was at a later period, when he became the standard-bearer of the so-called "American Lutheranism," that he was always anxious to give to the paragraphs formulated by him such an interpretation as would be in harmony with those negative views which he had meanwhile developed concerning important doctrines of the Lutheran Church. Therefore this was at the time that an honest Lutheran confession was formulated and adopted with the sincere purpose of obligating the professors and pastors to the Augsburg Confession.

2. But by and by the conditions in the General Synod changed. The Missouri and the Buffalo Synods, composed of purely German congregations, led by men like Walther, Wyneken, Sihler, Grabau, etc.; represented by such papers as the *Lutheran* in St. Louis, proclaimed to the English Lutherans of the General Synod whose pastors had been largely educated at the institutions of other denominations, and who from books and by social environment had imbibed, as with their mother's milk, the methods of Puritanism, and could not even with their best efforts remain uninfluenced by the revivalism of the Methodists, a Lutheranism which not only interpreted the Augsburg Confession by the Smalkald Articles and the Formula of Concord, but even interpreted these most rigidly by the personal writings of Luther, Flacius, Gerhard and Hutterus. Merely because of unimportant differences of opinion in regard to the doctrine of the Church and the ministerial office, Walther and Wyneken withdrew from church fellowship with such a pronounced Lutheran as Löhe in Neuendettelsau, and refused to celebrate the Lord's Supper with him or with those whom he sent to this

country. Against the General Synod, because of its irenic Lutheran spirit and its tolerant attitude toward some non-Lutheran views and practices among its members, a war was inaugurated the vehemence of which is still evidenced by the great flood of opprobrious terms found in the papers and pamphlets of that day.

The effect upon the General Synod of this new factor in the Lutheran Church in America was twofold. A number of men who already believed that Lutheranism in America should again return to the confessional foundation laid by Mühlenberg, who believed that the Lutheranism of this new world should not break with its historical past—these now gave themselves even more to the study of Lutheran theology, and thus strengthened and extended the convictions already formed. But other men, and among these especially Dr. Schmucker of the Seminary at Gettysburg, Dr. Sprecher of the Seminary at Springfield, and Dr. B. Kurtz, editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, reacted against these extreme confessional influences, and there developed in them more and more that well-known non-Lutheran standpoint, to which expression was given in 1855 by the issue of the so-called *Definite Platform*. Two factions had begun to develop in the General Synod, one confessional and the other anti-confessional. The representatives of the latter party always tried to justify their position by referring to the expression in the above mentioned Form of Ordination—that in the Augsburg Confession the fundamental doctrines of God's Word are taught in a manner only "substantially correct." In this way attention was called to the lack of clearness and definiteness in this phrase.

At the meeting in York in 1864 the General Synod therefore proposed to her district synods to insert into the constitution of the general body the following words:

All regularly constituted Lutheran bodies, not now in connection with the General Synod, receiving and holding with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the word of God, as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word, may at any time become as-

sociated with the General Synod by adopting this constitution and sending delegates to its convention.

Now instead of "substantially correct," it reads—the Augsburg Confession is "a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word."

This passage was taken from the constitution of the New York Ministerium. After a discussion of four years this amendment was adopted and inserted in the constitution of the General Synod at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1868, therefore not hastily; it was two years after the rupture in Fort Wayne, Ind., which led to the organization of the General Council, therefore not a mere act of policy to prevent that rupture, but after it had occurred; the resolution was passed by a rising vote, and unanimously, therefore, by it the General Synod gave expression to its conviction.

At the above mentioned meeting of the General Synod in York, Pa., in 1864, there was also added as a fuller explanation of certain articles of the Confession in controversy, and also as an evidence of an unequivocal subscription to it, the following resolution:

Resolved, That while this synod, resting on the Word of God as the sole authority in matters of faith on its infallible warrant, rejects the Romish doctrine of the real presence or transubstantiation, and with it the doctrine of consubstantiation, rejects the Romish mass, and all the ceremonies distinctive of the mass; denies any power in the sacraments, as an *opus operatum*, or that the blessings of baptism, and the Lord's Supper, can be received without faith; rejects auricular confession and priestly absolution; holds that there is no priesthood on earth, but that of all believers, and that God only can forgive sins; and maintains the divine obligations of the Sabbath, and while we would with our whole heart reject any part of any Confession which taught doctrines in conflict with this, our testimony; nevertheless, before God and his Church, we declare, that in our judgment, the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistency with this our testimony and with the Holy Scriptures as regards the errors specified.

This resolution is the same in language as one originally prepared by Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., and adopted by the old Pitts-

burg Synod in 1855, in connection with a series of resolutions guarding against the *Definite Platform*. At York these words were adopted by the General Synod in the form of a resolution on motion of Dr. W. A. Passavant, who was an active member of the General Council from its organization.

3. At Hagerstown, Md., in 1895 the General Synod again passed a resolution which, even though not made a part of its constitution, yet undeniably must be taken into account when the confessional standpoint of the General Synod is under discussion. In order properly to estimate the meaning of this Hagerstown resolution we must try clearly to understand the motive that prompted it.

The result of the rupture at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1866, which led to the organization of the General Council was by no means a clear cut division between the confessional and non-confessional elements. Many men, (Morris, Brow, Stork, etc.,) who remained in the General Synod had opposed the Definite Platform, with the same positiveness as did those who left, and to them the difficulty with the delegates of the old Pennsylvania Synod had been merely a matter of parliamentary order. After the smoke of the battle, waged in the church papers, between the General Synod and the Synods which formed the General Council had cleared away, the confessional element in the General Synod continually grew stronger, and the relations between them and brethren who still clung to the spirit and theology of the *Definite Platform* were often greatly strained. These confessionally inclined, charged against the men of the other party that they so interpreted that sentence of the constitution which declares the Augsburg Confession to be a correct exhibition of "the *fundamental* doctrines of the Divine Word" as if these words gave them the liberty to reject non-fundamental doctrines of the Augustana as unscriptural. On the other hand these again accused influential men among their conservative Lutheran opponents of an effort to change the confessional basis of the General Synod so that hereafter not the Augsburg Confession only, but in addition to this the other writings of the Book of Concord should be included in the doctrinal basis of

the General Synod. The General Synod itself always maintained the golden mean between the two extremes, and, therefore, at Hagerstown adopted that resolution which in the same way as the York resolution now belongs to the interpretation of her present constitution. This Hagerstown resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That in order to remove all fear and misapprehension, this convention of the General Synod hereby express its entire satisfaction with the present form of doctrinal basis and confessional subscription, which is the Word of God as the infallible rule of faith and practice, and the unaltered Augsburg Confession as throughout in perfect consistence with it—nothing more, nothing less.

This is a brief review of the confessional history of our General Synod. Especially does the Hagerstown resolution leave nothing more to be desired in the way of clear and definite statements and although it is not an integral part of the constitution, yet by it there is given a declaration as to what the General Synod, as an assembled body composed of the regularly elected representatives of her twenty four district synods, thinks of the content of the Augsburg Confession.

The enemies of the General Synod in the other bodies of the Lutheran Church have been wont to call our attention to a resolution which was adopted in 1864 at York, in connection with that explanation to certain articles of the Augustana mentioned below. This resolution, intended to mediate between the two factions which at that time stood hotly opposed to each other, reads:

Resolved, That this synod most earnestly recommends to district synods, and urges them to call to account any of its members who may be guilty of denouncing their brethren on account of differences of views on the non-essential features of the Augsburg Confession.

We are often told this resolution has never yet been revoked. To this, it may be answered, first, the mover of this resolution was wisely careful to speak not of non essential doctrines, but of non-essential "features," by which we would understand expressions and passages not of fundamental importance. Such a pro-

nounced Lutheran as Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., has spoken in numerous articles of such non-fundamental features of the *Augustana*. Secondly, even if in this resolution there should be something objectionable expressed, it is entirely revoked by the Hagerstown resolution.

ARTICLE VIII.

THE MISSION OF THE SMALLER COLLEGES.

BY PRESIDENT CHARLES W. HEISLER, D. D.

On the 1st day of last August President W. R. Harper, of the University of Chicago, delivered a lecture in that University on the doom of the smaller colleges. He graphically depicted the fierce struggle for existence of these institutions, and the conditions, which according to his view, were rapidly crushing them out of existence, in some places, and seriously hampering them in others. Some of the points urged were, that the high school is crowding the smaller college at the beginning, and the professional school at the end of the courses; that the rapid decadence of the sectarian spirit is destroying the source of the strength of the small college; that the large institutions are getting the best professors; that the smaller ones have difficulty in getting the funds they need; and that the state universities are growing at the expense of the small colleges.

Some of these points are undoubtedly well taken. In some of the western states, the state universities are crowding the smaller denominational colleges considerably; but this is not so true in the Eastern and Middle states. It must be admitted that the high schools and professional schools have been crowding the colleges from the front and rear; yet there are already evidences of a reaction along these lines. The large institutions may get the best professors. And yet that term "best" is after all a relative term. If a professor in a small college is thoroughly qualified to teach the branches of his department; if in his earnest work he succeeds in awakening enthusiasm in his

pupils, exercising the meanwhile a high scholarly and moral influence upon his students, then he is one of the very best professors, though he draws not a princely salary, nor figures conspicuously in the higher educational world. And there are hundreds and hundreds of just such teachers in our smaller colleges. Dr. Mark Hopkins was never connected with Yale or Harvard.

Sitting in his luxurious office in the University of Chicago, and noting the gathering there of students in large numbers for post graduate work, and from many denominations, Dr. Harper may get the impression that the sectarian spirit is dying out, and that this means the doom of the smaller colleges. But we apprehend that he has misjudged the case. The *sectarian* spirit may be dying out, but we fail to observe that the *denominational* spirit is dying out. If anything it is growing among the great churches. It is developing into a truer and larger self-consciousness, while certainly the old rancorous bigotry and unchristian prejudice are disappearing. We have yet to hear of the collapse of any denominational colleges of any standing whatsoever. If we read the signs of the times aright, the great denominations are coming to feel more and more that the law of self-conservation demands the maintenance of their own institutions of learning, albeit some of them are small.

Other educators have shared in this opinion of Dr. Harper. Many people have been strongly influenced by their arguments. Too many of our own people have come to regard the large institutions only as worthy of their patronage, and turn indifferently from their smaller ones. This is part of the general spirit of this age and of this land. We Americans are too prone to measure things by mere size. Magnitude and numbers appeal to the imagination. America is the home of big things. To the average American, the United States is the world. We do have an immense stretch of continuous empire, and some of the longest rivers and grandest aggregations of lofty mountain peaks on the globe. We can boast the grandest waterfall on earth, and the greatest coal mines and oil belts. We do have the richest men in the world, and some of the most gigantic trusts and commercial enterprises. But what of that? These are

not all of life. But this has given us a false standard of measurement. Value is gauged by size and numbers. We have carried this pernicious practice into our religious work; and perforce, a denomination or church is to be rated for its extensive importance, while its intensive is lost sight of. We have applied the same method of judgment to our schools of learning. The great and wealthy institution is lauded to the skies, while the humbler college, that is perhaps proportionately doing far more for higher education and the elevation of the race, is ignored or derided. There is a glamour and a glare about the larger one that strike the imagination, and appeal to sentiments of pride. Immense and costly buildings, a large number of students, an imperial endowment, are the things that chiefly count in the minds of many. An unjust principle of comparison is instituted, and unfair reflections are cast upon the smaller.

Now this evening I desire to address you upon "The Mission of the Smaller Colleges." Dr. Harper says that the smaller college must go. Let us see if that is justified.

And still further, in a preliminary way, I want to emphasize the place of the large institution, the great university. It would be sheerest folly, aye, a mark of the rankest ignorance, for me to decry the large and wealthy institutions. On the contrary, I want to emphasize their vast importance. They represent one side of the great educational problem. It is a pity that we do not have here a definite meaning for the term university. In Germany it means an aggregation of post-graduate schools for professional work and independent research. Undergraduate work is done by Gymnasia. In England the university is an aggregation of separate colleges. Here the university is a sort of mongrel institution. And yet it is beginning to look as if we were developing a distinctively American university idea. But be that as it may, the greater schools of our land fill an immensely important place in the educational world. With almost unlimited funds at their disposal, they can offer opportunities for post-graduate and professional work that the smaller institutions dare not pretend to furnish. Their magnifi-

cent museums, libraries, and laboratories are simply indispensable to the cause of higher learning. Being rich they can afford to engage professors at extravagant salaries, who can devote their whole time to specific lines of investigation. Hence these great universities can and do attract special classes of students in large numbers. Far be it from me, therefore, to depreciate these magnificent institutions. That would simply be to expose my own ignorance and folly. What I desire to say this evening is not to discredit the larger, but to vindicate the right of the smaller colleges to existence and liberal support. These also have their place and work. The question must be considered in the light of the true end of a college education. This is to make men; to train men to be rather than to do. It is to train the mind, to culture the whole nature, not to make specialists. I am persuaded that from this standpoint it will not be a hard or a fruitless task to vindicate the mission of the smaller college.

Let us dwell a moment on the special field of the smaller college. It is specifically for undergraduate work. We shall gain immensely in educational power and effectiveness, when we distinguish sharply between the university and the college, in their respective fields and courses. Conceding the mission of the great university for post-graduate and professional work, we may insist on the college for undergraduate work. And here appears the mission of the smaller college. Let us bear in mind that our boys and girls are ready for their college course, usually at from fourteen to eighteen, the most formative period of youth. The question for the wise parent to settle is whether his child, at that age, will get larger returns in scholarship and character formation in an institution of limited numbers, where, with good advantages for an undergraduate training, he is under close personal supervision and moral influence and control, or where he is one of a vast horde of students and is left largely to himself. That is a vital question. Several years ago, Dr. Jones, a graduate of Williams, was inaugurated as President of Hobart College, an institution that would be classed among the smaller colleges. I cannot forbear giving

several extracts from his noble inaugural bearing upon this point. Speaking of Williams and Hamilton and Hobart, he said: "They are not universities and cannot become such, they do not pretend to take all the knowledge for their province, but they do claim that they can train rounded men, in whom the gentleman, the student, the citizen and the Christian come to co-equal harmonious development. I am happy to stand at the head of a typical American college, because the traditional college will be in the future as in the past, a mighty force and factor in the nation's life

"But some of you may say, 'the academic drift is all the other way. The university grows, the college dwindles. It is well for you to magnify your charge and office, but it would be folly for us to blind our eyes to patent facts.' I will not ask you to accept my dictum, but I confidently assert that it is the opinion of most highly qualified educators that the vast academic horde, composed of many hundred students without adequate scholastic supervision, without social coherence, or unified moral consciousness, call it the horde college, or university, or what you will, has broken down as an efficient educational instrument. Succeed as it may in instruction, in education it has failed. There are many indications that the next step in academic progress will be the sub-division of the great universities into colleges of the English type. The heterogeneous mass of students will be divided into groups socially and academically harmonious. The small college is about to reimpose its characteristics upon the larger institutions. The academic family is about to triumph over the academic horde."

We may modestly and earnestly insist, then, on the specific mission of the smaller college for undergraduate work.

An educational institution creates an appetite for higher learning in its own locality. This is undeniable. It tends to raise up about itself an educated and cultured constituency. It forms a centre of cultured and literary influence and power. Every institution is a beacon light of learning and refinement. The extent to which this is true will of course depend greatly upon its environment.

It depends somewhat upon how many of its graduates settle in its own immediate vicinity. But it may be held as a general truth that every such institution becomes a distributing point of intellectual enlightenment and culture. It is better to have many institutions, even if they are small, scattered over a wide area, rather than a few compressed into very narrow limits. They thus touch and elevate and transform many more communities and larger blocks of population. Consider for a moment what would have been the result had our higher educational facilities been concentrated at a few of the larger institutions, like Yale, Harvard, Princeton and the University of Pennsylvania, because of a prejudice against smaller colleges. Upon this principle the balance of the United States would have been practically without such institutions, until Leland Stanford, Jr. and Chicago Universities were founded as great institutions from the start.

From the last report of the United States Commissioner of Education we gather that 19 States have 27 institutions with over 500 students each; but 11 of these are in 7 North Atlantic States; not one in the South Atlantic; one is in the South Central; 13 are in 10 North Central States, and 2 are in the Western Division, and both of these in the single state of California. West of the Mississippi, in all that vast empire, five States have such an institution, 17 have none; eighteen States and territories have no institutions with over 200 students each; eleven have none with over 100 each. Moreover, it is stated that Harvard draws more than half of its students from Massachusetts; Yale about 30 per per cent. of its students from Connecticut; Amherst 40 per cent. from Massachusetts; Princeton nearly 25 per cent. from New Jersey, and the University of Pennsylvania this year draws 65 per cent of its undergraduates from Philadelphia. These figures are eloquent on the point at issue. These smaller colleges, in many localities, vastly increase the number of those who take a college or university course. Thousands and tens of thousands of young people are moved to such a course by reason of the presence of an institution in their neighborhood.

The appetite for higher learning has been created by proximity to the college. This point is sadly overlooked by those favoring the consolidation of our institutions.

Closely related to this is another point: The smaller institutions in many widely separated communities offer easy opportunity to larger numbers to acquire an education. And this in several ways.

They are more easily accessible to larger numbers of our people. Dr. Jones, of Hobart, has stated this point so well that we are constrained to quote him at some length. He says: "The universities of Oxford and Cambridge are possible by reason of the compression of millions of people into an area equal to that of the state of Minnesota. England has one predominant metropolis and centre. To London all the currents of English life trend. Oxford and Cambridge are the academic adjuncts of the metropolis. The English university with its lovely colleges is the product of a social centralization and a compression of population which this country will never reach. Our geographical extension bars the way. We have many equal centres. New York, Chicago, San Francisco and New Orleans may serve to mark their separation. Our vast inter-continental spaces forbid the growth of a few great institutions for purely collegiate instruction. The conditions of distance and expense of travel must be regarded. The university, strictly speaking, that is, an institution for post-graduate work alone, will be developed at the great centres, but the local college ministering to its own district is a necessity fundamental to our national culture. It is a courtesy of our geographical extension. The true universities, the training schools of specialists, need not be many, but if this is to be a nation of cultured and rounded men, the college must be found everywhere, from Maine to Oregon, from Minnesota to Texas."

Then there is the matter of lower expenses. It is not an unusual thing to hear the remark that in most of the large institutions a course is now practically confined to rich men's sons. We might be met here with the statement that tuition in most of the state institutions is free, and in the large private

universities many free scholarships are offered. But this does not tell the whole story. Room, rent, board, and incidentals are here so much in excess of those in smaller colleges that any favors received are more than counterbalanced by increased expenses in other directions. Nor is this offset by the possibility of a prize or fellowship. "In 1881-2 the average expense to an economical student" in Harvard ranged from \$484 to \$807. But for many it ran up to from \$2,000 to \$3,000. In 1893 the average at Yale was \$687.50. Now it runs from \$500, the very lowest, up for college expenses alone. A very moderate expense is \$700. The tuition at Dartmouth is \$90. and other necessary expenses \$191. At Princeton the very lowest figure given is \$331.00; \$453 is moderate, and the maximum of necessary college expenses is \$660. But in dozens of the smaller colleges the entire necessary expenses run from \$160 to \$250. The sons of poor men or of moderately well-to-do men are practically barred out of many of these large institutions. To close up the small college means to deprive thousands of young people of a higher education altogether.

Another point of great importance is that the smaller colleges emphasize more sharply the individualism of the student, and this in several respects.

First, in the development of the intellectual life. It lays a greater burden of responsibility upon the individual student. His class is not so large that he is lost in a crowd. He is not treated so much in the mass. He is obliged to recite more frequently. He cannot shirk recitation or examination so easily. With so much of the class-room work of the great university in the form of lectures, with the elective and optional systems in full sway, many conscienceless students can slip through with comparative ease.

It is significant that a professor of one of our largest institutions said a year or two ago that a diploma from his university had about come to mean that a student there had paid his college bills.

The smaller college makes possible a closer personal contact with regular professors, while the professors themselves can take

a deeper personal interest in the student. He is instructed not by tutors but by regular professors. His advancement becomes a more individual matter. President Butler, of Colby College, in an article in *The Saturday Evening Post* puts this advantage thus: "Constant and intimate personal contact with the best men of the teaching and governing staff," both in the classroom and socially. The business of the teacher here is not simply teaching, "but the direction of studies and the direction of character."

The advantage of the smaller college along the line of greater individualism appears also in the development of the moral life. In general, it may be urged that the sense of responsibility is greater. Moral turpitude becomes a thing of greater conspicuousness. "As numbers diminish," says Dr. Butler, "individual responsibility increases. In the small college the individual counts for the utmost. His influence is at its maximum. Others find him out, he finds himself out, and finds his own place. The college is thus again a gymnasium for the development of individual manhood." The personal moral influence of the teacher is bound to be greater in the small college. There is developed here a larger sense of companionship between professor and student, and this will appear in the formation of habits and the moulding of character. This is an immense advantage as every thoughtful parent will freely acknowledge.

The real worth of the smaller colleges can be fully known only by a close inspection of their work. You will observe that we do not use the term small college. We do not refer to institutions running under the name of colleges that are scarcely more than academies. We refer to institutions that give an approved college course, and that, in comparison with the larger and wealthier, may be denominated the smaller colleges. It is unfair to condemn them without a hearing. Let them speak for themselves. Let them give an account of their works. What have they done and what are they now doing in the cause of higher education?

It may be reasonably claimed that they stand as truly for higher learning as the larger universities. They need not pre-

tend to stand for the highest in post-graduate or professional work. That is not their particular sphere. But they do stand for higher education in undergraduate courses. The majority of them follow a curriculum, tested by years of experience, as best adapted for under-graduate training. Whilst not comparing in equipment with the richer universities, they are usually well enough equipped for the actual work they are doing. The average student cannot read an iota of the books in a library of 21,000 volumes, much less in one of 100,000 volumes. The apparatus needed for their under-graduate work is comparatively limited in range. A certain amount is indispensable; beyond that it is easy to run into luxury or extravagance. Dr. Patton, the distinguished President of Princeton University has written notable words on this point:

“A young man would do well to consider the moral as well as the intellectual influences that surround a college or university. His undergraduate life will certainly not be a conspicuous success if he fails to acquire as the result of it that discipline of his powers and that degree of knowledge necessary for independent inquiry.

“The friends of the larger institutions of learning cannot afford to depreciate the work which the colleges are doing.”

For it must be remembered that these large institutions were once small colleges, and that some of the brightest names on their lists of graduates belong to the early period of their history. We must not despise the day of small things. If, therefore, the student is bent on acquiring knowledge, let him be assured that he will have no lack of opportunity in the small college. One does not need access to a large library in order to secure a good training in Latin and Greek. Meager as the college library may be, it in all probability will give him opportunity for pretty wide reading in philosophy or history, if these happen to be the studies that interest him. One may at least be trained to think, may have his mind disciplined, may get an insight into some of the great problems of the cosmos, and some of the great questions in philosophy, and may come into close and familiar relationship with some of the master-pieces of lit-

erature, even though the institution he attends be not blessed with large endowments and can not boast of having a long list of learned specialists in its faculty."

Bear in mind that we are not trying to justify poverty of resources; but we do seek to vindicate mere adequacy. With ample funds at hand it is easy to run into undue and unwarranted extravagance. We are persuaded that a boy can get as good physical training in a \$5000 gymnasium as in a \$100,000 or a \$250,000 one. To be sure he may feel more like a nabob in taking his exercise in the latter. That he can acquire a knowledge of chemistry in a laboratory that is properly fitted with the actually necessary apparatus just as well if that laboratory has cost \$10,000 as if it cost \$150,000. One does not need to draw water from a silver faucet in making experiments. An iron one will do. For the post-graduate the \$150,000 laboratory may be far the better. We feel certain that the diligent student will find all the material he needs or can use in a well-selected library of 10,000 volumes. But for the original investigator the library of 100,000 is far superior. Indeed, we have often felt, in the case of the smaller colleges, that the ordinary observer from the outside would scarcely give them the credit for the excellent work they are actually doing inside. A close inspection reveals their excellences in many, many, instances.

And all this leads us to say that the smaller colleges have abundantly demonstrated their right to be. Much of the opposition to the smaller colleges is quite unreasonable as an investigation of the facts will clearly disclose.

The smaller colleges to-day occupy a conspicuously important place in the educational world. From the last report of the United States Commissioner of Education (for 1898-9) we glean the following facts: The whole number of institutions in the United States having undergraduate courses was 484. Some of these had Preparatory courses and some had not; so of Post-graduate and Professional courses. Some had all these. The number of preparatory students in all these institutions was 46,227; of undergraduates, or college students proper,

76,517 ; of graduate students 5,792 ; of professional students, 34,057 ; making a grand total of 162,593. There were 27 institutions with 500 or more undergraduates ; with a total of 27,741 ; seventeen had between 300 and 500 undergraduates each, with a total of 6,100 ; there were 153 having between 100 and 300 students each ; and 287, or 59 per cent, of the whole, had less than 100 students each. In all the institutions having more than 100 each there was a total of about 57,800 undergraduates ; in those having less than 100 there were about 20,000 undergraduates, or more than 25 per cent. of the whole number. About 36 per cent. of the whole were in institutions having less than 200 students each. That certainly looks as if the smaller colleges were doing a considerable portion of the higher educational work of this country.

Of these institutions 75 had less than twenty-five students each ; 150 had less than fifty undergraduates each ; 287 less than 100 each ; 403 less than 200 each ; 457 less than 500 each. One hundred and eighty-one of them had no endowment funds at all ; that is, 37 per cent. of the whole ; of the remainder, 303, thirteen had less than \$5000. in endowment funds ; 37 less than \$15,000, that is, 31 per cent. ; 146 less than \$100,000. that is, nearly 50 per cent. ; 238 less than \$300,000. ; leaving 63 with more than \$300,000 each ; 31 have over \$1,000,000 ; and two over \$10,000,000 each. As to library equipment, 54 had each 1000 volumes or less ; 159 had 3000 or less ; 232 had 5000 or less, and 308, or 64 per cent. had 10,000 or less.

In Pennsylvania we had 34 institutions of higher learning. Of these four had less than 50 undergraduate students ; twelve less than 100 ; twenty-six less than 200 ; three over 300, and two over 500. Will any one pretend to say that a large part of the higher educational work of the great state of Pennsylvania is not done by the smaller colleges ? We have said that we have two institutions in this state with over 500 students each, but both are in Philadelphia, one being the Central High School, and the other the University of Pennsylvania, and 65 per cent. of the undergraduates of the latter are from Philadelphia alone.

The smaller institutions are scattered throughout the state, and are light-bearers of culture in many communities. Several things are evident from all this. 1. That a very large proportion of 484 institutions of higher learning are distressingly poor. 2. That these smaller colleges are doing a very large share of our educational work, and hence to blot them out would be a public calamity. 3. It may be cold comfort to us of the General Synod to know that our colleges are not by any means the smallest in the country.

It would be interesting to note the contributions of the smaller colleges to the nation, in the way of its public men. Dr. Thwing writes: "The college has helped to train one-third of all our statesmen; more than a third of our best authors; almost a half of our more distinguished physicians; fully one-half of our better known lawyers; more than half of our best clergymen; and considerably more than half of our most conspicuous educators." Dr. Cuyler claims that all our college-bred Presidents were educated at small colleges. We feel certain that if the matter were carefully investigated it would be found that the majority of our public men to-day who are college bred, have come from smaller colleges. Many of the brightest names that adorn American history are linked with such institutions, many of them were products of present great institutions in the days of their small things.

If we were to recount the worth of the smaller colleges to the Church, at all adequately, we should be carried far beyond our limits. Dr. Thwing, though an earnest advocate of the largest institutions, in his books on American colleges, again and again bears unconscious testimony to the value and contributions of the smaller college.

He says: "The beginnings of the higher education in the larger part of the newer states have been ecclesiastical. The history of not a few colleges is the history of an earnest denominational propagandism." That is true. The denominations that have gone into our newer states with their institutions of learning, albeit they did struggle for years as small colleges, have built wisely and well, as subsequent history shows. Scores

of these colleges were the product of an earnest missionary spirit. The smaller colleges have been the great feeders of our Theological Seminaries. It is said that the American Board depends in an increasing degree upon the Western colleges (most of them in the "smaller" class) for its missionary recruits. Of the 129 college graduates in the service of the American Board in 1880 one had come from Harvard; the great majority of them were from smaller colleges. In seventy years Harvard furnished four foreign missionaries. Ah, the smaller institutions have served the Church well. No one in our General Synod needs to have that fact demonstrated. It is as plain as noon-day.

The smaller colleges are the feeders of the post-graduate departments of the great universities. The opponents of the smaller colleges often lose sight of this fact. The universities are thus, year by year, recruiting their forces. Close up the smaller colleges and the result would be disastrous to the cause of higher education. Moreover, there are only two large institutions in this country now that were not at one time smaller colleges. One hundred years ago Princeton was distressingly small and poorly equipped. An English traveller said of it, "it better deserves the title of a grammar school than of a college." Yale college was founded by a few ministers who inaugurated the movement by presenting a few books with these words: "I give these books for the founding of a college." Not so many years have passed since we had no really great institutions in this country. They were all small. And this suggests that the smaller colleges of to-day may easily, under proper influences, come into the class of the larger colleges of the future. We must not despise the day of small things.

Is the smaller college doomed? Must it go? As *The Congregationalist* says: "A reaction has come which cannot but improve the status of the small college and the old-fashioned concept of education, with its less utilitarian ideal. The churches and liberally-minded laymen will do well to remain constant in their beneficence to the small college, and the more emphasis the institution puts on religion, philosophy, ethics and

history, the better it deserves aid." *The Interior* sharply remarks: "Educational wiseacres are repeating, 'The little colleges must go.' Well if they ever do 'go,' which God forbid, they will take the brains and the consecration of the country along with them. They have furnished nearly the whole of it, up to date, and are working right along at the same ratio. They are not 'going' any more than the churches or homes are going."

Several reflections, and we are done.

This review of the mission of the smaller college ought to encourage us greatly in our General Synod educational work. We have not a single institution that would be classed among the great colleges of the country. But will anyone venture to assert that we are not doing a mighty work in higher education? Certainly no one conversant with the facts will. A moment's reflection on the long list of earnest and honored servants of God in the ministry, trained in our own schools, will establish this fact beyond peradventure. An investigation of the lists of eminent public and professional and business laymen, educated in our schools will make the point more emphatic. We may well thank God for the noble work done for the Church and the world by the smaller colleges of our own Church.

But, again, while we may rejoice in the magnificent achievements of our smaller colleges there is no particular virtue in their being small, or in keeping them so.

We strenuously resent the imputation that reputable colleges, though small, cannot do commendable undergraduate work. But some may be easily too small. They may thus be seriously hampered in their legitimate work. With additional endowment and equipment they could do far more for the Church and the world. They do not need the princely endowments nor the costly and the extravagant buildings of the largest universities to increase their efficiency many fold. Most of ours in the General Synod can grow considerably without being in danger of becoming too large, or losing any advantage that may belong to smaller institutions. Remember, we do not plead for poverty in our smaller colleges, far from it; we simply mean to

vindicate their place and work, and to seek to remove considerable unreasonable prejudice. There is not one of our Lutheran institutions that ought not be larger and better equipped, and this we may insist upon in view of all thus far said concerning the smaller college.

This subject ought, therefore, to appeal to our Lutheran people strongly. It ought to convince them of the good work so far done and now being done, by our institutions, albeit they all belong to the class of smaller colleges. It ought to secure their patronage in larger degree and in a more enthusiastic way than ever before. It ought to rouse our people to higher and more heroic efforts to increase greatly the efficiency of our institutions. It ought, especially, to appeal to our men of wealth. Sometimes we almost wish that we might with trumpet voice go up and down through our land arousing our people on this great subject of Christian Education in our Church, and the better equipment of our colleges; that we might with burning words appeal to our men of wealth to invest their means largely here; for we are persuaded that there is nothing that would so immediately and so conspicuously contribute to our advancement as a Church, and thus to the glory of our dear Redeemer's name.

ARTICLE IX.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A. M.

It is healthful for religion to go back, back as far as Christ's time for simple, yet vigorous principles of the kingdom. It demands deep digging to uncover old foundations, and spiritual judgment too to know what is debris useless and even dangerous to spiritual health, and what is building material than which none better is to be had in new quarries. It is well to go back to Abraham to reconnoitre the field of biblical knowledge, but it is possible to go so far to the rearward as to get out of season. Things out of time fall out of tune, and become formal. Tithing will not hurt Christians. It might be well both for them and the kingdom if more of it were thoroughly done. But it is questionable if the system be not an old patch on a new garment.

A discussion appears in *The Reformed Church Review* for April, "New Testament Giving versus Old Testament Tithing," by Rev. S. Ream. Times have changed from Melchizedek to Alexander Dowie. The free offering of one-tenth differs from one-tenth demand. To give well and wisely is part of pure religion. It was first controlled by law; but spiritual spontaneity is better. The law of tithes in Israel became in Paul's day, "As the Lord hath prospered you." One-tenth is demanded until spontaneity rules as a self-made law. But Old Testament tithing did not include all that was demanded of Israel, nor did it exclude spontaneity of rich offerings. The full import of the Old Testament tithing system is generally not understood. God delivered Israel from Egyptian bondage, and this act as well as the relation of God to his people in other ways brought

to consciousness the fact that the people themselves belonged to God. The land to which God was leading them was his also, and all possessions as the reward of toil or spoils of war which came to the Israelites were rightly God's possessions. In recognition of the rights of Jehovah a part of possession and income must be surrendered in lieu of the whole to God who is the owner of all.

The last act of punishment upon Egypt before the Israelites were suffered to depart was the destruction of the first born. And when Israel came to Sinai to receive laws for their government the first claim of God upon them was the first born both of man and beast. There must be a religious order to conduct the worship of Israel, and to effect this organization the first born male child of every family was to be dedicated to Jehovah to serve in his sanctuary. This was more than the tenth of the fruit of the body, for not every man had ten children born to him, much less ten sturdy and profitable sons. But the miscellaneous qualities of children drawn from all classes of the people for consecration to the priesthood were not well adapted to a good religious organization. Not all had pious or even religious temperaments suited to such a holy office, so Jehovah took, instead of the first born of all tribes, the first born sons of the tribe of Levi. The first born male of other tribes must be brought to the sanctuary and redeemed by its parents. The redemption price paid to the priest was the sum of five shekels, the value of which in weight of silver is \$3.25, but in that day was worth in exchange of values almost ten times as much. The first born son redeemed from the priesthood and the possession of Jehovah to remain in the possession of the family made a religious cost of \$30.00 in modern valuation. Thus God's claim to human life and his ownership of individuals were ever kept prominent before Israel.

The life of every beast also was his, and the first born male of every clean beast must be taken as a sacrifice to the sanctuary within a year after the eighth day of its birth. The breast and right shoulder of the animal became the property of the officiating priests, while the remainder was returned to the offerer

for feasting. If the first born were of unclean beasts unfit for food, instead of the animal being offered, its equivalent in money value must be given to the Lord. The priest made the valuation of the animal, and added one-fifth more for his own benefit. When the amount was paid the animal was restored to the offerer. If the animal were defective, an imperfect beast of the class of clean meats, it was allowed to be eaten at home. It was a misfortune, and the owner was not required to take it to the sanctuary. The life of man and of beast was the Lord's and must be redeemed if retained for man's profit or pleasure. The land also was the Lord's and its products tithed in recognition of the divine ownership. One-tenth of what the soil produced from field or tree must be surrendered to Jehovah. If no tithe had been offered annually, the grain and fruit of the husbandman were unclean to him. This annual tithe for the sanctification of products and the support of religious service at the altar and sanctuary was not the whole offering demanded of the people.

There was required additional to this another tenth annually of grain and oil and wine to be taken to the great feast of Booths, or Tabernacles, in the month of October, to be eaten there with the poor, the widow and the stranger. This tenth was for annual festivity in Jerusalem, and made the annual vacation of the Israelite after the husbandry of the year. If the worshiper lived at a great distance from the sanctuary he did not attempt to convey his perishable products to the great city. Instead of taking them in kind, he made exchange at home for their money value, and then made his purchase in Jerusalem. On the third year, however, this tenth was to be enjoyed at home and shared with the Levite, the stranger, the widow and orphan. As the busy man of to-day takes a rest from the cares of his vocation in an annual vacation which includes religious pleasures and philanthropy as well as physical rest, and goes to Ocean Grove where amid the religious and social pleasures of that rest resort he recuperates his strength, so the Israelite after the toil of the summer took his gathered tithe and with his

needy friend went up to Jerusalem, the city of his joy, and stayed there for two weeks during the feast of Booths and the subsequent service of the annual atonement. The second tithe covered this expense, and was an act of philanthropy as well as personal recreation, for the stranger, the widow and the orphan of his community were included in the expense of the journey and entertainment in the great city.

Every third year his vacation was taken at home amid feasting and philanthropy. Additional to this second tenth there were also free will offerings for some special benefit from God, or a sacrifice of personal atonement in expiation of some special offence against Jehovah. One-tenth, therefore, was not all that the Israelite gave religiously, nor did two-tenths quite include all the offerings for religion and benevolence. But the aspect of the system is not yet entirely clear, for we need to see these tithes and offerings in their relation to the values and customs of the present day.

One-tenth was a tax for the temple, another tenth was saved in kind or equivalent in money for annual feasting, his pleasure associated with philanthropy. He made also his free-will offering of thanksgiving or atonement. When the temple underwent repair he made his subscription additional to his annual offerings. But he had no other taxes to pay. The tithes and offerings annually rendered included not only the cost of religion and philanthropy, but also of the maintenance of government, such as taxes to-day for the municipal, the state, and the federal government. The government of Israel was theocratic, tribal, and for considerable time regal. The early kings did not levy taxes for their own maintenance. Their personal treasuries were supplied by the trophies of war and the tribute imposed on conquered nations. David acquired untold wealth in his conquests, and laid by a vast sum for the building of the first temple. When Solomon came to the throne he carried into execution the purpose of David. But he was not satisfied with building the temple. Having acquired a taste for architecture, he spent thirteen years in building a palace for himself, then one for his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh. He also constructed

some vast public works the expenses of which impoverished the kingdom. He did not levy taxes, but established a system copied from Egypt, the system of forced labor. He had thirty thousand men working in the mountains of Lebanon, eighty thousand bearers of public burdens doing the work of draught animals, and seventy thousand men performing the work of artisans. These men were forced to perform the work of construction and the transportation of materials from mountain and quarry.

The emissary of Rehoboam who was stoned was not a tax collector, but an overseer of forced laborers. When Israel's kings became dissolute and wicked, and their realm waned by loss of lands held under tribute, their treasuries became empty. Then they resorted to the temple treasury to meet public political demands. King Jehoash surrendered to Hazael, king of Assyria, for ransom and tribute, all the trophies of the former kings of Israel, and robbed the temple treasury to buy off the invading enemy. King Hezekiah also robbed the treasury and despoiled the temple of its costly furnishings and adornments, taking gold off the temple doors to satisfy the demands of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. Kings of Israel did not live off the people by direct taxation. All political functions, such as courts for the adjudication of public and private rights were included under religious support, for the priests and religious officers were the officers of general government. Jewish tithes thus covered all political, municipal, and religious obligations. To cover the cost of all maintenance other than that of the private family, the system of tithes was adequate. To effect this, therefore, the first born of man and beast, the tenth of the product of field and of tree, and a second tenth of corn and wine and oil for annual feasting and philanthropy. These with free-will offerings made tithing far more than a mere tenth of a man's income.

But these offerings bore for him also the expense of civil government. The Church no longer assumes the maintenance of local and central government, public courts, and public education. Changes momentous and radical have taken place during the centuries that have intervened between Israel's sunniest

days, and the prosperity of the twentieth century. The literal meaning of Old Testament tithing is now entirely obsolete. The system cannot justly or adequately be applied to the affairs of men to-day. Sources of income are almost infinitely diversified, and the avenues of cost or outlet are just as much multiplied. Capitalization of wealth such as we see to-day was a thing undreamed of by ancient kings. The industrial condition of the world of to-day is far superior to that of Israel's best kingly times. The Israelites who tithed their income gave more in proportion than Christians sacrifice to-day. They did not wait till abundance crowned their life before they gave liberally. The law, more spiritual than we are wont to admit, was: give the first fruits, and God will see that you get the abundance. The happiest and richest days of Israel were the days when men thought first of God, then of self. Then self fared best, and life was crowned with prosperity.

The magnanimous tithe of the multi-million heir who enriches modern institutions is not the product of the offerer's sweat, but rightly the tithe of the laborer and the artizan, who failed to get his share of the world's profits.

A series of historical studies on the immortality of man by Prof. Joseph Agar Beet appears in *The Expositor* beginning with the February number. Prof. Beet follows the idea of immortality through Greek philosophy, ancient Egyptian and Jewish beliefs, through the early Church and modern theology. After quoting from recent theological works, he sums up the matter thus: "Of six modern works quoted in my last paper and in this, not one attempts to prove from the Bible, although some of them endeavor to prove in other ways, or assume without proof, the endless permanence of all human souls. This affords a presumption hardly distinguishable from certainty that this doctrine is not directly or indirectly taught in holy Scriptures. And in a matter pertaining altogether to the unseen world, other proof is worthless. It may therefore be dismissed as no part of the gospel of Christ." Christ's career is part of his redeeming mission as well as his teaching. How he conquered death tells

of the victory of the first born among many brethren. The resurrection of Christ is a most potent factor in proof of man's immortality. The survival of death is not proof of endless life, but if man survives death, the scientific stumbling block in the way of immortality is removed. A bodily risen Jesus is the opened door to immortality.

Criticisms hostile to an actual bodily resurrection of Christ have run a fatal course. The critical human mind in its education comes in its progress to correct itself and its former judgments. The theory of a real, but solely spiritual manifestation of Jesus, with its keen psychological treatment of the history of the event has annihilated the hallucination, or vision hypothesis, as well as banished the theory of legends. But the psychological study of the characters interested, and the historical study of the environments carried to their logical goal, land us just where the Scriptural account does, in the necessary belief of a bodily risen Jesus. A sensible study of the action of human minds associated with the event leaves no room for anything but the plain historical record. The inability perfectly to harmonize the appearances of the risen Christ as recorded by the gospels and by St. Paul renders difficult a satisfactory solution of the historical situation, but cannot be said to invalidate it.

Matthew and Mark lay chief stress on the appearances in Galilee. Luke and John place the appearances chiefly in Jerusalem. While Paul gives a list of appearances without reference to place. Each describes it according to the historical purpose in view. There is no one type to which all must conform. St. Paul recites six appearances including his own vision of the Lord on the way to Damascus.

The seemingly subjective nature of the appearance of Jesus to Paul has led hostile criticism to conclude that all the manifestations of the risen Christ were due to ecstatic conditions of the disciples.

A morbid state of the sensorium, or ecstatic condition of consciousness gave rise to hallucinations, and subjective visions. An hysterical woman, out of whom the Lord cast seven devils, was a fit subject to awaken the ecstasies which soon spread

through the whole circle of disciples and committed them to hallucinations. Renan expresses himself thus in his life of Jesus: "Let us say, however, that the strong imagination of Mary Magdalen played an important part in this circumstance. Divine power of love! Sacred moments in which the passion of one possessed gave to the world a resuscitated God." Reville's explanation of the event is in the same tenor. But the vision hypothesis has become so modified by Keim and Stapfer as to make the admission that the appearances were real, and not created by ecstasies, or morbid subjective conditions, real in the sense of spiritual manifestations. Stapfer says: "The disciples did see appearances. The Being which they saw had a body. But this body was immaterial." According to this theory the disciples in a natural state of consciousness saw Jesus risen in real spiritual presence, but in spiritual, immaterial presence only. The psychological impossibilities connected with ecstasies and hallucinations have been very clearly shown by Keim. But Keim's hypothesis of spiritual manifestations or theophanies leaves unexplained the disposal of Christ's crucified body. The very weapons of criticism which he employs so effectually in the annihilation of the hypotheses of his opponents turn their keen edge just as effectually on him. The disposal of an unrisen, or of a resuscitated body has found no historical or psychological explanation adequate to expel the difficulties. The resurrection of Christ is the mighty factor in respect of immortality.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

Sometime during the Fall or early Winter of last year, Prof. Krueger, of Giessen, published an article in the *Christliche Welt* (an extremely liberal organ) on his conception of the calling of a professor of theology. He regards his work as unchurchly; unchurchly since it works everywhere with standards that are won wholly outside of the churchly sphere; also unchurchly in the sense that the professor nowhere in his work inquires con-

cerning the Church, whether his results suit it or not, whether it believes itself to be injured by any one of these results, or perhaps by his entire method of work. Prof. Krueger goes even so far as to say: "Our work consists first of all in being called to endanger souls. The professor is the only person who has this calling, and it is his mark of honor." Theological professors "consciously shatter the *naïve* readiness to believe that their hearers possess, they lead them into doubts. And they are well aware that on the dangerous way that leads to that knowledge that has been cleansed from the dross of tradition, many will be lost, in short, they endanger souls." Science is above all else. Theological conceptions, whether found in the Bible or in the Symbols, have no right to be set up as a common law.

These declarations by Prof. Krueger are given because they show the attitude of certain extremely liberal professors in Germany, who conceive of theological science as a lord and master in the Church, and not as a servant. They place it over everything else and deny the clergy and the laity any voice in the matter of the theological training of the next generation of ministers. And the theology which is thus exalted, is not that which is the normal development of the present, on the basis of the past, and stands in vital relation to the spiritual life of the Church of to-day, but is of such an extremely negative character that it has been long recognized as one of the greatest enemies that the Church of to-day has to meet. It is not merely science which these men place above Bible, Church and Symbol. It is only their conception of it, which is highly colored by the extreme and destructive liberalism.

Inasmuch as the theological faculties of the universities are the civilly constituted trainers of the clergy, the Church frequently exercises the privilege of protesting. In the case of Prof. Krueger, the Evangelical Lutheran Conference of Oberhessen and Starkenburg presented a memorial to the state officials who have charge of such matters, objecting to the appointment of professors who entertain such exalted notions of their liberty to teach as they please (*Lehrfreiheit*). They urge that such instructors ought not be employed, or if found in positions

they should be dismissed, which, they claim, is the necessary conclusion to be drawn from one of Prof. Krueger's declarations. They also urge that the Church be given more voice in the selection of professors for the training of its servants, and cite the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is allowed to determine who its teachers shall be. It also appears that in this district the examination of candidates is wholly in the hands of regularly appointed state officials. The Conference asks the privilege of having all examinations for ordination take place before ecclesiastically constituted examining committees.

In the February number of the *Theologische Rundschau*, Prof. Nowack, of Strassburg, reviews certain recent pamphlets on the history of the Jewish religion.

The question concerning the worship of the dead, or of ancestors, arises from a common theory in the science of religion, which essays to account for religion in man by belief in spirits, or by worship of the departed. After Julius Lippert first applied the theory to the Jewish religion Oort and Stade sought to establish it more thoroughly. Stade went so far as to make it the basis of his presentation of the religious history of the Old Testament, in which he makes continual reference to the science of religion in general. One of his students, F. Schwally, undertook to give a comprehensive proof of this view exclusively from the Old Testament. The meaning of the attempt for the history of religion in the Old Testament is plain. It at once raises the question as to whether worship of ancestors was the religious stage of development in Israel immediately before Javehism came into prominence, or whether Javehism itself did not, perhaps, spring from it. As was to be expected, many treatises on this subject have appeared within the last ten years. And yet the problem in the entire scope of its demonstrations, as given by Stade and Schwally, had not been investigated anew until within the last three years. Frey, in his *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel*, and Grueneisen, in *Ahnenkult und die Urreligion Israels*, have gone over the entire problem.

Frey directs his work chiefly against Schwally's position, and thus gives his book a rather negative character. The sections which are intended to be constructive are small, and Nowack finds them poorly worked out. They are weak and inconsequent. Frey is represented as failing in his attempt to be independent and fair. He is too much under the influence of preconceived opinions of the old school. They are always appearing in his work and weakening its scientific value. His great service consists in having brought together the vast amount of material that has become available, and in having criticized carefully the different opinions that are held concerning the various problems that appear.

Grueneisen's work is considered much more comprehensive, and free from the influence of theological prejudices. The writer is master of his entire subject and has avoided Frey's errors, not only in his treatment of the Old Testament material, but also in his use of religious history in general. "Grueneisen is likewise directed in the course of his investigation by his predecessors. But from the very beginning he not only takes his position on a much broader basis, but also strives to present his materials from the positive standpoint, and thereby to arrive at a positive result, which will convince his readers." His conclusions put in few words are as follows: Israel shared, with many races, animistic conceptions of the existence of souls after death, and not a few of its ancient customs and usages stand in intimate relation with these conceptions, but it never crystalized into a religious veneration, to say nothing of our being able to speak of an animistic primitive religion in Israel. The important result, which is common to the works of both writers, is that we cannot call Animism the pre-javehistic religious stage of Israel, and that it yields nothing that will help to explain the worship of Javeh. The general tone of the two books is markedly conservative. A few years ago it looked as if the rationalistic tendency was about to have undisputed sway in this field of investigation. But a reaction has set in which promises to leave matters about the same as they were before

this attempt was made to account for Javehism on exclusively human ground. This reaction is very plain in the next item.

Prof. Rothstein, of Halle, in a lecture on *Der Gottesglaube im alten Israel und die religionsgeschichtliche Kritik*, delivered and published last year, surprises his fellow students of the Old Testament by advocating methods and results that are all but out and out conservative. True, he still professes in this pamphlet to be a disciple of the Wellhausen school, but this declaration has little weight compared with the strong conservative tone of the entire lecture. He offers a sharp and pertinent criticism of the methods employed by the modern advocates of the theory of development. In fact, he seems to have forsaken the camp of his former associates entirely. His presentation of the content of divine revelation in the time of Moses is surprisingly similar to Hommel's statements concerning faith in God in the time of the patriarchs. The fundamental thoughts are identical.

A critic of this lecture remarks that signs are multiplying that a period of healthful self-examination is dawning in the modern school of Wellhausen. It is being condemned by its own students. This same writer adds concerning Rothstein's claim to be still a disciple of Wellhausen and at the same time to hold the opinions expressed in this lecture: "After Rothstein sawed off the limb on which he sat, he will convince no one that he can still remain sitting on it."

In recent years a great deal of New Testament criticism has centered in eschatology. The problem is: What did Christ mean when he spoke of the "Kingdom of God"? Starting with the Jewish eschatological ideas and connecting them with the Jewish expectation of the Messiah, scholars, generally, have resolved the "Kingdom of God" into a promised and hoped-for future state of blessedness. In 1895 Titius brought out the first part of his comprehensive work, *The New Testament Doctrine and its Meaning for the Present*. The sub-title of the first volume was, *Jesus' Teaching Concerning the Kingdom of*

God. At that time New Testament investigation on this point was almost entirely under the influence of the works of Baldensperger, Johannes Weiss, Bousset and others of like tendency. Eschatology was regarded as the true key for the correct understanding of primitive Christianity. The continuity of development was brought into question, as well as our right to the name Christian. A most important problem confronted the Church: Is that which determines the religious tone of the religious teaching of Jesus, hope, or the present spiritual possession? Does the center lie in the future or in the present, in the supernatural or in the spiritual conception of the "Kingdom of God"? Titius investigated this problem most thoroughly, and has just brought out the last section of his work.

There are, of course, some statements in his work that will hardly be accepted by those who are generally classed as orthodox. But the answer that he gives to all the important questions that arise in connection with this problem is certainly encouraging. "The chief thing with Jesus is the present spiritual possession. The thoughts of the blessings of the Father and Sonship to God form the real center of the gospel. The spiritual, truly inner, religious-ethical relation to God is for Jesus the real essence of salvation."

Titius finds a development with John and Paul, as did Hegel and Baur. But while Baur's conception of development was such that he taught an entirely changed Christianity, Titius regards it rather as a normal continuation from the beginning to the end. It is true that it results in the remoulding of Christianity into the forms of late Grecian thought, but it does not attain this at a bound nor is it affected by strange influences from without. Nothing but the inner relationship between the subjective life of Jesus and Grecian idealism wrought this change.

But what effect does this change have on the doctrine of salvation? The answer is clearly given by Titius: Eschatology is changed into soteriology, enthusiasm becomes mysticism and knowledge. The forms of supernatural conceptions become filled with a spiritual religious-ethical content. Paul and John are the most important witnesses of this change. In the first

place eschatology always forms the starting point for the formulation of their thoughts. From it issues the doctrine of justification, as well as the doctrine of the Spirit, which then were so changed that they expressed the present possession of salvation. Already for John eschatology is no longer the foundation, but the crowning part of the building, since he recognizes eternal life already in the present. Already in Paul's writings one can clearly discern the change from an eschatological-enthusiastic mode of thought to ideas of a present abiding religiousness which is to be lived.

Several critics agree in calling Titius' work one of the most important of recent years. It is a thorough and far reaching contribution to biblical theology.

Soon after the appearance of A. Dorner's *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*. Prof. Pfleiderer of Berlin reviewed it in the *Protestantische Monatsheft*, Nov. 21st, 1899. He welcomed it as a standard work which brought solutions for many perplexing problems. He writes: "Recent decades have brought us some works that are valuable for the knowledge of certain limited portions of the field, but in objectivity of presentation and judgment these treatises, for the most part, have not only marked no progress, but are decidedly retrogressive in real worth when compared with those that appeared about the middle of the century, so that many were apprehensive that we would be compelled to forego a truly objective presentation of Christian thought until some non theologian, free from all dogmatic spectacles and romantic fancies, would take the matter in hand." But just at the close of the century we are surprised by a work from the pen of a modern theologian which has the great virtue of having applied the method of historical development in strict objectivity, free from all dogmatism. Pfleiderer's review closes with a hearty expression of thanks to Dorner for this great service. He ventures the prophecy that few will appreciate it now, but that the time will come when it will be held in the high estimation which it so well deserves.

Prof. Loofs of Halle in a recent review of this work in the

Theologische Literaturzeitung, finds himself numbered by Prof. Pfeiderer among the many who fail to appreciate the book, and enters a plain and severe protest against his review being called partisan before its publication. Therefore Loofs finds it necessary to criticise not only the book itself, but also the former review of Pfeiderer.

Loofs finds many little inaccuracies in it, which he accounts for by assuming that Dorner used secondary sources and neglected the best copies of the fathers. In fact some of the best works available are not even mentioned. Loofs is forced to regard the book in point of reliability as far inferior to its predecessors and condemns Pfeiderer for having uttered a judgment of prejudice and caprice.

But, as Pfeiderer states, the method is the most important feature of the book. This is loudly praised by Pfeiderer and as severely condemned by Loofs. Having broken away from the local method, Dorner could not avoid some systematic viewpoint. Loofs thinks that he detects in his method a trace of a former school of the history of doctrine, and raises the question: Is his idea of the treatment of the history of dogma from the view-point of historical development the old tracing of the development of an "idea" of the Tuebingen school, which has recently found defenders? If so, tested by the results, it is not true to the real history of development. The true genetic relation is ignored in certain marked instances.

Pfeiderer lauds Dorner's objectivity, his complete freedom from dogmatism. The reason for this seems to be that Dorner is free from the dogmatism that Pfeiderer dislikes. Throughout the book his own dogmatic system is betrayed.

Loofs closes his review by stating that there are theological circles where this book will be preferred as a text-book before any other history of dogma that we possess.

ARTICLE X.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Fünfzehn Passions Predigten vom Leiden und Sterben unseres Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi. Von D. Tileman Heszhusius.

Some twenty years ago the above publishing house came into possession of a number of photographic plates from Germany, from some of which plates the Postilla of Heszhusius were then put in type. From the plates that then remained the volume now before us is given to the Church. The book contains fifteen sermons, fourteen of which are on the passion of our Lord, and the fifteenth treats of "the article of our Christian faith, 'He Descended Into Hell.'"

The author, D. Tileman Haszhusius, was born in 1527 in Nieder Wesel, Cleves, Rhenish Prussia, and early in life, on account of special training and opportunities became acquainted with, and took an active interest in the religious questions and controversies of his day. He was for a time Melanchthon's pupil and co-worker. He subsequently obtained prominent appointments in no less than nine different German territories, but was on account of his religious opinions, after a short stay, driven from each, and died in Helmstädt, 1588. The time of the professorial and ministerial activity of Heszhusius covers a very interesting part of the Reformation period. He witnessed the disastrous union attempts of 1540 to 1546, and participated in the heated theological battles of the period which led up to the signing of the *Formula Concordiae*. This attempt at more perfect peace did not however unite the divided forces, and Heszhusius withdrew from the *Formula* shortly after, because of alleged changes in its final publication, and the conflict continued as far as he was concerned to the end of his life. The sermons before us were published in 1588, and therefore their delivery must have taken place amid the smoke of battle and the clash of arms. For this reason one would expect to find some impress of the outer conflict in their composition. Such an expectation, however, is not realized, and these sermons are *Passion Sermons* in the true sense of the words. They contain the rich treasury of the gospel, and present Christ our righteousness as the sinner's only hope and stay. They are excellent models for the presentation of divine truth, and display marvelous exegetical ability.

We call special attention to the last sermon of the series, on the "descensus ad inferos," in which that doctrine is expounded according to the word of God and in a manner conformable to the suggestions of the

Formula Concordiae. With the Hamburg Superintendent, John Aepin, Heszhusius protests against the use of the Petrine passages in the discussions of this doctrine, but differs from him in that he refers the descent of Christ to hell to the state of his exaltation.

The book shows the author to have been a scholar of great ability; of an earnest and devout mind; and will assist to a proper appreciation of a man who in the past has been the subject of much unfair criticism.

R. H. CLARE.

Zehn Predigten von der Rechtfertigung des Sünders vor Gott. Von D. Tileman Heszhusius.

We have carefully read the little work before us on the doctrine of *The Sinner's Justification before God*, and have found it profitable and edifying. These ten sermons on this important subject are written in a style which would make their delivery before any congregation interesting and beneficial. The proof is again before us that doctrines can be presented in public discourses without meriting the opprobrium, "dull," "dry." We believe that our Church has not yet attained to such a comprehension of the doctrine of justification as is its privilege, and this little volume, a reprint of the original 1568 edition, will assist the reader to a fuller appreciation of a truth, the recognition of which gave to the world a Luther, and called into being the mighty religious revolution and Reformation of the sixteenth century. R. H. CLARE.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

The *Atlantic Monthly* is noteworthy not only for the uniform excellence of its articles, but also for their variety. The July number easily sustains the high rank which has so long been conceded to this magazine. Contributions on "King Alfred," "Sixteenth Century Trusts," "A Letter from Italy," "The Limits of the Stellar Universe," "The New England Woman," "The Cardinal Virtues," will appeal to persons of various tastes, but all present facts of interest to the general reader. The series of papers on the Reconstruction Period, begun in the January number, is continued this month by a paper on "New Orleans and Reconstruction" by Albert Phelps. The fiction of the number is represented by the third installment of Mary Johnston's new novel, "Andrey," and "The The Lover," by Sarah Ome Jewett. A story on "The Works on the Schooner Harvester," and a short sketch, "The Steel Engraving Lady and the Gilson Girl" furnish delightful reading. The "Contributors' Club," always an interesting department of this magazine, is of its usual excellence. Not a few other articles add to the merit of this issue of the *Atlantic*. It is as it always has been, a magazine of not merely passing interest, but of permanent value.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

The Reformation Dawn. F. V. N. Painter, D. D., Prof. of Modern

Languages in Roanoke College ; being one of the Lutheran Handbook Series.. pp. 245. Price 40 cents.

This little volume will not be the least in the series of which it forms a part. Though the very nature of the work precludes originality, it is yet no mere compilation. There is everywhere the mark of independent study and arrangement. The author has made use of a surprising array of writers, considering the limits of the books, and he has used them well. The most interesting part in this respect is the chapter on *Literature and the Papacy*. The quotations give us the convictions of eye-witnesses at a time when the Papacy was sounding the depths of shameless vice.

The purpose of the book, as suggested by the title, is to set forth the various ways in which the preparations were completing for the Reformation during the centuries preceding. The discussion, though brief, is quite complete. All of the elements, political, social, religious, practical, metaphysical, mystical, are noticed.

Those who read the volume will be pleased by its style and content. It will also be found suggestive and directive for larger reading. It may not be out of place, however, to suggest that the book should have had an index. No volume of real value is complete without one ; and even a hand-book like this is made more accessible by means of an index.

JULIUS F. SEEBACH.

Die Lehre von der Stellvertretenden Genugthuung in Frage und Antwort. Von J. L. Neve. 16 pp.

This booklet is so composed as to present in brief compass a history of the doctrine of the Atonement. The views of epoch-making writers, such as Anselm, the Socini, von Hofmann, *et al.*, are briefly but accurately presented.

The chief aim of the author seems to be to show that the Scriptures teach the doctrine of the vicarious atonement of Christ for sin. We think he makes out a good case. The essay is worthy of careful study.

J W. RICHARD.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1901.

ARTICLE I.

THE CALL TO THE MINISTRY.*

AUGSBURG CONFESSION, ARTICLE XIV.

BY PRESIDENT JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.

The Fourteenth Article of the Augsburg Confession, which is the one assigned for discussion in this lecture, treats, according to its title, of *Ecclesiastical Orders*. More specifically its subject is *The Call to the Ministry*.

The general subject of *The Ministry of the Church* is presented in the Fifth Article, and any discussion of the origin, nature and functions of the ministry belongs more properly under that article. And yet the two articles are so closely connected, and the view taken of the call to the ministerial office depends so largely, at least in some of its phases, on the views held concerning the nature and institution of the office, and its relation to the Church, that it is almost impossible to discuss the former without making some reference also to the latter. Hence it will be well to have the language of both articles clearly before us.

The Fourth Article treats of *Justification*, and emphasizes the fact that men "are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith," and that "this faith God doth impute for righteousness before him." Then follows the Fifth Article: "For the obtaining of this faith, the ministry of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted. For by the word

*Holman Lecture on the Augsburg Confession for 1901, delivered in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., May 17th, 1901.

and sacraments, as by instruments, the Holy Spirit is given; who worketh faith, where and when it pleaseth God, in those that hear the gospel, to wit, that God, not for our merit's sake, but for Christ's sake, doth justify those who believe that they for Christ's sake are received into favor.

"They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who imagine that the Holy Spirit is given to men without the outward word, through their own preparations and works."*

The Fourteenth Article reads as follows: "Concerning ecclesiastical orders [Church Government], they teach, that no man should publicly in the Church teach, or administer the sacraments, except he be rightly called [without a regular call]."

This article has at least the merit of brevity. In the Latin it consists of only seventeen words, making it by considerable the shortest of all the articles. It might be supposed that it would be correspondingly clear and easy to be understood. But brevity does not always conduce to clearness, especially in theology. Probably most cursory readers would pronounce the Apostles' Creed a model of clearness, as well as of conciseness, in comparison with either the Nicene Creed or the Athanasian Creed. But every student of theology knows that either one of the longer creeds settles definitely and positively a score or more of questions which the shorter and apparently simpler Apostles' Creed leaves open to controversy.

Certainly the brevity of the Fourteenth Article of our noble *Augustana* has not saved the Church from controversy over the meaning of the *rite vocatus* or *ordentliche Beruf* as it is in the German. Carpzov, in his *Isagogics*, published in 1665, enumerates under this article twenty-four distinct points of controversy which even then already had been raised and discussed, either among the Lutherans themselves, or between them and their opponents, the Catholics and Anabaptists. It is true that some of these questions seem to deal more properly with the general subject of the ministerial office, as presented in the Fifth

*This translation is from the edition of the Book of Concord, published by Dr. H. E. Jacobs in 1882, and the translations of this edition will be used throughout this lecture without further reference or explanation.

Article, but at least fifteen of the twenty-four relate directly to the *rite vocatus*, or *ordentliche Beruf*, if we include in this, as all our theologians do, the examination and ordination of candidates for the sacred office and work of the ministry. And if anyone desires evidence that these controversies were not all settled by the theological giants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he only needs to recall the bitter disputes between the "Old Lutherans" in Germany during the middle and latter part of the last century, or the no less bitter controversy between the Missourians and the Buffalo and Iowa synods in this country, or the protracted and sometimes acrimonious discussions in our own General Synod over the question of the ministerium. The fact is that a true Lutheran doctrine of the ministry seems never to have been very fully or definitely stated or settled, either by the confessional writings of the Church or by our leading dogmaticians. Hence we find the confessional statements interpreted in different ways, and the same dogmaticians quoted as authorities to prove quite different, and sometimes directly opposite, views. And this will likely continue to be the case until, in some general council, or diet, representing the whole Lutheran Church throughout the world, a full and authoritative statement of the doctrine is agreed upon. Indeed, it is a question whether even that would stop the controversy, and secure unity of doctrine, since according to our Lutheran Church polity, no such deliverance could be made to have more than advisory authority.

The primary purpose of the Reformers in framing this Fourteenth Article was, without doubt, to guard against, or to correct, two perversions of, or false inferences from, the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, which Luther had announced publicly first in his sermon on the mass in 1520,* and on which he laid great, and perhaps in the early part of his ministry, excessive emphasis, as over against the Romish doctrine of a special priesthood in the Christian Church similar to the Aaronic priesthood of the Jewish Church. For example, in his *Address to the Christian Nobility*, written in the same year,

*See Hay's Köstlin's Theology of Luther, vol. 1, page 361.

1520, he expresses himself very fully and strongly on this subject, declaring that "their [the Romanists'] idea of the spiritual order, as they call the pope, bishops, priests and monks, has no foundation; for all Christians belong to the spiritual order by virtue of one baptism, according to 1 Peter 2 : 9 and Romans 5 : 10. There is here no difference of order, but only a difference of office." It is true that he immediately guards against the possible abuse of this doctrine by adding that "to exercise this office does not befit every one; for, just because all as priests have equal authority, dare no single one, without our, that is, the Christian community's or congregation's consent and choice, presume to exercise the office for which all have authority."*

But, notwithstanding this *caveat* the Romanists seized on Luther's doctrine of the universal priesthood as the basis for a charge that he and his followers had done away with a regular ministry, and had introduced chaos and anarchy into the Church by granting to each and every member the right to perform all the functions of the minister, or priest.

On the other hand, the Anabaptists, in their fanatical zeal, made the same doctrine of the universal priesthood the excuse and ground for all manner of disorder and excess. They claimed to be under the special direction of the Holy Spirit, and by virtue of the revelation thus given to have the right to declare what was revealed, without authority or permission from any other person, or power, either civil or ecclesiastical, inasmuch as all Christians were equally kings and priests unto God.

Now, it was to correct both these errors, the false charges of the Romanists, on the one hand, and the false teaching and practice of the fanatics, on the other hand, that the Reformers declared in this Fourteenth Article of their Confession that "no man should publicly in the Church teach, or administer the sacraments, except he be rightly called," (*nisi rite vocatus*), or (*ohne ordentlichen Beruf*).

So Gerhard says:† "These words of the Confession are op-

*Hay's Köstlin's *Theology of Luther*, Vol. I., p. 371.

†*Loc. Theol. De Min. Eccl.* Cap. III., Sec. I., Quoted by Dr. H. E. Jacobs in *Lutheran Quarterly*, vol. IV., p. 567.

posed; 1. To the calumnies of the Papists who made the charge that in our churches all things were done in confusion and without order, and that the power to teach was granted by us to everyone in the Church. 2. To the confusion of the Anabaptists, who without a call take upon themselves the parts of the ministry of the Church, and allow all promiscuously the office of teaching, introducing in this way barbarous disorder in the Church."

The Catholics were satisfied with this Fourteenth Article, and it was approved in the Confutation prepared by their theologians, but with a fuller explanation of the *rite vocatus*, making it to include canonical ordination by the Catholic bishops. This called forth from Melanchthon a mild protest in *The Apology*, as follows:

"The Fourteenth Article, in which we say that the administration of the sacraments and word, in the Church, ought to be allowed to no one *unless he be rightly called*, they receive in such a way as though we nevertheless employ canonical ordination. Concerning this subject, we have frequently testified in this assembly that it is our greatest wish to maintain Church polity and the grades in the Church, even though they have been made by human authority (provided the bishops allow our doctrine and receive our priests). For we know that Church discipline was instituted by the Fathers, in the manner laid down in the ancient canons, with a good and useful intention. But the bishops either compel our priests to reject and condemn the kinds of doctrine which we have confessed, or, by a new and unheard of cruelty, they put to death the poor innocent men. These causes hinder our priests from acknowledging such bishops. Thus the cruelty of the bishops is the reason why that canonical government, which we greatly desired to maintain, is in some places dissolved. Let them see to it how they will give account to God for dispersing the Church. In this matter, our consciences are not in danger, because since we know that our confession is true, godly and Catholic, we ought not to approve the cruelty of those who persecute this doctrine. And we know that the Church is with those who teach the

Word of God aright, and not with those who not only by their edicts endeavor to efface God's Word, but also put to death those who teach what is right and true; towards whom, even though they do something contrary to the canons, yet the very canons are milder. Furthermore, we wish here again to testify that we will gladly maintain ecclesiastical and canonical order, provided the bishops only cease to rage against our Churches. This our desire will clear us both before God and among all nations to all posterity from the imputation against us, that the authority of the bishops is being undermined, when men read and hear that, although protesting against the unrighteous cruelty of the bishops, we could not obtain justice."

The threat is here clearly implied, though somewhat veiled under the courteous phraseology of the gentle and irenic Melanchthon, that if the Lutherans could not secure justice and fair treatment from the regularly constituted bishops of the Catholic Church, they would ignore them and would assert their right to call and ordain their own priests and ministers, without the consent or aid of the bishops. But this right is much more clearly asserted and strongly maintained, in the Schmalcald Articles, written in the closing days of 1536 by the vigorous hand of Luther himself, by direction of the Elector of Saxony, and presented to that Prince, January 3rd 1537:* "If the bishops were true bishops, and would devote themselves to the Church and the gospel, they might be allowed, for the sake of love and unity, and not from necessity, to ordain and confirm us and our preachers; nevertheless, under the condition that all masks and phantoms [deceptions, absurdities and appearances] of unchristian nature and display be laid aside. Yet because they neither are, nor wish to be true bishops, but worldly lords and princes, who will neither preach, nor teach, nor baptize, nor administer the Lord's Supper, nor perform any work or office of the Church, but persecute and condemn those who being called discharge this duty; for their sake the Church ought not to remain without ministers.

"Therefore as the ancient examples of the Church and the

*See Part III., Article X., *Of Ordination and the Call.*

Fathers teach us, we ourselves will and ought to ordain suitable persons to this office; and (even according to their own laws) they have not the right to forbid or prevent us. For their laws say that those ordained even by heretics should be regarded and remain as ordained, as St. Jerome writes to the Church at Alexandria, that at first it was governed by bishops through the priests and preachers."

But more vigorous and emphatic still is the language used in the *Appendix* to the Schmalcald Articles, written by the theologians who were present at the Convention at Schmalcald in 1537, but prepared more especially by Melanchthon, Luther being sick at the time.* This section is too extended to be quoted in full. Only those parts are given, therefore, which refer more particularly to the Church's right to elect and ordain its own ministers independently of the bishops. After quoting Jerome to prove that the distinction in grades between bishops and other ministers was entirely a matter of human authority, and not of divine right, they continue: "But since by divine authority the grades of bishops and pastors are not diverse, it is manifest that ordination by a pastor in his own church has been appointed by divine law [if a pastor in his own church ordain certain suitable persons to the ministry, such ordination is, according to divine law, undoubtedly effective and right].

"Therefore when the regular bishops become enemies of the Church, or are unwilling to administer ordination, the Churches retain their own right. [Because the regular bishops persecute the gospel and refuse to ordain suitable persons, every church has in this case full authority to ordain its own ministers].

"For wherever the church is, there is the authority [command] to administer the gospel. Wherefore it is necessary for the church to retain the authority to call, elect and ordain ministers. And this authority is a gift exclusively given to the church, which no human power can wrest from the church, as Paul also testifies to the Ephesians (4 : 8) when he says, he ascended, he gave gifts to men. And he enumerates among the gifts especially belonging to the Church 'pastors and teachers,' and

*See part II. of *the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops.*

adds that such are given 'for the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.' Where there is, therefore, a true church, the right to elect and ordain ministers necessarily exists, just as in a case of necessity even a layman absolves, and becomes the minister and pastor of another; as Augustine narrates the story of two Christians in a ship, one of whom baptized the catechumen, who after baptism then absolved the baptizer.

"Here belong the words of Christ which testify that the keys have been given to the church, and not merely to certain persons, (Matt. 18 : 20). 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, etc.'

"Lastly the declaration of Peter also confirms this (I Peter 2 : 9). 'Ye are a royal priesthood.' These words pertain to the true Church, which, since it alone has the priesthood, certainly has the right to elect and ordain ministers.

"And this also a most common custom of the Church testifies. For formerly the people elected pastors and bishops. Then a bishop was added, either of that church or a neighboring one, who confirmed the one elected by the laying on of hands; neither was ordination anything else than such a ratification. * * * From all these things it is clear that the Church retains the right to elect and ordain ministers."

We now have before us the entire testimony of our Lutheran Symbols on the subject of the *rite vocatus*. There are, indeed, various other brief, or incidental references to the subject, scattered here and there, but nothing that throws any additional light upon it, or that would in any way modify the sense, or implication, of the parts already quoted.

We stop here, therefore, to inquire what points are made clear by these authoritative deliverances. Not very many, you may think, and if you so think, you will be correct. And yet we have here absolutely everything concerning the call to the ministry that is of confessional authority in our Church, even if all were to accept all the Symbolical Books, as some claim to do "in their own true, native, original and only sense." The ground may be covered and the facts stated in three or four brief and simple propositions, such as :

1. That no one can lawfully preach the gospel or administer the sacraments publicly in the Church without a regular call.

2. That the essential thing in a regular call is the election by the Church, and that ordination has simply the force of a public and formal ratification of such election, and is therefore not absolutely necessary to make the call regular and valid.

3. That the right to elect, call and ordain its own pastors, is inherent in the Church, having been bestowed upon it by Christ himself as a divine gift, growing out of or associated with the possession of the keys, and the universal priesthood of all believers.

4. That the necessity for a call is not absolute, but relative, and that, therefore, in cases of extreme necessity, even a layman, without ordination, or election by the Church, may preach the Word, absolve, and even administer the sacraments.

Much more may be drawn from the writings of Luther, and of the other great theologians of the Church, such as Chemnitz, (1522-1586), Hutter, (1563-1616), Baier, (1647-1695), Hollaz, (1648-1713), and many others. But all this is of the nature of comment, explanation, interpretation and development, and has only such authority as belongs to that which commends itself to our judgment, or as attaches to the name and standing of the individual writer. The writings of no one of these men, great and learned as they were, not even those of Luther the greatest of them all, have ever been accepted or recognized by the Church as a whole, nor by any branch of it, as having any confessional authority whatever.

Moreover these theologians are by no means always consistent with each other, or even with themselves. One writer may emphasize one phase of the subject, while another one may lay his chief emphasis on another phase of it, and thus they may seem to differ very greatly, or even to flatly contradict each other, especially when quoted out of connection, and in isolated passages, by partisan debaters. Or, the same writer may, in one part of his discussion, or at one stage of his development, press a point, or carry an argument, farther than at another

time, or in a different connection, and hence be at least apparently inconsistent with himself. Indeed, this is very likely to be the case with every real student who is growing in knowledge, and especially in clearness of insight and breadth of view, as every true student should and will be. Woe to the man who has become so vain of his present attainments, or is so set in his opinions, that he thinks there is nothing more for him to learn, or that it would be a discredit for him to revise, or correct, or even totally disown anything that he has previously believed or taught.

Every one who has read extensively in the writings of Luther knows well how little he cared for that precise and careful consistency which is characteristic of small men, and especially of narrow-minded men; that there is hardly an important doctrine which he teaches in reference to which he has not been quoted again and again in support of very different and even quite opposite views. The great Reformer was too busy fighting the pope and the errors of Romanism, and the fanatics and other enemies of the truth, and too eager to deal them the hardest blows possible, to think much about consistency, or to stop long to inquire whether everything spoken and written at one time was in perfect harmony with all that he had previously spoken or written. When a man is in the thick of the fight, and hard pressed by the foe, as Luther was almost daily, he does not greatly care whether every blow is delivered according to the manual of arms or not. What he is most concerned about is how to protect his own head, and how to defeat the enemy at every point. And this was Luther's great concern, to expose error, and to vindicate and establish the truth. And if, in order to do this, it should be necessary to change his position, he never hesitated to do so, because he might thereby expose himself to the charge of inconsistency, provided always, of course, that the truth was not sacrificed. It is unfortunate that not all who call themselves Lutherans have always remembered this when appealing to his name and writings in support of their own peculiar views. If they had done so, there would have been less quarreling among them, and the Lutheran

Church might not to-day be split up into so many divisions, which too often spend their time and strength in warring against each other instead of against the common foes which Luther himself fought so valiantly.

Certain it is that in reference to this doctrine of the ministry, and the *rite vocatus*, Luther shifted his ground, or at least the emphasis of his teaching, very considerably between his earlier and his later years. This is brought out very clearly by Köstlin in his *Theology of Luther*. In his earlier teaching Luther, in opposition to the Romish doctrine of a special priesthood, or order of ministers, in the Church, so emphasized the universal priesthood of all believers, that he seems to make the ministry to be nothing more than the universal priesthood in function, a simple transfer to one member of the congregation of the rights and privileges which belong inherently to every member, in order to avoid the confusion and disorder which would result if all were to attempt to exercise their right to preach and administer the sacraments at the same time. Thus, in his *Address to the Christian Nobility*, published in 1520, he declares that "all Christians belong to the spiritual order by virtue of one baptism, one gospel, one faith. We all become priests by baptism, according to 1 Peter, 2 : 9, and Rev. 5 : 10. There is here no difference of order, but only a difference of office. To exercise this office does not, however, befit everyone ; for, just because we all as priests have equal authority, dare no single one, without our, that is, the Christian community's or congregation's consent and choice, presume to exercise the office for which all have authority." *

It is in this same connection that there occurs the well-known illustration of the "ten brothers" so often quoted by those who are disposed to take this low democratic, or extreme congregational view of the office, of the ministry and of the call. It is, says Luther, "just as though ten brothers, or princes, or heirs of equal rank, should select one of their number to manage the inheritance for them all. To make the principle still more plain, the case is supposed of a little band of Christians, without any

*Köstlin, Vol. I., p. 372.

ordained priest or bishop in their company captured by an enemy and placed by themselves in a wilderness. Should these now elect one of their number, and confer upon him the office of baptizing, holding mass, absolving and preaching, such an one would be as truly a priest as though all the bishops in the world, and the pope, had ordained him."* In his *Babylonian Captivity*, published in the same year, 1520, he presents substantially the same views and supports them by much the same line of arguments.

In 1523 he wrote his *Address to the Council and People of Prague*, and also a pamphlet entitled, *That a Christian Assembly, or Congregation has the Right and Authority to Judge all Doctrines, to Call Teachers, etc.* Referring to these documents Köstlin says:† "The fundamental idea here is again that contained in the thesis. A priest is not the same as a presbyter or minister, (*Sacerdotum non esse quod presbyterum vel ministrum*), the former is born, the latter made. He then proceeds to present, in some respects, more fully than in any of his earlier writings, the functions of the born priesthood, embracing them under seven heads, as follows: 1. The proclamation of the Word. 2. Baptism, which even women are allowed to administer in cases of necessity. 3. The administration of the Lord's Supper. The command of Christ, 'Do this in remembrance of me' is addressed to all. Moreover the two offices first named are greater matters than the consecration of bread and wine, and the less will surely not be prohibited to him to whom the greater is committed. 4. The binding and loosing of sin, the authority for which is, according to Matt. 18 : 18-20, committed to the entire congregation, and which is nothing more than the proclamation and application of the gospel. 5. The rendering of sacrifice, according to Rom. 12 : 1, and 1 Peter 2 : 5, *i. e.*, the crucifixion of one's own flesh and the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. 6. Priestly intercession for others before God in prayer. 7. Independent judgement of dogmas in the light of the Holy Scriptures. * * * Luther

*Köstlin, Vol. I., pp. 405, 406.

†Vol. II., p. 86.

here endeavors also to base even the authority of the congregation, as such, to call its own ministers, upon these principles touching the universal priesthood. If, says he, every believer has the authority, it certainly cannot be doubted that the congregation, having received the gospel, may and ought to select from its number the one who shall teach the Word in its stead. And, he repeats, just because these things are common to all believers, no one dare press forward in his own authority and violently appropriate to himself that which is the common property of all. It is one thing to exercise this right habitually in public, and another thing to employ it in case of necessity. To exercise it habitually in public is not permitted except with the consent of the whole body, or the Church; in case of necessity, whoever wishes to do so may employ it."

But meanwhile the fanatics had been busy making trouble for Luther, and bringing the Reformation into disrepute by their excesses of various kinds, and justifying themselves by an appeal to the universal priesthood, and especially to 1 Cor. 14 : 30, which Luther had been accustomed to quote in support of this doctrine and his views on the ministry. This led to some modification of his views, or at least led him more carefully to guard the statement of them. Hence Köstlin says of this period, quoting from some of his sermons against the fanatics:* "While insisting upon a regular call (*Berufsein*) for every preacher, he designates two methods of calling, the immediate and the mediate, but traces even the latter back to God himself. The former he will grant in no case unless attested by miracles, even though the preachers laying claim to it manifest otherwise the proper evangelistic spirit. He regards the impression held by such a one as a temptation by which God is testing him to see whether he will abide by the established order. By the mediate call, or the call of God through men, he means that in which the congregation petition (for a regular preacher). * * *

"Luther's conception of the expressions employed by the Apostle in 1 Cor. 14, had thus received a very characteristic

*Vol. II., p. 92.

modification. The "sneaks had planted themselves upon that passage because it appeared to give them authority to pass judgment upon the regular ministers of the churches and to claim an equal right to set up their own preaching against the latter. But, Luther, now, in opposing them, makes a sharp distinction between 'the prophets, who are to teach, and the people (der Poebel) who are to listen.' And he recognizes in the congregation no other prophets than the teachers to whom the ministry of the Word has been formally, permanently, and exclusively committed. Even from these he demands the evidence that they have received such commission through a regular call from their fellowmen, unless they can perform miracles in attestation of their authority. Without such an office, sharply defined and conveyed through an extended call, he grants to no Christian the authority to make any peculiar inner endowment which he may possess productive for the congregation by means of any public teaching whatsoever."

Finally Köstlin sums up Luther's teaching in reference to the ministerial office, as follows: * "The Word, together with the sacraments, has been bestowed upon and committed to the Church by God and Christ. It is the gracious will and requirement of God that the latter, and particularly also the Word, be publicly employed. Preachers are needed, through whom the divine Word may be proclaimed everywhere and constantly, may reach posterity, and may, especially, be presented to the minds of uninstructed youth and the common people. * * * In order that we may have such, God himself endows some men with peculiar talent for such work and points them out to us as suitable persons to undertake it. Thus Christ himself sent out his first great preachers, the inspired apostles, and they, in accordance with the divine will, appointed others to the preaching office. Thus, also, is this office always to continue in the congregation. Such persons, therefore, as are called by the Church, upon her recognition of the divine will and the divine gifts, are really appointed by God. It was only in his later writings that Luther so strenuously maintained that such per-

*Vol. II., p. 545.

sons should therefore be received as *the called of God*, although he then still explained the mediation of the divine through the human calling in the same way as before. We find special emphasis laid also in the later, as compared with the earlier utterances of Luther, upon the gifts, or talents, by the bestowal of which God himself provides for the congregation, or those who control its affairs, men properly endowed. * * * He insists particularly, also, that the pastors or bishops already in the office shall participate in the induction of every new candidate into the ministry. As publicly and regularly appointed witnesses of the divine Word they are thus especially to approve the doctrine of the candidate so ordained, to receive him into their fellowship, and to confirm his appointment by the laying on of hands."

Professor Dieckhoff, of Rostock, in an article translated by Professor A. Martin, A. M., for the *Evangelical Review*,* also calls attention to this change in Luther's position, and makes it even more decided than Köstlin, referring to Luther's pamphlet on *Vagabond's and Corner-preachers* (von Schleichern und Winkelpredigern) Prof. Deickhoff says: "Luther does not now, as in his early theory, establish the right of the office upon the idea that, for the sake of order, the duties and functions which belong to each, but cannot be exercised by all, are delegated to one, in the name and in the place of all. He rather places himself in direct opposition to this theory, by his exposition of 1 Cor. 14 : 30, from which passage the 'corner-preachers' derived the right for all to preach.

"In order to have the full import of Luther's exposition of this passage, it is necessary to consider that Luther himself deduced his former theory, representing the right of all Christians to preach—the 'ministerium verbi'—from this very passage. But now he says: 'Some, indeed, pretend that St. Paul, in 1 Cor. 14 : 30, gives to everyone in the congregation authority to preach, and liberty even to bark against the regular preacher.' Luther declares this a false interpretation of the text; and contends that St. Paul here speaks of the 'prophets that are called

*Vol. XXI., p. 182.

to teach' and not of the congregation (Poebel) who should listen. 'But prophets', he says, 'are teachers *who have the office of the ministry in the Church*. Let, therefore, these vagabonds (Schleichern) first show, and prove, that they are prophets, and regularly called and commissioned teachers in the Church; and let them show who has appointed them to this office, and then let them be heard, according to St. Paul's doctrine. * * *

'Let whoever will read the entire chapter; and he will unmistakably find that St Paul there speaks of prophesying, teaching and preaching in the Church, and *does not command the congregation to preach*; but is dealing with the preachers who are appointed to preach in the congregation.' * * *

Most decidedly does Luther now distinguish between the office of the ministry and the universal priesthood of Christians. * * *

In his exposition of the 110th Psalm (1539) Luther expresses himself still more decidedly, if possible, in regard to the relation between the priesthood of Christians and the office of the ministry. In this commentary Luther treats of the Christian priesthood, and while he endeavors to show that all Christians are priests, he distinguishes the office of the ministry from the priesthood of Christians, as something which does not belong to Christians as such, by virtue of their priesthood. He says: 'Here distinction must be made between the office or service of bishops, clergymen and preachers, on the one hand, and on the other, the common rank of Christians, (*dem gemeinen Christenstand*). Clergymen and preachers are, indeed, in the ecclesiastical office; but they are not therefore *priests*, just as they are not therefore Christians.' 'It is indeed necessary that everyone be first a Christian, a born *priest* before he can become a preacher or bishop; and neither the pope nor any other mortal can make such a priest. But when one has been born a priest in Holy Baptism, then the office is added, and *makes a distinction between him and other Christians*.' Then, after having further treated of the priestly 'sacrifice and prayer' of Christians, Luther continues: 'Behold every Christian has and exercises such functions of priesthood, *but over and above the same is the regular office which teaches in public, and this belongs to clergy-*

men and preachers.' And in his sermons on the 3rd and 4th of the gospel of St. John, Luther now lays special stress upon the truth so inconsistent with his early theory of delegation (Uebertragungstheorie), that it is God who sends pastors and teachers. 'John here speaks of *the divine sending*, which however is manifold. He speaks however especially of *the sending of the Son*, and treats of two kinds of sending; first, namely, that God sends his ambassadors (Leute) without means, as he sent the prophets and apostles, Moses, and St. Paul. * * * In the New Testament he has discontinued *this sending*; for that of the apostles was the last. That is the high sending which is immediately from God. There is, indeed, another *sending*, which is immediately from God, but is accomplished through men and means, after the office is ordained by God, that there shall be preaching and the use of the keys. That then it is to continue, and there will be no other ministry. But the same persons do not always abide; therefore provision must always be made for new preachers. And that cannot be done without means. The office, such as God's Word, Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper, is immediately from Christ. But afterwards there is another *sending*, which is through men, but not by men. Thus we are sent, and we again send others, and place them in the office, that they preach and administer the sacraments. And, indeed, this *sending* also is from and by God. For God has commanded it, and by this, his command, *he himself sends laborers into his vineyard*; and yet he does it through men.' "

Other passages of similar import are quoted by Prof. Deickhoff from Luther's later writings, from which, as he says: "The ministry appears, not as the office and service of the universal priesthood, whereby it accomplishes its functions of worship, sacrifice and divine service before the Lord; but it is the institution, the ministry, the service of Christ, whereby he accomplishes his divine work in the Church."

On the other hand, as over against Deickhoff, it may be said that Professor Kavarau, formerly of Kiel, and now at Breslau,

and who is universally recognized in Germany as, with Köstlin and Kolde, one of the three greatest Luther scholars in the world, in his lectures on *Predigtamt und Kultus*, maintains that Luther never essentially modified the position taken in his earlier writings with reference to the relation between the ministerial office and the universal priesthood. After numerous quotations both from Luther's earlier and also from his later writings, including among the latter his commentary on the 110th Psalm from which Deickhoff quotes so largely in support of his argument that Luther did change radically, Prof. Kawarau sums up the discussion, and sets forth his conception of Luther's view in the following seven propositions:

1. Christ has conferred the office of the keys, *i. e.*, the power and the command to preach the gospel upon the priestly congregation of believers.

2. He himself immediately called the apostles as the first ones to exercise this power (Vollmacht).

3. Since then the congregation calls to the office, but he who receives its regular call may know that he has received a divine call.

4. The office of the ministry is therefore a continuance of the apostolic office, in so far as it administers the same treasury, exercises the same functions, and possesses the same assurance that the minister acts in the name of Christ.

5. At the same time this office, historically considered, derives its power from the congregation, because it administers what has been given to all, and it has its origin in the necessity that what belongs to all must be administered by one.

6. The whole Church (Gesammtheit) orders and calls the persons who are able and trustworthy to the exercise of such functions.

7. Who shall practically exercise this right, which theoretically belongs to the entire congregation, must be left to the historical development of the congregation."*

So much time and space have been given to Luther because

*From manuscript notes of Prof. J. L. Neve, head of the German Department in the Western Theological Seminary.

of the importance which naturally attaches to his name and views, and because he is appealed to on all sides, and by all parties in the Church; also because of the cry of "Back to Luther," which has been so often heard since the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1883, and because it is well to remember how difficult it is in many cases to know when we are "back to Luther," or just what "Luther" we have gotten back to. It would be well if all controversialists who appeal to Luther were to remember what Prof. Deickhoff says in the article already quoted from, that "it is not necessary that we should take, or elaborate, a complete statement of the doctrine of the office and its relation to the priesthood of believers from the writings of Luther, either earlier or later. It is sufficient that we find the principles which the Lutheran Church embodied in her organization, in her entire history, somewhere expressed by Luther, although the doctrine of the Lutheran Church is not necessarily one and the same thing with the doctrine of Luther."

It has been the custom, in discussing this whole subject of the ministerial office, or the call to the ministry, to quote largely, not only from Luther, but also from the other great Lutheran theologians whose names have been given before, Chemnitz, Gerhard, Quenstedt, etc., and it might naturally be expected that your present lecturer would do the same. It may not be amiss for him to say that he began the work of preparation for the lecture with this plan in view, and that he had collected a large number of such quotations, partly from original sources, and partly from the published work of those who had gone over the same ground before him. But as his preparation progressed he became convinced that this work of collating extracts from the old dogmaticians had been done so often and so well, and that the results are so easily available to anyone who cares to study the subject from this standpoint, that it seemed to be a work of supererogation to repeat the task.*

*For the information of any who are interested, the following books and articles are named, besides the original works of the theologians,

Having gone over the ground as carefully as his time would permit, and studied these authors comparatively, it has seemed to him that it would be sufficient, and far more practical, to endeavor to sum up their teaching, as clearly as possible, in a series of brief thetical propositions. This has been done with the following results:

1. The Christian ministry is not a heirarchical order in the Church, such as was the Aaronic priesthood in the Jewish Church, but a public office of service instituted by Christ himself, and committed to the Church as a whole for the public preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments.

2. Though this office is closely associated with the universal priesthood of believers, and is sometimes spoken of by Luther and others, as if it were a mere delegation to a few, for the sake of order, of the rights and privileges which really belong to all, or the universal priesthood in function, it is still not to be identified with the universal priesthood, but is a divinely appointed office in the Church different from and additional to the universal priesthood.

3. As taught in the Fourteenth Article of the Confession, no one has the right publicly to preach the Word or administer the sacraments in the Church, without a regular call; but the necessity for such a regular call is not absolute but relative, and hence in cases of extreme need, as when the regular ministry is not available, or proves unfaithful, or when a man is dying, a

most of which are easily accessible to English readers: *The Ministry*, by Prof. M. Loy, Columbus, Ohio, 1870; *The Pastor*, by Prof. H. Ziegler, D. D.; *The Evangelical Pastor*, by Dr. E. T. Horn, Philadelphia, 1887; Dr. Walther's *Kirche und Amt.*, St. Louis, 1853; *The Theology of Luther*, by Köstlin, Translated by Dr. Chas. E. Hay, 2 Vols; Dr. C. A. Hay's Lecture on Art. V., Augsburg Confession, First Series; Dr. L. A. Gotwald's Lecture on Art. XIV., Augsburg Confession, First Series; Art. by Dr. H. E. Jacobs in LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. IV., p. 557; Art. by Dr. J. A. Brown in LUTH. QUART., III., 93, and VI., 81; Arts. by Dr. S. A. Ort, in LUTH. QUART., VI., 249, 612 and VII., 242; Arts. by Dr. F. W. Conrad, in LUTH. QUART., XII., 583, and XIV., 202. Also numerous other articles in the *Evangelical Review* and LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, by Stoeve, Dox, Fink, Plitt, and others.

private Christian may exercise the functions of the ministry without a regular or formal call.

4. The regular call to the ministry comes primarily from God himself, and is either immediate or mediate. The immediate call is direct from God, as in the case of Moses and the prophets and apostles, and is usually attested by miracles. The mediate call is given through human instrumentality, *i. e.*, through the Church, but it is not on this account any the less truly from God.

5. Since the days of the Apostles no immediate call is given, or to be expected, but God does even now endows certain persons with the gifts requisite for the ministry, thus indicating to the Church who are the proper persons to be called. He may produce in such persons a conviction that they are divinely called to this office and work, and this conviction may be regarded as, in a modified sense, a direct inner call. But such inner call must always be approved and ratified by the external mediate call through the Church, which is the true "rite vocatus" of the Fourteenth Article.

6. The mediate call through the Church must come from the Church as a whole, consisting of ministers and laymen, and where church and state are united, of the Christian magistrates also. Ordinarily, it belongs to the people to elect, and to the ministry to examine and ordain, and where church and state are united it is the privilege and duty of the magistracy to appoint or confirm.

7. Ordination is not a sacrament, in the true sense of the word, but is a solemn rite introduced by the apostles and retained in the Church, and though not absolutely necessary to validate the call received from the Church, it is important as a public certification that the one ordained has been regularly called to the office and work of the ministry. In ordination no special grace is conferred *ex opere operato*, but in answer to prayer the Holy Ghost is given in proportion to the receptivity and faith of the ordainers and the one ordained.

8. No one should be ordained who has not been called to a definite congregation, or to some specific work in the Church, as

a foreign missionary; though ordination is not for a limited time, as during the pastoral charge of a specified congregation, it does not confer an indelible character, or permanent ministerial rank, as taught by the Romanists. The ministry, therefore, may be demitted, or an unworthy minister may be deposed, and when a minister ceases to perform the functions of the office, whether voluntarily or by deposition, he ceases to be a minister, and differs in nothing from an ordinary layman.

These propositions have been prepared, and are submitted by your lecturer, with great diffidence. He fully realizes that it becomes him to go softly over a field on which so many theological giants have contended in the past, and are still contending to-day. He is well aware also that not all of these propositions will be endorsed by all who may hereafter read them, nor even by all who hear them to-day. But he at least has the consciousness of having honestly tried to reach an impartial conclusion, and to state such conclusion as clearly as possible and without any partisan bias. If he is disagreed with by some, or even by many, or even if his statements should be hotly controverted, he will be in the company of many great and good men who have shared a similar fate in discussing this same question, one of the most difficult and perplexing in the whole range of Lutheran theology, or church polity.

The remainder of the lecture will be devoted to a comparative study of the views held by the several bodies of Lutherans in this country, in so far as they are available, under the belief that this will prove more interesting and profitable to those addressed than any further discussion of the views held by our Lutheran Fathers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Chronologically such a discussion would naturally begin with the General Synod, which is by far the oldest general body of Lutherans in the United States, having celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its organization at the meeting held in Hagerstown, Maryland, six years ago.

But historically our attention is drawn, rather, first, to the controversy between the Missourians and Buffalonians and Iowans, which began some sixty years ago, and which first

called general attention to this question among the Lutherans of this country.

This controversy took its rise from a pastoral letter (Hirten-brief) addressed by Rev. J. A. A. Grabau, in 1840, to a number of German pastors and congregations who had emigrated to this country from Germany the year before to escape from the persecutions of the Prussian government for refusing to become members of the United State Church of Prussia, and had settled in or near to Buffalo, New York. This letter was intended to warn the congregations to which it was addressed against unworthy ministers. By way of enforcing this warning, Pastor Grabau discussed quite fully the doctrine of the Church, and especially of the ministry and the "rite vocatus" required by the Confession, Article Fourteen; and also the kind and degree of authority which the pastor may exercise in and over the congregation. On all these points he took very high ground, maintaining, among other things, that a pastor who had not been called according to the old Lutheran orders was not a true minister and had no right to exercise the office of a minister, that such a pastor had no right to grant absolution, and that if he should administer the Lord's Supper it would be no true sacrament, but simply bread and wine, etc.. He also maintained that the people were bound to obey the pastor in all things not contrary to God's Word, even in matters of business, etc.

He further emphasized the following five things as essential to a proper call:

"1. That the one called should not only be able to properly administer the sacraments, but that he must have a thorough knowledge of them, by whom and for what they are given, and why they are celebrated as they are, etc.

"2. The gifts of the Holy Spirit, enabling a man to use his knowledge rightly in admonishing, warning, etc.

"3. That a man be examined, or proved, by tried and worthy servants of the Church.

"4. That he be publicly ordained, and

"5. Installed in the congregation to which he has been called."

You will observe that ordination is made an essential part of

a regular call, and Pastor Grabau insisted that ordination confers not only the right, but also the power, to execute the office of a minister effectively. He further insisted that no congregation should be allowed to call a minister without the coöperation of the synodical ministerium.*

A copy of this letter was sent to the Saxon ministers in Missouri, afterwards known as the "Missourians" and they were invited to give their opinion in reference to it, which they did in due time. But, in most points, their views differed very materially from those of Grabau, and in some important matters they were diametrically opposed to him. Their views of the office of the ministry, and of the call, and of church government, seem at that time to have been fashioned after some of the most extreme utterances of Luther in his earliest writings, and embodied an extreme congregationalism. Hence they were not at all satisfactory to Grabau, and called forth from him a very severe rejoinder, which was again answered in like spirit. Thus there arose a very bitter controversy, which continued for several years, and was finally transferred to the synods of Buffalo and Missouri when they were organized, the first in 1845, and the second in 1846.

This discussion resulted in the clearer and fuller definition of the views of the Missourians, which seem to have undergone some modification during the discussion, and they were given expression in a series of nine theses on the Church, and ten on the ministry which were adopted about 1851. These theses form the basis of Dr. Walther's *Kirche und Amt* so frequently referred to in subsequent discussions of these questions. As this deliverance is official, and represents the extreme congregational view of the ministerial office and call, held among Lutherans in this country, the ten theses on these two topics are quoted in full:

"1. The holy ministry or pastorship is an office different from the priesthood, which belongs to all Christians.

*See Lutheran Cyclopedia, Synods V. Also Wolf's *Lutherans in America*, p. 413, *et seqq.* Ev. Rev. Vol. IV., p. 413, *et seqq.* MS. Lectures on American Church History by Prof. J. L. Neve, Western Theological Seminary.

"2. The ministry is not a human ordinance, but an office instituted by God himself.

"3. The ministry is not an optional office, but one whose establishment has been enjoined upon the Church, and to which the Church is ordinarily obligated to the end of time.

"4. The ministry is not a peculiar order of superior holiness, standing in contrast with the common order of Christians, as the Levitical priesthood did, but is an office that serves others.

"5. The ministry has the power of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments, and the powers of a spiritual court.

"6. The ministry is conferred by God, through the congregation, which possesses all Church power, or the power of the keys, and through its call, given in the manner prescribed by God. Ordination by the imposition of hands upon such as have been called, is not of divine appointment, but is an apostolic and churchly ordinance, and only a public and solemn confirmation of the call.

"7. The holy ministry is the delegated power to exercise all the rights of the spiritual priesthood in a public office for the common good, which power is conferred by God through the congregation as the possessor of the priesthood and of all ecclesiastical power.

"8. The ministerial office is the highest office in the Church, and from it all others are derived.

"9. The ministry is entitled to reverence, and to unconditional obedience when the preacher proclaims God's Word, but has no lordship in the Church, and has, therefore, no right to enact laws, arbitrarily to establish matters of indifference, and ceremonies in the Church, or to threaten or inflict excommunication without the previous knowledge of the congregation.

"10. To the ministry also belongs, of divine right, the office of judging doctrines, but the laity have likewise the same right, and are therefore entitled to sit and vote in church councils and synods."*

*See *Evangelical Review*, Vol IV., pp. 430, 431.

One of the most important contributors to the growth of the Missouri Synod, in its earliest years, was the evangelical and devout pastor William Loehe, of Neuendettelsau, in Germany. Through his efforts a society was formed as early as 1841 to train young men and send them to America as missionaries. Quite a number of these had become associated with the Missourians, but when the controversy between Grabau and the Missourians waxed warm, Loehe was soon drawn into it, as his sympathies were with Grabau rather than with Missouri. This led first to friction, and then later to separation, as the Missourians refused to hold fellowship with Loehe and his pupils. As, however, these latter could not entirely accept the hierarchical position of Grabau and the Buffalonians, they were rejected by these also, and this resulted in the formation of a new synod, the German Synod of Iowa, organized in 1854.

Loehe and his students occupied a kind of middle ground in reference to this question of the ministry. Loehe had himself especially emphasized these three points :*

1. The office of the ministry is a calling wholly different from the universal priesthood. As a matter of course, the private Christian should pray, bear testimony to the truth, as over against the world, lead family worship, etc., but he has no authority to celebrate the sacraments, nor to bind and absolve.

2. The congregation, therefore, does not confer its rights when it calls a pastor, but God uses the congregation as an organ, or instrument, through which to confer upon the pastor an office which he never gave to the congregation.

3. The calling of a pastor should, only in exceptional cases, come from the congregation alone, without the coöperation of the officers of synod.

The views of the Iowa Synod are stated thus by Dr. S. Fritschel: "The Iowa Synod rejected the view according to which the ministerial office is derived from the visible Church, that it is originally vested in the individual members of the same in their spiritual priesthood, and by them conferred upon

*For some account of Loehe's views and of the difference between him and the Missourians, see *Ev. Rev.*, Vol. IV., p. 564 *et seqq.*

the ministers of the Church through their vocation to the holy office. The Iowa Synod agreed with Missouri in so far as it taught that the holy office was originally and directly given by God to the Church, but differed from Missouri in so far as it maintained that the office was given to the Church in its totality, not to its single members, and that the Church possessed the office in and with the means of grace, not in the spiritual priesthood and in the state of grace of its true members. And if the conferring of the office takes place in accordance with a regular call by a single congregation, it is not on account of the true members of the invisible Church that may be hidden in it, but because the Church, which in its totality possesses the office, and which is as well invisible communion of the spirit as visible communion of the means of grace, is in its totality and essence existing even in the smallest individual congregation, where two or three are met together in the name of Jesus."*

The controversy between the three synods already referred to awakened considerable interest throughout the Lutheran Church in America, and even in Germany. Especially were those bodies in the United States interested in which the German language was generally used, because they naturally had more access to the literature developed than the English speaking bodies. The Joint Synod of Ohio made an official deliverance on the subject at its sessions in 1868 and 1870, in the form of seven carefully prepared theses. These theses present a view of the ministerial office and of the call to the ministry, still less heirarchical than that of Iowa, and yet not quite so democratic as that of Missouri. They make the office of the ministry to be at once a divine institution, and the work of the spiritual priesthood, and so do not make the former a mere transfer of the latter. They also emphasize the importance of ordination more strongly than Missouri does.

The theses are as follows :

"1. There is in the Christian Church a universal priesthood which consists in this, that all Christian people have the right

**Distinctive Doctrines and Usages, etc.*, p. 69.

and duty to show forth the praises of him who has called them out of darkness into his marvelous light.

"2. But there is also in the Church a public office instituted by God, usually called the pastoral office (Pfarramt) to publicly preach the gospel, to administer the sacraments, also to exercise Christian discipline and order in the congregation.

"3. There is a difference between the evangelical pastoral office (Pfarramt) and the universal priesthood, for the priestly calling of all Christians must not be confounded with this office of service (dienstlichen Beruf) in the congregation. This difference does not consist in that the public ministry (Predigtamt) has another Word, Baptism, Absolution and Lord's Supper, to administer in the Church. On the contrary all believing Christians have, according to their priestly calling, the right and duty, without a public call, to be occupied with the Word of God, and also, in case of necessity, to baptize and absolve.

"4. The Church, *i. e.*, all Christians, have the keys originally and immediately from Christ, and are possessors of the spiritual priesthood; but it does not follow from this that every Christian is a pastor.

"5. The pastoral office is not a human arrangement, but a divine institution, although its establishment (Aufrichtung) is a work of the spiritual priesthood.

"6. The call to the pastoral office comes from God, but not immediately, as with the prophets and apostles, but mediately through men, *i. e.*, through the Christian congregation.

"7. Ordination, strictly speaking, is no divine requirement, but it has been the practice of the Church, since the time of the apostles; it is not absolutely necessary but is an ecclesiastical necessity (kirchlich nothwendig). It does not convey official gifts (Amtsgaben), yet it is a blessed confirmation of the call through the Church, (which ought to proceed according to the existing order in the Church); and in the normal state of the Church ordination should be conducted by those already in the pastoral office."*

*Geschichte der Synods von Ohio, by Peter and Schmidt, 1900, pp. 192, 303.

Those who are familiar with Prof. M. Loy's excellent little book on *The Ministry*, published in 1870, and especially those who have read the article on *The Ministerial Office*, in the *Evangelical Review* for January 1860, (Vol. III., p. 311) by Professor D. Worley, both of the institutions at Columbus, Ohio, will know that even in so strictly confessional a body as the Ohio Synod an official deliverance does not necessarily express the views, or carry the convictions of every member of the body.

Hence, in turning now to examine the views obtaining in the General Synod, which so far as your lecturer knows, has never given forth any official statement on the subject, we need not be surprised to find considerable diversity of opinions. It is true that the General Synod has adopted the Augsburg Confession as a part of its doctrinal basis, which would, of course, carry with it the approval of the two articles which deal with the office of the ministry, and the Call, the Fifth and the Fourteenth. But it has already become apparent that the adoption of the Augsburg Confession, and even of all the other symbolical books, according to the strictest sect of Lutherans, still allows room for a great variety, and very wide divergence of views, in reference to both the office of the ministry and the "rite vocatus." Thus we have the extreme hierarchical views of the Buffalo Synod, and the extreme democracy or congregationalism of the Missouri Synod, and the moderate hierarchical teaching of Iowa and the moderate congregationalism of Ohio, all most strenuously held, and insisted on, by those who are so strictly loyal to all the confessional writings of the Church that they will have no fellowship whatever with each other, nor with anyone else who differs with them in even the smallest particulars.

Inasmuch as we have no official deliverance from the General Synod on the subject under consideration, the only available plan to get at the teaching among us seems to be to present a digest of the views of the professors in our leading seminaries.

Naturally enough we begin with the views that have been taught, and are now being taught in the seminary here at Gettysburg. If we go back and begin with the first professor, Dr.

S. S. Schmucker of blessed memory, we shall find, what need not at all surprise us under the circumstances, that his views were considerably tinged with Puritanism, and that not much emphasis is laid on any of the points which are peculiar to our own Church. In his *Popular Theology*, beginning with page 218, under the caption "Of Ministers," we find the following: "The views of the Lutheran Church touching the ministerial office may be embraced in the following features:

"a. This office was instituted by divine authority, and all Christians are bound to regard faithful ministers as servants of Christ and messengers of God.

"b. All the incumbents of this office are, by divine appointment, of equal rank. (This point is developed very fully).

"c. No man has a right to assume this office without a regular call, Rom. 10 : 15. This call may be divided into internal and external. By the former is meant the conviction of the individual that God has designed him for this office. This conviction is not at the present day produced in an immediate, extraordinary or miraculous manner, as in the case of the ancient apostles and prophets. God has prescribed a regular mode, according to which the ministry is to be perpetuated, and we have no right to expect a needless deviation from it. These ordinary evidences of a call are, first, *undoubted piety*, John 3 : 3; Luke 6 : 39 ; secondly, at least mediocrity of talents, 1 Tim. 3 : 2 ; thirdly, a desire or at least an ultimate willingness to serve God in the ministry, Matt. 4 : 20, 22 ; and fourthly, *the coöperation of divine providence* by the removal of all insuperable difficulties. * * * By the latter, or external call, is intended the regular induction of an individual into the ministerial office by one, Titus, 1 : 5, or if possible several, 1 Tim. 4 : 14, existing ministers, with prayer and the laying on of hands, or, as it is usually termed, by ordination."

You will observe that there is nothing here about the universal priesthood, and nothing about the rights of the congregation, and that the external call is practically made identical with ordination. The main stress is laid on the internal call, piety and providential co-operation.

We pass now to Dr. James A. Brown, my own revered instructor, to whom I am under many obligations, and for whose great ability and learning all his students had the profoundest respect. His early training had also been received under Puritan influences, and this had probably somewhat influenced his views on some phases of church life and polity, but his views on the subject in hand were mainly in accord with those of Luther and the dogmaticians as already expressed. There is still perhaps, a lack of due emphasis on the universal priesthood, in connection with the office of the ministry, and of the rights of the congregation in giving the call, but both these are recognized. Quoting from his *Lectures on Church Polity*, as dictated to his students, and dropping for the sake of convenience and brevity, the catechetical form of question and answer in which they were given we have the following statements: "The theory or doctrine of the ministry has been, and still is, a point of much dispute. The different views have ranged from that of a hierarchy, on the one hand, to what may be called democracy on the other. In the New Testament Church the ministry was not, apart from the apostles, a well defined and separate order of men. There were ministers of the Word and ordinances, but the universal priesthood of believers was then a practical truth, and yet there was a line of distinction. The general truth, that of the ministerial office, is clearly enough contained in the New Testament, Matt. 28 : 19, 20 ; 2 Tim. 2 : 2 ; and this resulted in a fixed ministry ; and the ministry as an office, but not as an order, we hold to be of divine institution.

"The office was supplied :

"1. By divine call, 1 Cor. 12 : 28 ; Eph. 4 : 11 ; 1 Tim. 4 : 14 ; Col 4 : 17 ; 2 Cor. 3 : 6-9.

"2. By a solemn setting apart to the work, 1 Tim. 4 : 14 ; 5 : 22 ; 2 Tim 1 : 16. This last was not a necessity, but has apostolic sanction and is in every way desirable."

"The Lutheran view of ordination may be stated thus :

"1. That no one should officiate publicly, or administer the sacraments, unless duly called and set apart, (Augsburg Confession Article XIV) on account of the general teaching of the

sacred Scriptures, good order, sound doctrine, and the satisfaction both of ministers and people.

"2. That churches have the right to call and ordain their own pastors. Schmalcald Articles, Art. X. and Appendix to the same.

"3. That for the sake of order and propriety this duty is entrusted to duly authorized bodies, as ministeriums or synods.

"4. That the solemn laying on of hands with prayer and other appropriate services is retained according to apostolic and ancient usage.

"This solemn responsibility [of ordination] may be most appropriately entrusted by the Church to the ministerium, because :

"1. Being a delegated power it can as well be delegated to a ministerium as to a synod.

"2. Ministers are best qualified to judge of the qualifications of those who should be admitted to the ministry.

"3. Ministers, in the Lutheran Church, alone have any corresponding obligations resting upon them."*

The true Lutheran view comes out much more clearly and strongly in Dr. C. A. Hay's *Lectures on Pastoral Theology*.† Under the head of "qualifications of the pastor," after insisting earnestly on "genuine piety" as the first requisite, he continues :

"As the second item in the list of qualifications for the holy ministry we enumerate *the Divine Call*.

"Surely no one should undertake so special a work as that of the gospel ministry without having been specially called to it. Rom. 10 : 15.

"This call is either mediate or immediate. The first preachers of the gospel were *immediately called* by the Master himself. Matt. 4 : 19; 29 : 10. This immediate call was accompanied by the gift of the power to work miracles, Luke 10 : 19. This gift was necessary in the beginning of the Church's history, but was withheld, together with the immediate call, when the Church

*For a fuller presentation of Dr. Brown's views upon this last point, and upon the general subject, see articles in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. III., p. 93; and Vol. VI., p. 81.

†As dictated to his students.

was firmly established. Any persons now claiming to have an immediate call to the ministry may properly be required to furnish evidence thereof by their ability to perform miracles as a divine attestation of their claims.

"The *mediate call* to the ministry is a twofold summons by the Holy Spirit, viz., (1.) through the divine Word; and (2.) through the Church.

"1. The Holy Spirit through the application of the truth to the heart and conscience, awakens in the soul an ardent longing for the privilege of persuading men to be reconciled to God, an inner impulse to go forth to break the bread of life to those who are perishing for lack of knowledge. * * * Nor is this desire easily quenched by difficulties and discouragements that may oppose its accomplishment. * * *

"2. This mediate call by the Holy Spirit through the truth, is followed by another call of the same spirit *through the Church*. To the Church, the whole Church, has been committed the duty of setting apart those who shall serve her in word and doctrine, Acts. 1 : 15, 22 : 23; 1 John 4 : 1.

"3. The Church built upon this truth is, at the same time, the pillar and ground of the truth, *i. e.*, she is set to defend and preserve it. To do this she must have the power to choose for herself sound and faithful teachers, and to reject those who corrupt the divine Word, 1 Peter 2 : 5; Rev. 1 : 5, 6. Here we are taught the royal priesthood of all true believers, and this the Church exercises by such of her members as she calls and sets apart for the work of the ministry. * * * This formal setting apart she executes by the hands of those already in the sacred office, whom she has already called and acknowledged as overseers of the flock, and who are expressly charged to lay hands suddenly on no man.

"No call to the ministry is complete unless thus sanctioned by a direct, or indirect, endorsement on the part of the Church. Ordination is the public and official setting apart of a member of the Church to the work of the ministry by the laying on of hands of the Presbytery, *i. e.*, of those already in the sacred

office. * * * It should never be performed unless the person seeking it has already been specially called by some particular church to become its pastor, for its true import is the official recognition and endorsement of just such a special external call. The only allowable exceptional case is that of those who are called and set apart by the Church for special missionary work, (*ordinatio sine titulo*)."

Still more clearly and positively Lutheran, if possible, are the views taught by the present occupant of the chair of Ecclesiastical Theology in this Seminary, showing how steady and healthful has been the development here, and in the General Synod, towards a true Lutheran consciousness, and a positive and hearty understanding and acceptance of the evangelical faith of our Church.

In his *Lectures on Symbolics** Dr. Richard says:†

"The Church is an organized body. It has its parts and offices. What may be the right of every one is not necessarily the duty of every one. The office of the ministry does not vacate the universal priesthood of believers, neither does this latter take away the necessity for the office of the ministry. Order and efficiency in preaching the gospel and in administering the sacraments requires the office of pastor and teacher. But those who exercise this office do not constitute a class of persons different from other Christians. The chief emphasis must be placed on the words: 'teach and preach publicly in the Church.' It is the public ministerial function which is guarded by the Confession. No one should undertake to discharge this public function without an orderly call.

"The 'orderly call' has reference to the *mediate call*, or the call mediated through properly qualified persons, 1 Tim. 3 : 1 ; Titus 1 : 5. In this way God is the author of pastors and teachers in the Church, Eph. 4 : 2. The Ephesian elders were constituted pastors by the Holy Ghost, Acts 20 : 28. But this 'orderly call' belongs to the entire Church, not to any one part of it, because .

*Second Cyclostyled Edition, p. 119, *et. seqq.*; see also p. 86 under Art. V., Augsburg Confession.

†All citations from authorities given by Dr. Richard in his lectures are omitted from these extracts.

the office of the keys belongs to the entire Church, Matt. 18 : 18, 19.

"The call properly includes ordination, or the formal dedication of a person to the office of the ministry which is usually performed by the ministry in the name of the church, by the laying on of hands, 1 Tim. 4 : 14."

We quote also from Dr. Richard's *Lectures on Church Polity*,* under "The Ministry of the Church," the following :

"The call to the ministry is twofold, *immediate* and *mediate*. In the Old Testament God called men to be prophets and preachers *immediately*, that is, without human intervention. Witness the call of Moses, Ex. 3 : 4-15; Jeremiah, Jer. 1 : 4-7; Ezekiel, Ez. 2 : 3. In the New Testament apostles were called immediately by Christ, Matt. 10 : 1. Paul was called immediately by Jesus Christ and by God the Father, Gal. 1 : 1. His call was not in any sense mediated by human instrumentality. Under the new dispensation the difference between apostles [and ordinary ministers of the Word] is especially prominent in the nature of the call. The call to be an apostle was special, and the work of an apostle was special. The special call ceased with the special character of the work. Hence the apostles had no official successors, neither is there such a thing as an apostolic succession of bishops in the Church. Those ordained by the apostles, as Timothy and Titus, were ordinary ministers of the Word and of the sacraments.

"Our Church and its teachers maintain, with one accord, that the right, power and duty of calling ministers, resides with the Church as a whole. * * * But as regards the divine character of the call our teachers make no difference, since whether immediate or mediate, it is equally from God, and has promises of divine favor, although a preëminence belongs to those immediately called."

Under the subject of "ordination," through which Dr. Richard says that "the special and lawful call is made known," Gerhard's definition of ordination is adopted ; "Ordination is a solemn and public declaration or testimony by which the ministry of the

*Second Cyclostyled Edition.

Church is committed by the Church to a person suited to it. In this ministry the person is consecrated by prayer and the laying on of hands, is certified of his lawful call, and is solemnly and earnestly admonished of his duty publicly in the presence of the Church, wherefore we preserve inviolate the rite of ordination in our churches."

Dr. Richard then continues: "Against the absolute necessity of ordination, as taught by the Roman Catholic Church, our theologians teach that it is not *absolutely* necessary, but that it must be retained in accordance with apostolic and ancient customs. The Scriptures on which it rests are, Acts, 6 : 6, 13 : 3 ; 1 Tim. 4 : 14, 22 ; 2 Tim. 1 : 6. But these are not direct divine commands. Our teachers also reject the idea that ordination imparts *character indelebilis*, or that it confers gifts *ex opere operato*, by which the work of the ministry is performed, as the Romanists insist."

In criticism of the views of Loehe, the founder indirectly of the German Iowa Synod, he says: "A very unlutheran view of the ministry is that of Rev. William Loehe of New Dettelsau, Germany. * * * The logic of the Loehean theory of the ministry is *sacerdotalism*, that is, that the ministry is essentially a priesthood, and that the efficiency of the sacraments is determined by their administration through the priesthood."

In reference to the examination of candidates, and their actual induction into the office of the ministry, Dr. Richard says: "But while we claim for the entire Church the right and power of calling and ordaining the ministry, yet for the sake of good order, and as a matter of eminent fitness, the examination and induction of candidates into the sacred office should be conducted by the clergy. * * * They who have the office should induct others into it, not by a prescriptive right, but because of the law of fitness. Our Church teachers are generally agreed on this point. And such has been the practice of our Church throughout her history."

You will observe that nothing is said by Dr. Richard about the necessity of a call from a specified local congregation to become its pastor, prior to ordination. With this exception his

views are in substantial agreement with the doctrine of the call held by the Missourians.

Attention may also be called here to the views of Dr. E. J. Wolf of this Seminary, as presented at the General Conference of Lutherans in Philadelphia, in 1899, and reported on pp. 246, 7 of the Proceedings of the Conference. He is there reported as saying "that the individual congregation, and not the synod or ministerium, has the exclusive right of calling a man and thereby making him a minister. He did not believe in a special grace or charism being conveyed by the laying on of clerical hands. * * * He challenged the right of any body of men to ordain a candidate until he presented a call from some congregation, or, it may be, a mission board. * * * He also claimed that when a man ceased official ministrations he practically ceased to be a minister. * * * Lutheran theology recognizes no distinction between a layman and a so-called clergyman, unless the latter fills the office of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments." This is congregationalism of the extremest type, and ought to satisfy the most radical advocates of the doctrine of the ministry and the call held by the Missourians. Indeed, it is a question whether the Missourians themselves would go so far as this.

We now turn to Wittenberg Seminary at Springfield, Ohio. So far as we have been able to learn, Dr. Samuel Sprecher, who for so many years taught almost the whole course in this institution, did not deliver any formal lectures covering the subjects under consideration, but used Knapp's Theology as a guide, or basis, freely commenting on the text.

Knapp's views are, no doubt, well known. He holds that the Christian office of teaching was instituted, or appointed by Christ. The apostles and evangelists were immediately called by Christ himself. Of other offices and teachers, not appointed immediately by Christ, he says:* "In the early Church they were not always appointed in the same way and by the same persons; certainly no rule was given respecting this point which should be binding in all places and at all times. * * * But

**Knapp's Christian Theology*, p. 477.

all these teachers and overseers, appointed either by the churches or their rulers and representatives, were regarded in the New Testament as appointed by God, or the Holy Ghost, or Christ, *e. g.*, Acts 20 : 28 ; Col. 4 : 17 ; because their consecration took place on his authority, and according to his will." Ordination is commended as "useful both to the teacher himself and to the Church ; but in itself considered it is not a matter *juris divini* ; it is nowhere expressly commanded by God, and contributes nothing, considered as an external ceremony, to activity and efficiency in the sacred office. * * * It can be performed by anyone who is commissioned to do it by the Church, or by their functionaries and representatives." Of course the fact that Dr. Sprecher used Knapp's Theology as a text book does not, by any means, carry with it the implication that he approved of all Knapp's views. His opposition to the ministerium, as organized in connection with most of our synods, is well known, and this would indicate a tendency towards a low, or democratic, view of the ministry as an office, and also of the call.

Dr. L. A. Gotwald, who was the first regular professor in the chair of Practical Theology at Wittenberg, has treated the whole subject at great length in his *Lectures on Church Polity*.* The fact that Dr. Gotwald's views differ, in some important points, from those taught by his successor, and though rejecting all sacerdotalism, incline more to the position held by Loehe and the Iowa Synod, seems to justify, and require, a somewhat full and careful statement of them.

I. On the relation of the office of the ministry to the universal priesthood he takes decided ground against the theory of a mere delegation of rights and functions (*uebertragungstheorie*) apparently taught by Luther in his earlier writings. He says : "Among the things left behind, or discarded by the apostles, in the organization of the New Testament Church, was the sacerdotal or priestly ministry. The break in this respect between

*The writer is indebted to Rev. J. N. Lentz for a most excellent manuscript copy of these lectures as dictated to his students by Dr. Gotwald, from which all extracts are made.

the old and new, is both abrupt and complete. The name priest (*ιερευς*) is never once even named among the New Testament Church offices. The common priestly function now belonging to all believers is not sacerdotal at all in the Old Testament sense of a priesthood, and is not indeed an office at all.

“What we call the universal priesthood of believers is rather simply an individual privilege, a characteristic of all Christians, as Christians, by virtue of which, or because of their union with Christ, through him as the one and only Mediator, or Priest, between God and man, they can personally and directly, without the mediation of a human priesthood, offer their spiritual sacrifices to God.

“And here a great point becomes apparent, viz., that as the term priests now applied to all believers refers so evidently to no sacerdotal functions whatever, and means no special office whatever, the ministry cannot, as some have maintained, be resolved simply into a delegation by the Christian community of certain priestly functions to those whom we call ministers. That is, there is, independent of the universal priesthood of believers, the ministerial office. Though in connection with a universal priesthood, the office of the ministry is different from the priesthood. It was instituted in entire disconnection with all real sacerdotalism, and since it means, largely, the preaching of a crucified Saviour, it is an office that has in it more than the common priesthood of believers involves.”

II. Under the topic “The Manner of Appointment of Elders in the Primitive Church,” he says again: “This brings us to the heart of the contested ground in the doctrine of the ministry. The question which here presents itself is: Whose right is it to call men into the ministry? Is the choice and appointment with the Church, as such, *i. e.*, with the organized body of believers including ministers and laity, or is the ministry a self-perpetuating body, having in itself alone the sole right of the choice and appointment of men to the ministry?”

After examining at length all the Scripture passages bearing on this point, he continues: “There is no express statement, or assertion, that the people did really choose their presbyters; yet,

on the other hand, the possibility that they did must also be admitted. There is room, therefore, for honest difference of opinion upon this point. * * * In our Lutheran Church it has always been an open, or undecided question, whether the power to choose men and induct them into the ministerial office belongs democratically to the Church as an organic whole, or aristocratically to the ministry exclusively. * * *

“We reach then certain conclusions, and among them the following :

“1. That the appointment to the ministry is not shown to belong by absolute divine authority to those who are in the ministry, or that a self-perpetuating presbytery is the only scriptural method of teaching. In some way the right of the Church, as the Church, must be acknowledged in the mode of appointment. The authority of the call, primarily, is of course from God, mediately through the Church.

“2. That in view of the principle that the ministry is a chosen representative of the Church in a given and properly defined relation, presbyters acting for the Church in synodical capacity or as a ministerium, may properly, by the consent of the Church, express the Church’s choice in the call of men to the ministry. In such cases the ministry act, not personally, or from themselves simply as ministers, but representatively and with delegated authority for the Church.

“In our modern system which ordains men to the ministry as an office, not simply for a local pastorate but for the general service of the Church wherever a congregation may call them, this representative and delegated call and ordination seem eminently proper, and seem almost the only feasible method.

“3. The so-called ministerium may properly represent the Church in this appointment of men to the ministry. This may be done, not on the ground of exclusive or inherent divine right, on the part of the presbytery alone, to appoint successors in the ministry, but on the principle of delegation, and on the ground of expediency.

“The appointment, in the system adopted in the Church, is for the Church in general, and not for the local congregation,

and is therefore made by a delegated body representing the general Church; and since it is thus made for the Church at large, not directly by the Church herself, but by a delegated and representative body from the Church, this delegated or representative body should consist of those best qualified to act wisely and safely for the Church in this capacity. That the ministry is the best qualified to act in this capacity can scarcely be a question. * * * Not a synod, therefore, composed of laymen as well as ministers, but purely a ministerium, a presbytery, composed only of ministers, ought to compose such delegated body.

"4. That the act of ordination, strictly so called, belongs of course to the body of presbyters, and to them alone. The rite of formally inducting the accepted candidate into office is distinctly declared to be 'the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.' Acts, 6 : 6, 14 : 23; 1 Tim. 4 : 4."

Dr. Gotwald's discussion of this last point is exceedingly interesting and important as being the only formal attempt, of which we know, to explain and defend the method of calling and ordaining men to the ministry so generally followed in the General Synod, namely, by the action of the synod, or ministerium, without requiring in every case, or indeed in any case, a prior call from a local congregation. The question may be raised, does he make out his case, and is his position sound? It seems to us that his position is a sound one and that his argument is valid. It proceeds upon the principle so clearly recognized by Prof. Kewenauer in the seventh of the theses already quoted (see p. 470) when he says: "Who shall practically exercise this right of calling men into the ministry which theoretically belongs to the entire congregation, must be left to the historical development of the congregation." The same principle seems to be recognized also by the Ohio Synod when they say of ordination that it "ought to proceed according to the existing order in the Church." We may quote also, in support of this principle, a remark made by Prof. Theodosius Harnack in his

Kirchen-Regiment when, after discussing ordination, which he declares to be "no sacrament, but an act of benediction which presupposes and confirms the inner spiritual dedication, and in which the Church publicly attests and ratifies the call to the ministry in general," he continues: "The installation imparts the rights to exercise his spiritual calling in a particular congregation. The old principle; 'Nemo ordinatur sine titulo,' no longer corresponds with the present wants of the Church."*

Luther and the dogmaticians certainly recognized the same principle practically, whether they ever did it theoretically or not, when they gave to the magistracy a part, with the ministry and the people, in the "rite vocatus." They certainly never found any precedent for this in the New Testament, or in the Apostolic Church. It was a concession pure and simple to the "existing order in the Church," the "historical development," as a result of which they found Church and State united. No one in this country, where we have the free Church, seems to find any difficulty in ignoring the "magistracy," in the call to the ministry, though their recognition is insisted on by all the old theologians. Why then may we not make this further concession to "historical development," and recognize and use, as perfectly legitimate and valid, the method of calling ministers through the synod or ministerium, as a representative body to which the Church as a whole has, by common consent, delegated the right which, primarily, belongs to it? In fact if we hold fast to the most generally accepted theory of ordination among Lutherans, that it is a mere certification of the call, this seems to be the only way by which the right of the ministry to have a part in the "calling" also is fully recognized and protected.†

The only point on which I might differ with Dr. Gotwald is his insistence on the delegation of this right directly and at once to the ministerium. It would seem to be better, more in

*Neostyle Edition of translation by Dr. H. E. Jacobs, pp. 39, 40.

†See remarks of Dr. Seiss at Luth. General Conference, p. 247 of *Proceedings*.

accord with Lutheran teaching and polity, that the synod composed of both ministers and laymen, should do the electing, or "calling," in the name of the whole Church. This would not at all prevent the ministry from conducting the examination and the formal service of ordination in behalf of the synod, as Luther and all the theologians teach that they should do, and as they always have done in the entire history of the Church.

If the objection be still made that this would imply ordination without a call to a local Church, or congregation, against which the theologians pronounce with almost united voice, it may be said that there is good authority and precedent for this also. Dr. George Rietschel, formerly Superintendent and Rector of the Preachers' Seminary at Wittenberg, now Professor of Practical Theology at Leipzig, in a pamphlet on *Luther and Ordination* (Luther und die Ordination) published in 1883 refers to the original records which give a full list of all the candidates for the ministry ordained at Wittenberg from 1537 down to the close of the eighteenth century. From this list it appears that quite a number of those ordained even in the earliest years of the Reformation, from 1537 to 1560, were ordained without having yet received a call to a local congregation. Some of them were simply ordained "unto a future pastorate."* This ought to furnish pretty good authority for at least occasional exceptions to the general rule, or law, and it may be added that such cases are really exceptional even among us, as the great majority of those ordained by our synods, even under our present system, have actually already received calls from local congregations.

When, however, we come to Dr. Gotwald's teaching on ordination we have more difficulty. Here he goes farther even than Loehe, and very nearly coincides with Grabau. He says: "According to some, ordination does not confer power, but only *office* and ecclesiastical authority to exercise the functions of the office, not *δυνημις* but *εξουσια*. Personally, however, I can-

*See original pamphlet, p. 25 *et seqq.* Also a review of the same by Dr. A. Spaeth in the *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. IV., pp. 47-48.

not believe that ordination confers nothing at all, or that ordination is only, and merely, an impressive human ceremony."

After quoting Paul's words to Timothy, 1 Tim. 4 : 14 ; 2 Tim. 1 : 6, and calling special attention to the terms used, he continues: "Such language plainly indicates that ordination is more than a mere impressive ceremony. It clearly teaches that more than mere external authority, or office, is conferred in ordination. It clearly teaches, if it teaches anything, that a subjective, inner spiritual gift or grace of some kind, is, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, that is in ordination, bestowed. What that gift bestowed is, I do not know; how to define it, I do not know; what exactly is the meaning or degree of it, I do not know. I simply hold middle ground, believing, as Paul teaches concerning Timothy's ordination, that a divine spiritual gift of some kind, and in some measure, is in ordination conferred.

"The question, whether, when a man has been once ordained, *i. e.*, made a minister, he is necessarily always a minister, must be answered in the negative. And in so far as, in ordination, there is the bestowal of any gift or grace, by the Holy Ghost, that also surely may be withdrawn, because of the man's neglect of that gift or grace, just as any gift or grace of the Holy Spirit, when neglected or misused, not only may be lost, but we know is lost." *

The views held and taught to his classes by Dr. Gotwald's successor at Wittenberg, Rev. D. H. Bauslin, D. D., differ considerably from those just presented, and indicate a stronger sympathy with the position held by the Missouri Synod, except for the strong emphasis laid on the inner call, or "movement of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the individual." He even seems to make this the chief thing in the "rite vocatus," rather than the call from the Church. Dr. Bauslin has kindly furnished me the following statement of his teaching, which I am permitted to quote:

*See Dr. Gotwald's Lecture on the Fourteenth Article of the Augsburg Confession, in the First Series; *Lectures on the Augsburg Confession*, p. 451 *et. seq.*

"I. The ministry, as an office in the Church, is of divine appointment, and is essential to the existence of the visible Church. It is a vocation, an ambassadorship, and not a mere profession. It is a sacred office whose functions are performed in some sense by divine authority. It is not,

"1. A hierarchical order in which ministers are priests to the exclusion of all other believers.

"2. It is not dependent upon any outward and merely hypothetical succession. There are in the ministry no transmitted spiritual functions, no vocational monopoly in the transmission of grace.

"3. The ministry is not identical with the universal priesthood of believers. The recognition of the blessed and scriptural idea of the spiritual priesthood does not confer upon each individual believer the right to exercise the public ministry of teaching and administration. For the sake of good order this right should not be assumed by all, but only by a limited number to whom the rest have, in a way of public recognition, delegated their rights. Not every Christian, in our Lutheran conception, because we emphasize the universal priesthood of believers, should assume the public ministry of the word and sacraments.

"II. The call to the ministry involves certain natural endowments and certain acquired attainments in the cultivation of the endowments. * * * The immediate call to the ministry is no longer given. * * *

"The 'rite vocatus,' or the proper call to the ministry, is to be found in a true movement of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the individual leading him, through his study of the Word of God, to a clear and heart-felt conviction that it is his duty to seek the holy office of the ministry as the vocation in which he can best labor for the divine glory.

"III. Ordination is not the call to the ministry, and it is not therefore a rite by which men are invested with ministerial authority. It is a ceremony of the Church by which the call is publicly recognized. The Church, no more than the ministry, or the individual believer, possesses any esoteric word by which to appoint ministers and transmit grace. There is no magical

power inherent in its decisions. They avail only when they are in accord with the Holy Scriptures. Accordingly ordination does not confer the essential qualifications and the divine authority of the sacred office, but is the official recognition by the Church of the gifts and graces requisite for the office of the ministry, and the public and solemn induction of the candidate, by a rite of the Church, into such divinely appointed office

"Should the question be asked: Should one be ordained who has not yet received a call to a pastorate? the answer should be, no; because ordination is the declaration and attestation of the call, and accordingly, when no call has been made by the visible Church, by the congregation of believers, ordination ought certainly not be conferred."

Having dwelt so fully on the views held and taught in these two leading seminaries of the General Synod, it does not seem necessary to continue the investigation to the other three seminaries at Hartwick, Selinsgrove and Atchison. Attention may be called, however, to Dr. Zeigler's *Pastor*, and also to the paper on *The Lutheran Estimate of Ordination*, read at the "First General Conference of Lutherans in the United States" held in Philadelphia in 1898, by Dr. J. R. Dimm, one of the professors in the theological department of Susquehanna University at Selinsgrove. The points of special interest in this paper are: 1. The stress laid upon the "internal call" which, he says, "if genuine, is immediately from God." This is a departure from the common Lutheran view which makes even this inner call "mediate," through the Word of God. 2. He makes ordination to be a part of the "rite vocatus," "its consummation and completion," whereas, as has been apparent all through this discussion, the ordinary Lutheran view makes ordination to be simply the ratification and public testification of the call, which is complete without it.*

So far as known to your lecturer, no specially characteristic views are held, or taught, in either the General Council or the United Synod of the South, nor has either of these general bodies ever made any official deliverance on this subject.

*See *Proceedings of Lutheran Conference*, p. 237.

An article by Dr. H. E. Jacobs on *The Lutheran Doctrine of the Ministry*, published in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October, 1874, p, 557, may perhaps be referred to. The headings of the several sections will give a sufficiently clear conception of the views of the author. They are as follows: "1. The ministry is not a heirarchical order. 2. It is not dependent upon any outward succession. 3. It is not identical with the spiritual priesthood. 4. A private Christian, notwithstanding his spiritual priesthood, dare not, without a call to the office, exercise any of the special duties pertaining to the ministry, except in cases of extreme necessity. 5. The immediate call is no longer given. 6. No immediate inner call is known in holy Scripture. 7. Is there then no inner call?" Under this question he says, that our Lutheran dogmaticians "recognize a true movement of the Holy Ghost upon the mind of the individual, in leading him through the study of the outward word of God, to the conclusion that it is his duty to seek the holy office." "8. The call is given through the Church. 9. The Church, in communicating this call, must be constrained thereto and guided therein, solely through the word of God as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. 10. The call communicated by the Church proceeds, (a.) not from the ministry alone; (b.) nor from the people alone; (c.) nor from the magistracy alone; (d.) but from the whole Church, both ministry and people, and where Church and State are united under devout Christian rulers, the magistracy also. 11. That each portion of the Church may discharge aright the duty entrusted to it in the call of ministers, a certain fixed and definite order is desirable. 12. The call has reference to a particular place. 13. Ordination is not the call and, therefore, is not a rite by which men are invested with ministerial authority. It is only a ceremony by which the call is publicly recognized."

Rev. J. A. W. Haas said at the "General Conference," in the discussion over his own and Dr. Dimm's papers. "I cannot accept the theory of Höfling and Walther, nor can I go as far as Kliefoth and Loehle. I would rather, in general side with Philippi. The ministry is given to the Church with the means

of grace. The Church fills it but does not create it. The Augsburg Confession (Article V.) connects the ministry with the Word and sacraments. Christ brought the ministry and gave special foundation work to the apostles, for which he gave them his spirit (John 20 : 22). The apostolate was not continued. It ceased. But the ministry was continued in another form. The apostles and their helpers appointed elders, *i. e.*, ministers, upon the vote of the Church (Acts 14:23; Titus 1:5) "*.

The fact that Dr. E. T. Horn's *Evangelical Pastor*, published in 1887, and drawn largely from Dr. C. F. W. Walther's *Pastoral Theology*, was so cordially received and heartily approved in the United Synod of the South, may be taken as indicating the views generally held in that body.

And now, what is the conclusion of the whole matter? Is there any way of reconciling these diverse views, or of formulating a clear and definite Lutheran doctrine of the ministry and of the *rite vocatus*, that can be pronounced authoritative and final and that can be used as a touchstone by which to distinguish the true from the false in all the views presented, or to determine conclusively which view is true and which is false? I trow not. Every one of the authors quoted can, and does, appeal to good Lutheran authority in support of his views, and of nearly every peculiar shade of view presented. So we end where we began, by recognizing the fact that beyond the few general principles fixed by the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical writings of the Church, we have no definitely fixed Lutheran doctrine on this subject.

Neither is this a matter to be greatly deplored, as it allows room for liberty and for the exercise of that private judgment, both of which are so dear to Lutherans. It is in entire harmony, also, with the spirit of the New Testament, which gives us only a few great, broad landmarks, or general principles, for the organization and government of the Church, but leaves the details to be worked out and regulated by the Church in each age and land, according to its historical development, and the circumstances which may arise. Surely this was much better

*See *Proceedings of General Conference*, etc., page 250.

than that it should have given us a hard and fast system, complete in every detail, which could by no possibility, human or divine, have been adjusted to the needs of all time and of all peoples.

The trouble has always come from the theologians and dogmaticians who have tried to find in the teachings and practice of Christ and his apostles what never was there, and especially with those who, in the exercise of a narrow and sectarian spirit, have been ever ready to denounce and unchurch all who do not agree with them in every detail even of things indifferent, and will allow nothing on which they have reached a conclusion to remain any longer an "open question." If this comparative study of the Lutheran views of the "rite vocatus" shall help to rebuke this spirit of bigotry, and to encourage, as over against it, a spirit of liberty and charity, your lecturer will feel that he has not wrought for nought.

There are, however, a few points of a practical nature, which seem to deserve some attention in connection with this discussion, before closing.

1. *The Question of Licensure.* This system by which a candidate is invested temporarily, before full ordination, with all the functions of the ministry, has no place or standing, historically, in our Lutheran system, and is not recognized by any of our old dogmaticians. It was adopted in the early days of the Church in this country, when ministers were scarce, when we had no regular institutions in which to train candidates for the ministry, and when many unworthy men, taking advantage of the situation, sought to impose themselves on the pastors and churches, and only too often succeeded. It was based, doubtless, on Paul's advice to Timothy to "lay hands suddenly on no man," (1 Tim. 5 : 22), and in that day, and for the purposes sought, was no doubt a wise and useful expedient. But as it is now practised in most of our synods of the General Synod in which theological students are licensed at the end of the second year of their course in the seminary, and are then expected to return to the seminary to complete their course, and to be reg-

ularly ordained at the next meeting of the synod, it is a question whether it is either wise or expedient. In our judgment it has served its day and would now better be dispensed with. We are in hearty sympathy with the remark made by Dr. C. A. Hay on this subject: "To give a license to perform all ministerial acts is to make a man at once, in all essential respects, and in the opinion of the community at large, a fully empowered minister of the gospel, and his subsequent ordination is a mere empty echo of a momentous grant already bestowed."*

2. *Limited Calls.* Another anomaly, from a Lutheran standpoint, which has grown up in the Church in this country, and become quite prevalent in some parts of it, is the limited pastoral call; that is, a call to serve a congregation or pastoral charge for a limited time, usually for one year, sometimes for two or three years. This abuse of the pastoral relation receives little or no notice from the old dogmaticians for the reason that the possibility of such a thing could hardly have suggested itself to them with their conception of the ministerial office and call. But many of the more recent theologians, especially in this country, do discuss it, and they all, with one consent, denounce it as unreasonable, unlutheran and unscriptural. If such a system could find any endorsement anywhere it might be supposed that it would be among the Missourians with their extreme congregational view of the Church and ministry, and of the *rite vocatus*. But Dr. Walther says: "A congregation has no right to give such a call, and a preacher is not justified in accepting it. Such a call is not valid before God, nor is it legitimate. * * * The preacher who gives a congregation the authority to call and dismiss him at will, makes himself a hireling, a servant of men. Such a call is not at all the call to the ministry which God has ordained. It is not a call of God through the Church, it is a contract between men; it is no calling but a transient function outside the divine order, an arrangement made by men contrary to God's arrangement, and therefore it is grievous disorder."† The way to cure this evil in our

**Lectures on Pastoral Theology.*

†Quoted in Horn's *Evangelical Pastor*, page 54 *et seqq.* See also Prof. M. Loy's *The Ministry*, page 179 *et seqq.*

churches is for all our ministers to refuse ever to accept such a limited call.

3. *The Demitting of the Ministry.* The Romanists teach that ordination confers a *character indelebilis*. Hence their theory is "once a priest always a priest." Even deposition and excommunication cannot destroy the priestly character nor take away the priestly functions of a man once ordained. He is simply a deposed, or excommunicated priest, forbidden by his ecclesiastical superiors to exercise the functions of his office. This view the Lutherans utterly rejected and strenuously opposed. Hence they recognized the fact that a man may be deposed from the ministry for unworthy conduct or false teaching, or may voluntarily lay down his office, and that in such a case he becomes a simple layman, with the same standing in the Church that he had before ordination. And this has been the prevailing theory of our Church in this country.

But what, it may be asked, is then the status of a minister who because of failing health, or because of old age, or for worldly gain, retires from the pastoral office and ceases to hold a pastoral relation to any congregation? In Germany this question seems never to have been raised, probably because such cases seldom if ever occur there. But in this country the prevailing practice has savored largely of the Romish conception, "once a priest always a priest." Such men among us have generally, almost universally it might be said, continued to be recognized as ministers, and to exercise the prerogatives of ministers, other than that of occupying the pastoral relation. In many cases they marry, baptize, bury the dead, and exercise other ministerial functions, sometimes to the great annoyance of settled pastors, and not seldom to the serious injury of the work. They pose before the community as ministers, even when engaged in secular business, sometimes to the scandal of the office because their business methods and transactions are not strictly honorable or honest. Is this right? We think not. But, at the same time it is very difficult to formulate any rules, or to reach any general principle, by which to determine each particular case. Certainly no one would wish those who have

grown old in the work of the ministry, and are no longer able to exercise the pastoral office, nor those who are only temporarily disabled, or are temporarily without charge, to lay down the ministerial office. But it does seem that those who, before old age has come upon them, are permanently retired from the active ministry by reason of any bodily infirmity, and those who, though ordained, have not been called to serve any church and have no prospect of being so called even after years of waiting, and especially all those who have turned aside from the specific work of the ministry to engage in secular business, whether through necessity or from preference, ought to lay down the ministerial office and title, and return really to the ranks of the laity, as they actually have done practically. We believe that this would be more in accordance with the Lutheran conception of the ministerial office and of the call, and that it would also be a practical gain both to the ministry and to the churches. The opportunities to such men to do good would be increased, rather than diminished, by such a course, vexatious interference with the work of regular pastors would be avoided, and the apparent excess of ministers would largely disappear.

4. *Who shall prepare for the Ministry?* If the *rite vocatus*, or regular call to the ministry, now comes mediately through the Church alone, and finds its expression only in an election by some local congregation to become its pastor, or even in the approval of and ordination by some synod or ministerium, how may a man know, before having received such election or ordination, that he is called to the ministry so as to give himself to a suitable course of study in preparation for it? This question seems, at first, to expose a real difficulty and weakness in the Lutheran conception of the *rite vocatus*. But the difficulty largely disappears when we remember that this expression "rite vocatus," or a "regular call," is evidently used of the formal and official call from the Church, or from God through the Church. This, of course, must be given at some definite time and in some specific way. But long before this there may have been a recognition on the part of the Church, in an informal way, of the possession by a boy or young man, of suitable gifts or

graces especially fitting him for the ministry, and also an expression of such judgment in the form of advice, or suggestion, or even of earnest exhortation, none of which should be lightly disregarded. The possibility of an inner conviction of duty, wrought by the Holy Ghost through the Word, is also recognized by our theologians. Indeed such a conviction is necessary before a man can enter upon the work of the ministry, and prosecute it, with any sense of assurance and joy. But sometimes this conviction comes earlier, and sometimes it comes later. Sometimes it precedes the formal call, or even any suggestion from others of a probable fitness for this office. Sometimes it comes after, and is the result of the suggestion or formal call, or of both together. But such conviction is seldom if ever so clear and strong as to be irresistible. In this, as in other things, men may stifle their convictions of duty, and stubbornly refuse to do God's will. Hence the advice sometimes given to young men "not to enter the ministry if they can possibly stay out of it," however well intended, and however much it may savor of a certain kind of pious devotion, does not seem to be either wise or scriptural. It is either mere pious platitude, or it is born of a Calvinistic conception of the divine sovereignty and irresistible grace. It savors also of that spirit of fanaticism which looks, even in these days, for an immediate call from God, and which often, in the belief that it has received such a call, ignores the call from the Church, or sacrilegiously presses forward into the sacred office in spite of the lack of such a call. Rather should we teach and exhort young men to yield to the judgment and obey the advice of their elders and superiors in the Church, and especially of their pastors, and to be ready to give themselves to a course of preparation for this great work even though their own inner convictions of duty may not yet be very clear or strong.

May it not be said, also, that here as elsewhere, certainty can come only as the result of experience. When a young man enters upon a course of study for the legal or the medical profession, or on a course of training for business, he cannot know certainly that he is really called to be a lawyer, or a doctor, or a

business man. And many discover at last that they were not. So a man may think that it is his duty to become a minister, yet future developments may show that he was mistaken. But such a mistake is no discredit to him, if he was honest and conscientious in his course, and if he yields cheerfully to the facts when he discovers his mistake. What is discreditable, is for a man of unworthy character, or of insufficient talents, or of limited training, to try to force himself into the office against the judgment and advice of all his friends and instructors.

And now, finally, allow me to congratulate you, young brethren, on the fact that you are here preparing for this office and work; an office instituted by Christ himself, and a work that well

“might fill an angel’ heart,
and filled a Saviour’s hands.”

I trust that you are all impelled, and sustained, by a conviction that you are in the path of duty, and by a sincere desire to serve God and your fellowmen in the office and work for which you are preparing. If you continue in your course you will doubtless all, in due time, receive the formal and official call from the Church, which is recognized in our polity as the true *rite vocatus*. And, then, as you go forth to the exercise of the office and the actual doing of the work of a minister, may it be “in the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ,” (Rom. 15 : 29), not counting your lives dear unto yourselves, so that you may finish your course with joy, and the ministry which you have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God, (Acts, 20 : 24).

ARTICLE II.

HARNACK'S WESEN DES CHRISTENTHUMS.

BY GEORGE U. WENNER, D. D.

In May of last year there was published in Germany a small volume entitled *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, the essence of Christianity. It consists of sixteen lectures delivered by Adolf Harnack before the students of all the faculties of the University of Berlin. The lectures were received with great enthusiasm and their publication is an event in the theological world.

Dr. Harnack is the son of the late Dr. Harnack of the University of Dorpat. He is only fifty years old, although for thirty years he has been a recognized leader in scholarship. After a successful career at Marburg, he was called in 1888, at the age of 37, to Berlin, to the chair once held by Neander. Against the universal opposition of the orthodox sentiment of Germany the call was confirmed, the tradition being that the professor in the university must have absolute freedom.

Among positive theologians his work has generally been received with disfavor. Two of the most important replies are a volume by Prof. Walther and one by Dr. Rupprecht. Others, while rejecting the conclusions of Harnack, regard it as an aid to faith, comparable in some respects with the Monologues of Schleiermacher which were published on the threshold of the Nineteenth century. Schleiermacher was not orthodox, but he was a prophet who prepared the way for Christ. Harnack does not say everything that a sound Lutheran ought to say. But in these lectures he gives a place to Christ and his teachings which must have deeply impressed his hearers. To the intellectual world which had no further use for the Man of Nazareth it must have been a revelation to hear what this leader of liberal thought had to say concerning him.

With majestic mastery of the material, Harnack combines simplicity and clearness of style, so that he is easily understood.

In a few bold strokes he presents in plastic outlines whole periods of history and enables us easily to comprehend the most complicated problems.

Among the foes of Christianity in Berlin, if any came to hear the great liberal pronounce sentence against it or even to subject it to destructive criticism, they were disappointed.

Alluding to John Stuart Mill's remark that humanity could not often enough be reminded that there had once lived a man by the name of Socrates, he declared that it was of far greater importance that men be reminded that Jesus Christ had once lived among us. While in a general way people were aware of this fact, it cannot be said that the character of the instruction which is given in the non-theological departments of the universities is calculated seriously to impress this upon the minds of the students. Some think Christianity is closely related to Buddhism and that its glory consists in a renunciation of the world and in the principles of pessimism. Others regard it as an optimistic religion, a sublimated Judaism. Still others say that it has lost its Judaism and through some mysterious influx of Greek ideas it has become a ripe fruit on the tree of Hellenism. Philosophers declare its secret is metaphysics, and the Ritschlians say it has nothing whatever to do with philosophy. Finally the very latest apostles assure us that it has nothing to do with any of these, except that they are its outward shell. The real secret of Christianity is that it is a social movement and that Christ is the Redeemer of society.

To those who declare that the whole question is of no importance, that a history and a person of nineteen hundred years ago have nothing to do with the present, Harnack shows that what we are and have we owe to history. The gospel is a living power, and whatever confusion may exist in many minds in regard to it, the question as to its essence and value is occupying men's minds far more than it did thirty years ago.

What is Christianity? This question he proposes to answer purely from the historical standpoint. The simplest answer is: *Jesus Christ and his gospel*. And yet simple as this answer is, it is not enough. For every great man or movement can be

understood only when we ascertain the impression which he makes. Hence we must find the impression which was made on the apostles, and on the first generation of Christians. Nor is this enough. Since it is not merely a doctrine but a life, we must trace it to its product. Not merely its roots must be known but its utmost branches, blossoms and leaves. In this difficult task it is for the historian to separate that which is temporary and accidental from that which is essential and permanent. His method is to consider first the gospel itself, then its impression upon the first generation, and finally its metamorphoses in history.

The sources of Harnack's information in regard to the gospel are chiefly the *Synoptics*—the historicity of these books has been completely restored. John's gospel on the other hand is not an original document—it was composed for a purpose—but as a proof of the impression which Christ's preaching made upon the first generation, it is a document of the highest value. The accounts of the miracles do not invalidate the credibility of the books, because in those days everybody believed in miracles. But Harnack does not need miracles and so they may be excluded. For the same reason the story of the Nativity and of the childhood of Christ may be left out. Strange too, because it is not John, but the Synoptics who tell this part of the story. What then is the gospel, the preaching of Jesus? It may be represented in three concentric circles each of which contains the whole message:

First, the Kingdom of God and its coming. It is not only that which is to come, but it is here already; it is the dominance of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of men. It is supernatural, a gift from above and not the product of the natural life.

Secondly, God the Father, and the infinite worth of the human soul.

Finally, the exceeding righteousness, (*περισσέυση δικαιοσύνη*) and the command of love. For the whole gospel may be presented as an ethical message.

Harnack then considers the gospel in its chief relations:

First to the world, or the question of asceticism. Christianity is not asceticism, for the good things of the world belong to God and not to the devil. But three enemies we must destroy : mammon, anxious care and selfishness ; and it demands the love which serves and sacrifices.

Secondly to poverty, or the social question. The gospel does not set up a social program, but it compels us to recognize the poor not as servants but as brethren, and our wealth not as a possession but as a trust.

Thirdly to civil law, or the question of secular ordinances.

Fourthly to labor, or the question of civilization.

Fifthly to the Son of God, or the question of Christology.

Lastly to doctrine, or the question of confession.

This completes the first eight lectures in which he gives an account of the gospel and its relations.

The second eight lectures present the history of the Christian religion in its chief features as developed in the Apostolic, Catholic and Protestant ages. That is, the impression which it made on the first generation followed by its metamorphoses in history.

The Apostolic age had three characteristics : 1. The recognition of Christ as the Lord ; 2. Religion as an experimental matter ; 3. A holy life in expectation of Christ's early advent.

1. Christ was the *Lord*, not simply as a teacher but because of his *sacrifice* and of his *resurrection*. No fact of history is more certain than that these views were not originated by Paul, but that in proclaiming them, Paul simply stood on the foundation of the original church.

Putting aside all speculation as to the need of a sacrifice and particularly as required by the Divine Father, the fact remains that the sacrifice of Christ put an end to all other bloody sacrifices. That there was a need for such sacrifices, the universal practice shows. This need was satisfied in the sacrifice of Christ. "For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified," Heb. 10 : 14. Whatever a man's theories in regard to substitution may be, there are few who do not at least acknowledge the inner justice and truth of Isaiah 53 ;

"Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." The more delicate a man's moral perceptions are, the more certainly he will apply to himself the results of such a sacrifice. No amount of rational reflection will ever be able to erase from the moral ideas of humanity the conviction that unrighteousness and sin demand punishment. Scoffed at and denied, as though it no longer existed, this view continues imperishable in the heart of humanity. These were the thoughts which from the beginning were awakened by the death of Christ and which led to the conclusion that by his sufferings and death something decisive had been accomplished and that what he did, he did *for us*.

But he was proclaimed and believed as the Lord not only because of his sacrifice but because he was the *Risen*, the *Living One*.

On this subject Harnack distinguishes in Ritschlian fashion between the Easter Message and the Easter Faith.

But he concludes: "One thing is certain, that from this grave originated the imperishable faith in a victory over death and an everlasting life. Say nothing about Plato or the Persian religion or the later Jewish writers. They all would have perished and have perished. But the certainty of a resurrection and an everlasting life that sprang from the grave in Joseph's garden has not perished, and the conviction that Jesus lives is to-day the foundation of our hopes of a citizenship in an eternal city which makes earthly life tolerable and worth living.

To the sketch of the Apostolic Age belongs Harnack's picture of St. Paul. Paul was the most distinguished personality in the history of early Christianity. Nevertheless opinions in regard to him differ widely. Up to a few years ago, prominent Protestant theologians could be found who declared that Paul had corrupted the Christian religion with his rabbinical theology. On the other hand, there were those who designated him as the real founder of the Christian religion. But the great majority of those who have studied him testify that he was in truth the one who best understood the Master and continued

his work. This judgment is correct. History shows him as only Christ's missionary, and so we must regard him as that disciple of Jesus, that apostle, who not only labored more, but who also accomplished more than did all the rest.

It was Paul who led the Christian religion forth from the confines of Judaism. This is plain from the following considerations:

1. It was Paul who so construed the gospel that it became the message of an accomplished redemption, of a present salvation. He preached the crucified and risen Christ who has made access for us to God and thus brought peace.

2. It was he who recognized the gospel as something new, by which the religion of law was set aside.

3. He recognized that this new stage was open to all, and he made of Christianity a universal religion.

4. It was he who gave to Christianity a language that could be understood not only by the Greeks but by humanity, and thus brought it into contact with the intellectual resources of universal history.

But while Paul deserves honor for looking beyond the letter, and understanding the spirit of Christ's teaching, none the less do the personal disciples of Christ deserve credit for accepting, after many an inward struggle, the principles of Paul. Peter certainly did, and of the others we know that they at least recognized their validity. It was a great thing to recognize a message that seemed at least in some important respects to vary from the original one, and that signified an overturning of the religion of Israel. Here history showed in a way that could not be misunderstood the difference between the kernel and the shell. Shell was the entire judaistic limitation of Jesus' preaching. Shell was such a word as "I have not been sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." In the power of the spirit of Christ the disciples broke through these limitations. The personal disciples of Christ—not the second or the third generation—stood the test. This is the most important fact of the Apostolic Age.

Without robbing it of its essential characteristics Paul

changed the gospel into a universal religion, and thus laid the foundation of the Church.

A marked change took place about the year 200. The Christian Church became an ecclesiastico-political machine. A distinction was made between priests and laymen. Mediation was essential everywhere, in doctrine, in discipline, in the Book. Living faith was changed into the faith that had to be believed. This period is the *Early Catholic* age. Harnack asks two questions in regard to this age: 1. How did it come to pass? Did the gospel maintain itself in the changed order?

1. *How did it come to pass?* One reason was that the original enthusiasm evaporated and a religion of law and forms took its place. Just as in our day. The first Lutherans were converted and fought for their faith. The later ones were born Lutherans and got their religion more easily. The first Methodists had their anxious bench, the later ones do not believe in excitement. This in spite of Tertullian's dictum *Fiunt Christiani non nascuntur*. Another reason was the infusion of the Greek spirit. The Christian spirit evaporated, the Greek took its place. This is the greatest fact of the second century. It took place in three successive steps, and was continued in later centuries. A. D. 130 it was Greek philosophy which entered the Church. A hundred years later Greek mysteries and Greek civilization came in, and finally, another hundred years later, all Hellenism came and settled down in Christianity. The most important of these steps was the entrance of Greek philosophy, when Christian apologists found the equation, the Logos is Jesus Christ. The unintelligible word Messiah was transmuted into a word which was understood by the intellectual world of that day. It gave a metaphysical significance to a historical fact, and was a tremendous proof of the power of the preaching concerning Jesus. But Harnack claims that it led away from the simplicity of the gospel, and did not lead with certainty to the God whom Jesus Christ proclaimed.

A third reason for the great change in the Church to its Catholic form, was the appearance of acute Hellenism all along the line in the form of Gnosticism. It was a life and death

struggle, but the Church maintained an uncompromising attitude and gained the victory. But it was at a price which has frequently found an analogy in history. The conquered made the laws for the conquerors. In this case the price paid was the establishment of fixed forms in cultus and discipline through which the liberty of the Church was forfeited.

Did the gospel maintain itself in the changed order?

In viewing this period one cannot help admiring the pronounced victory of the Church over all the adverse influences of the times. But on the other hand one misses much. No one may consider himself a child of God unless his experience and knowledge have been submitted to the norm of the Church confession. Nor is it possible for a Christian ever to be quite free from the control of the priest and the liturgy. What is now recognized as the Catholic type of piety, as distinguished from Evangelical or Protestant, began at that time.

Again, Hellenism was conquered, but the Hellenistic idea that religion is primarily a doctrine found its place in Christianity. It was a great thing that the religion of "slaves and old women" should thus master the proudest development of antiquity, should melt down its treasures and recast them in its own mould. But on the other hand the center of gravity was changed. The question, "What must I do to be saved," which had a simple answer from Christ and the apostles, had now to be expressed in an extensive creed with all paragraphs of equal importance.

Again, the Church had become a great institution and men's hope of salvation was made dependent upon it. The gospel itself was no longer proclaimed as glad tidings but rather as a rigorous law.

Nevertheless, the gospel had not lost its power. It was an age of martyrs such as Perpetua and Felicitas. In the writings of Clement of Alexandria, a Greek in his whole fibre, there is testimony of experimental knowledge of the living God. The Church, in spite of its outward form, was a true brotherhood, and it had a controlling influence on the hearts and lives of its members.

The Greek Catholic Church has undergone no change. What she was in the third century she is in the twentieth. To her credit may be placed the victory over heathenism and polytheism in all the wide borders which she controls. The Greek gods died between the third and the sixth century, not a violent death, but as a result of general debility. Church and religion have become identical with national life. A Greek Christian will suffer himself to be cut in pieces before he will deny his religion. (In the recent massacres three thousand Armenians were slain, though they could have saved themselves by simply raising one finger. They said we are no better than our fathers. We can die but we will not deny Christ).

But when these two facts have been mentioned, all has been said that can be placed to the credit of the Greek Church. This is all she has accomplished.

Characteristics. These are complicated and difficult to determine. In general it may be said it is not a Christian book in Greek binding but rather a Greek book in a Christian binding. In its appearance it is a nature religion, the culmination of the old Greek religion. Its elements are *traditionalism*, they continue in the apostles' doctrine; and secondly, *intellectualism* or Orthodoxy. This is a relic of its old fight with Gnosticism.

Two other elements that characterize the Greek Church are *ritualism* and *monkery*. As to the first, religion consists in the careful attention to a vast number of details in ritual. There is no other way of attaining to the knowledge of God. It is a religion of signs and formulas and idols. As to monkery, that seems to be the one corrective that remains for the evil effects of a distorted ritualism. It stands for experimental religion. If you ask a Russian Christian to-day: "Who is a true Christian?" he will say: "The monk. He does not talk about religion. He practices true Christianity in his life." Has the gospel maintained itself in the Greek Church? Harnack believes that the word of Jesus, even though it is only murmured by the priest, still reaches many a heart. Tolstoi's stories are a picture of life as it is, and they reveal in many a peasant and lowly

priest a simple trust in God, a delicacy of moral perception which unquestionably are a reflex of the Master's life.

Upon the whole the system of the Greek Church is something foreign to the gospel. Piety has been depressed to a lower plane, to the antique standard. But the gospel still exerts its own power over the lives of some individuals who attain to the freedom of the children of God and speak the language which every Christian understands.

The Roman Church is the most comprehensive, most powerful, most complicated, and yet most homogeneous formation which all history has produced. All the powers of the human mind and soul and all the elemental forces over which humanity has command, have aided in constructing this edifice.

What has she accomplished? Two things First: She has brought up the Romanic-Germanic nations. She gave a Christian civilization to the youthful nations, and not only once for all, as did the Greek Church, but for a thousand years she continued to superintend their training. Down to the 14th century. After that they went their own way in paths which were not indicated by her and on which she was unwilling to go.

Secondly: In Western Europe she has maintained the independence of the Church over against the State.

Characteristics: 1. Catholicism. This requires no illustration. Second: The Latin Spirit. Very early the idea arose in the minds of the Latin fathers that salvation whatever its source or character, could only be communicated in accordance with the provisions of a contract. God showed his mercy in making the conditions, but watches jealously for their fulfillment. The content of revelation is *lex*, the Bible as well as tradition. The legal idea pervades the whole system, the doctrine, the discipline and the organization of the Church. Connected with this is the continuation of the Roman Empire.

For those who have read Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* it is not necessary to give Harnack's illustrations on this point. The pope is the emperor. Peter and Paul are Romulus and Remus. The bishops and archbishops are the proconsuls, the priests and

the monks are the legions, and the Jesuits are the imperial bodyguard.

3. Augustinianism. This element is the direct opposite of the preceding one, and yet the two have maintained themselves side by side. Augustine's soul had found the living God. He thirsted for him and found peace in him. That which had separated him from God was sin. That which had found him and brought him back to God was grace. To the freedom of St. Paul, "forgetting those things which are behind and reaching forward to those things which are before," he never attained. He was a sinner consoled, this continued to be the complexion of his Christianity. And so emphatically, so powerfully did he express this thought that for fifteen hundred years people continued to experience what he experienced. To this day the living piety of the Catholic Church is substantially Augustinian.

The fact is that when Augustine came the Church had no inner life to offer him. They were compelled to capitulate to him and have never since been able to get rid of him. This accounts for the tremendous paradox of these two characteristics in the same body. They oppose and modify each other, but nevertheless continue to exist side by side.

In regard to the third question, as to the modifications which the gospel has undergone in the Roman Church and as to how much of it survives, Harnack requires only a few words. The Church as such, with its claim of divine authority, has absolutely no connection with the gospel. It is not a question of a distorted gospel, it is a total inversion. Christ says: "My kingdom is not of this world." The pope says it is. Christ leads his disciples out of the religion of politics and ceremonies, and confronts them with God. In the Catholic Church men are bound with chains to an earthly institution and compelled to obey, and when they have done so they may come to God. The days were when Roman Christians shed their blood rather than worship Cæsar. In these days, if they do not altogether worship him, Romanists at least commit their souls entirely into the keeping of an imperial pope.

Protestantism. At first sight what a scanty affair. But it is the most beneficent movement of all Christian history. It means millions of people adherents of a religion that knows no priest, no sacrifice.

As a protest against Catholicism it reveals itself in two aspects: In respect to doctrine it is a Reformation, in respect to the Church or ecclesiasticism it is a Revolution.

As a Reformation in its relation to the doctrines of salvation, it did three things: 1. It restored the gospel to its central place. From the composite mass which used to be called religion, which included the gospel and holy water, the universal priesthood and the pope, the Redeemer and Saint Anna, religion was reduced to its simplest factors when Luther victoriously proclaimed that the Christian religion is found alone in the word of God and in the inward experience which corresponds to this word. 2. It gave a clear definition of the Word of God and experience. Luther's "Word of God" was not Christian doctrine, not even the Bible, but it was that proclamation of the grace of God in Christ which makes guilty and despairing men rejoice in Christ. Experience is the personal assurance of this grace. As Luther understood it, the thought may be stated thus: The confident faith that I have a gracious God. 3. It made a mighty change in the conception of worship. This consists in the Word of God and prayer. Besides these there is no worship.

In emphasizing these three points, Protestantism not only returned to the principles of the early Church, but brought forth to the light ideas which were in the Catholic Church itself, only they were covered up and concealed. Two supplemental remarks may be made here. First: The Church has no other marks than the fellowship of believers in which the Word is rightly preached. Nothing need be said of the sacraments, for according to Luther's view their significance depended solely upon the Word, they are the visible word. Second: Protestantism claims that Christian fellowship rests on the gospel, and that the gospel is contained in the Holy Scriptures. If that is so and there is no external authority, who is to decide on what

is the content of the gospel, and how it may be ascertained from the Scriptures. Unless there is an authority, confusion must ensue as may be seen from the history of Protestantism. This is the answer: The gospel is such a simple matter, Divine and therefore truly human, that it may best be recognized where there is the widest liberty; and that even in the individual souls it will produce substantially the same experiences and convictions. Doubtless many mistakes have been made, but nevertheless a true spiritual fellowship of evangelical Christians has been created and now exists. Amid all their differences there is that in true Christians which is common to them all and which is greater than all that divides them.

In another respect Protestantism was a revolutionary movement. The Church as it was had a legal standing and Luther strictly speaking was a rebel. 1. He demanded that the entire hierarchical church system be set aside. 2. He protested against all external authority in religion. 3. He repudiated the traditional liturgy and ritual. (The Lutheran Church indeed uses the historical service but only on aesthetical and paedagogical grounds and in so far as it may serve to the edification of the Church). 4. He protested against Sacramentarianism. Baptism and the Lord's Supper were retained on the one hand as symbols and on the other hand as acts deriving their value from the word. 5. He denied the existence of a twofold standard of morality, the higher and the lower. He broke the fetters of a false and unscriptural asceticism. He gave the real inspiration to modern life not by secularizing religion but by insisting that religion must permeate all life. In other words there is no distinction between the secular and the spiritual.

It is of course a futile task to attempt to give in a few pages an adequate view of these sixteen brilliant lectures, which are destined to produce a deep impression upon contemporary thought. The general value of that impression I believe will be good. It will introduce many a man to Jesus who will learn more from the Master than he learned from Harnack.

At the same time Harnack's Christianity is not the Christianity of the Church. He knows little of the merits of Christ

and his redemptive work. It is historically beyond doubt, Harnack admits, that Paul did not on his own account place the significance of the death and resurrection of Christ in the foreground, but in proclaiming it he stood upon the platform of the original Church. And Harnack says that no one understood Jesus so well as did Paul. And it is one of the Synoptics who reports that Jesus said that he had come to give his life as a ransom for many. But such difficulties do not trouble Harnack. He says we must overlook them. When a man's historical investigations have enabled him to obtain a comprehensive view of the whole system, such paradoxes may be taken to have some figurative significance which we do not understand.

So too in regard to the Resurrection. We must have the Easter faith without reference to the question of the truth of the message. Again the Synoptics have to be set aside, while Harnack himself admits that the early Church was victorious only because they believed and proclaimed the Resurrection.

And Christ the Son of God. Essential Christianity does not require it. Matthew the Synoptic it is true reports that he said: "All things are delivered unto me of my father, etc.," (II, 27). But that means something else. And when Jesus asked his disciples who the people said that he was, and beatified him who in the name of the rest declared him to be the Christ the Son of the living God, that is a matter on which even synoptic testimony must be modified to suit the requirements of modern science.

In summing up, we may well accept this book as an honest attempt to promote the cause of knowledge and of peace, as Harnack claims in his Preface. But on the other hand we must decline to accept it as the Christianity of Christ and of the apostles, or as that which has been believed in the Church *semper ubique et ab omnibus*.

ARTICLE III.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

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One may scarcely hope to write anything new concerning the Oxford movement. The literature on the subject is voluminous. Every phase of it seems to have been thoroughly exploited. But it is a subject of abiding interest—because of the actors in the movement, the historic significance of it, the principles involved, the methods employed and the issue of it in present-day tendencies, very active and self-conscious. And it is possible for us to have a better understanding of the elements which entered into that curious anachonism and to lay to heart its lessons for our own problems.

Of the many books and monographs dealing with this interesting chapter of the religious movements of the nineteenth century, "Catholicism, Roman and Anglican" by Principal Fairbairn and "The Secret History of the Oxford Movement" by Walter Walsh have thrown light upon less familiar phases of the movement, which amounts to nothing short of a new illumination of the whole. It is Principal Fairbairn whose keen mind has penetrated beyond the out-works of defence which for so long resisted approach and laid bare with the clearness of a demonstration the fundamental principles of this ecclesiastical revival, while Mr. Walsh, as the result of years of painstaking labor, has collected a wealth of evidence bearing on the several stages of the movement and the results of it, which forms an *expose* which is startling, to say the least. Of the work of the former no endorsement is needed. If any should be needed of the latter, these words of Dr. McLaren of Manchester ought to suffice: "Walsh's book on the Oxford movement is reliable to the full. It has created much irritation among the High Church party here, but I am not aware that any serious attempt to contradict it has come from them. They are bitter about its infer-

ences and 'tone', but they have not ventured to question its facts."

"Dr. Fairbairn's masterly exposure of Newmanism is some consolation for a half century of ecclesiastical imposture." Though his work has been so rapidly retailed during the past several years that its author's name has been separated from it, it is Principal Fairbairn who has showed that in the Oxford movement we have the English expression of the Romanticist tendency which characterized the earlier years of the nineteenth century. "Romanticism was a revolt against the reign of the classical and rational spirit in literature, with its intense individualism, its severe sense of justice and of personal rights." The Romantic movement was German in its origin. It was a name adopted by a number of young German poets—the Schlegels, Tieck, Novalis and others—who loved the realm of the imagination, and hated the rationalism that had expelled miracle from nature, and mystery from man. "The beginning of all poetry," they wrote, "is to suspend the course and the laws of rationally thinking reason, and to transport us again into the lovely vagaries of fancy and the primitive chaos of human nature." And again: "Poetry and religion are one. Man needs an imagination to interpret the universe, and he is happy only as he has a universe peopled by it and for it. These three—poetry, religion and imagination—are one, and are never found singly. When man has most religion he has also most poetry and is fullest of imagination; and the times when he had these three divine graces in the highest degree were the mediaeval." "Admiration for the past," as Principal Fairbairn adds, "though it was a past that was a pure creation of the imagination, easily became belief in the church that claimed it as its own; and so Romanticism in men like Stolberg, Frederick Schlegel and Werner, passed by natural gradation into Catholicism." The transition was easy and logical. "That which enchanted them in the idea of the Middle Ages," says Max Nordau, writing of the founders of this school in literature, "was Catholicism with its belief in miracles and its worship of saints. * * * The obscure symbolism of Catholicism; all the externals of its priestly motives; all its

altar service, so full of mystery ; all the magnificence of its vestments, sacerdotal vessels, works of art ; the overwhelming effects of the thunder of the organ ; the fumes of incense ; the flashing monstrance—all these undoubtedly stir more confused and ambiguous adumbrations of ideas than does austere Protestantism." *

The movement in England was not a simple one. The French Revolution had occurred, and the flush of the new insight and passion arising from that grim awakening, poured itself forth in poetry and romance before the spirit of the times had showed itself in sterner forms. Wordsworth had preached a new message of "admiration, hope and love" through nature as a medium ; Scott had evolved from the past visions of chivalry and nobleness, to rebuke, cheer and inspire the present ; Coleridge had made the speculative reason and the creative imagination twin sisters ministering to faith.† In politics the new sense of brotherhood had swept across the English Channel and was asserting itself. Liberalism was in the air. Everywhere a more genial spirit possessed men. To understand how inevitable was the influence of the new awakening upon the English Church the relation between Church and State in Britain must be recalled. Parliament is, in theory, the English people assembled for purposes of civil government ; the English Church, the same people associated for worship. The supreme legislative authority for both Church and State is one and the same. Ecclesiastical officers are, as to source and sanction, civil ; civil authorities appoint men to ecclesiastical offices. The Act of Uniformity was passed and enforced by the civil power, determining the terms of subscription and the persons to subscribe. The theory worked so long as the Church and the State were materially the same ; but the Reform Acts emancipated the Catholics and abolished the tests and declared that, for the *State*, dissent, whether Catholic or Protestant, ceased to be ; that to a man as a citizen the terms conformist and nonconformist could no longer apply. Dissenters could sit in Parliament and perform ec-

*"Degeneration," p. 73.

†See Fairbairn's "Catholicism."

clesiastical functions. The anomalies of the situation were many and the inexorable logic of it soon became manifest. "The Whigs were in the ascendant, with ample opportunity to gratify their traditional disbelief in church claims and their hereditary love of church lands. * * * The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Revenues was appointed, the bishops were advised to set their house in order, and almost half of the Irish Sees were suppressed. The outlook was not hopeful, and in the church camp there was rage not unmingled with despair."

This helps us to understand Newman's words: "The Reform agitation was going on around me. The Whigs had come into power; Lord Gray had told the bishops to set their house in order, and some of the prelates had been insulted and threatened in the streets of London. The vital question was: How were we to keep the church from being liberalized? There was such apathy on the subject in some quarters, such imbecile alarm in others; the true principles of churchmanship seemed so radically decayed. * * * With the establishment thus divided and threatened, thus ignorant of its true strength, I compared that fresh vigorous power of which I was reading in the first centuries. * * * I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination; still I always kept before me the thought that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. She was nothing unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation." *

Newman, more keenly than any of his contemporaries, saw the predicament of the English Church in the midst of the resurgent life of the age. Nothing was to be looked for from the old High Church party. Dry rot had struck its heart. "It was like an ancient dame whose pride is sustained by inveterate prejudices and the recollection of conquests in a time too remote to be pleasantly remembered." Moreover, the High Church

*"Apologia."

party was an anachronism. Its original theory has been built on the divine right of the king. But England had suffered the revolution of 1688 and the Hanoverian succession! The Broad Church party was "inchoate, perplexed, struggling out of its old formal latitudinarian policy into the new spirit, without, however, having found for its idea a form suitable for the century." The Evangelical party, from which more might have been expected because of its sound piety and its true reflection of English sentiment, was helplessly timid. "Its hatred of rationalism turned into fear of reason; it lived within its narrow tidy garden, cut its trees of knowledge into Dutch figures, arranged its flower-beds on geometrical lines, but was careful never to look over the hedge or allow any fresh seeds from the outer world to take root within its borders." The English Church presented an open field for strong and confident leadership. What that was to be, soon developed.

All the great movements of the Church in modern times have been *in principio* university movements. This one was no exception. It takes its name from the great conservative university of England. But Oxford was not conservative in those days. Whately, the great champion of free and honest thought, was leader then. Arnold, of Rugby fame, the great preacher of practical Christianity, the Church reformer and critical student of Scripture, was there; and Hampden, whose sin was his advocacy of the removal of religious tests from university qualifications, and who, to the great consternation of his opponents, in his Bampton Lectures, consistently contended for the supremacy of Scripture over tradition and the independence of spiritual religion to both theological nomenclature and sacramental usage. Oxford was developing critical scholarship. Whately's essays on "Some Peculiarities of the Christian Religion," and "Some Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul," Hampden's "Philosophical Evidences of Christianity" and The Bampton Lectures and Milman's "Latin Christianity" and "History of the Jews" revealed a spirit which to some threatened to turn the ecclesiastical world upside down.

To one man at Oxford the new Liberalism was nothing short of detestable. John Keble was consistently hostile to the new movement. He saw no good in Liberalism at all. He was an Anglican puritan. He could see nothing good on the other side. "He seems never to have conceived of any religious truth beyond the Church of England. All were false and wrong outside of it. * * * He delighted to see his little nephew under his teaching snapping at all the Round-heads and kissing all the Cavaliers." Mozley tells us that "he induced a number of his neighbors and friends to sign a protest against her majesty choosing a Lutheran prince for one of her sons' godfathers." *

But Keble was not a leader of men. He was happy in the seclusion of his Hurseley home writing the hymns which have immortalized his name. "Keble was a splendid instance of the truth that a man who makes the songs of a people does more than the man who makes their laws." It was Keble who created the sentiment of the Oxford movement. His hymns are "a perfect lyric expression of the Romanticist tendency;" in them "the mood of the moment speaks its devoutest feelings in fittest form." From Wordsworth Keble learned to look upon nature as a sacrament; from Scott he learned to love the past and seek his ideals in it. "His love of God became love of his own church, of what she had been, of what she was, and, above all, of what she ought to be; of her ancient movements, her venerable institutions, her stately ceremonial, her saints and her saints' days." But as Scott's past was the past of the poet's fancy, where noble birth meant noble being and only a knave could lift hand against a head that was crowned, so Keble's "pious meditation fancy-fed" dwelt affectionately in a Church which existed only in the ideal, but he sang of her so sweetly that his ideal became the goal of his contemporaries.

Keble's greatest contribution to the Oxford movement was his influence on Newman. If Keble was its pioneer, Newman was its organizing genius. Newman was an incarnate Romanticist. He says of himself, speaking of his childhood: "My

*Tulloch: "Religious Thought in Britain During the XIX Century."

imagination ran on unknown influences, or magical powers and talismans. * * * I thought life might be a dream, or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels by a playful device concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world. I was very superstitious and for months previous to my conversion (when I was fifteen) used constantly to cross myself on going into the dark.”* When he was fifteen, he tells us, he had a deep religious experience. Newman’s nature was very impressionable. What strikes us now as we read the story of his life as told by himself is the variety of influences to which he was in turn subject. His spiritual awakening was largely under Calvinistic influences: Romaine, Thomas Scott, Milner’s *Church History*, Newton on *The Prophecies*. To the first he confessed himself indebted for the certitude of his “inward conversion;” to the second he almost owed his soul; while by the last “his imagination was stained up to the year 1843” by the teaching that the pope was Anti-Christ. At the age of twenty-one (1822) he came under very different influences. He passed from Trinity College, where he had been graduated, into Oriel as a fellow, and joined the band of liberal thinkers who had been so long at work there. During his first year of residence he says that “though proud of his college he was not at home there.” He was “very much alone and used to walk by himself.” From 1823 to 1827, he was, according to his brother-in-law, Mr. Mozley, “identified with Whately.” “Probably no one who then knew Newman,” says Professor Tulloch, “could have told which way he was to go in the end.” It was Whately who said that Newman was looking “to be the head of a party himself.” It is generally admitted that he had a great love of personal influence. “From the first he attracted by his personality rather than by his intelligence,” adds Professor Tulloch, “by the authority rather than by the rationality of his opinions. He never seems to have understood any other kind of influence.”

The year Newman broke with Whately was the year Keble’s wonderful volume, his *Christian Year*, was published. Illness

*“Apologia.”

and bereavement, Newman says, contributed to the change that came over him. Hurrell Froude, whose acquaintance he had made in 1826, doubtless contributed more. In 1828 Froude brought Newman and Keble together. "Keble had previously been rather shy of me," says Newman, "because of the marks which I bore on me of the evangelical and liberal schools." But the conjunction of these two, under the guidance of Froude, laid the springs of the new movement which was soon to take definite shape.

Froude's great influence over Newman is one of our first disappointments in the Tractarian leader. "His opinions arrested and influenced me," says Newman, "even when they did not gain my assent." A glance over Froude's *Remains*, published after his death in 1836, gives us a clue to them. "Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more. How beautifully the *Edinburgh Review* (1835) has shown up Luther, Melancthon and Co." "Your trumpery principle about Scripture being the sole rule of Faith," etc. He "hated the wretched niggers," because they "concentrated in themselves all the whiggery, dissent, cant, and abomination that had been ranged on their side." What was to be expected from such offensive petulance as this? Newman evidently saw the weak points of his friend. He confesses that Froude had no turn for theology as such, and "no appreciation of the writings of the Fathers, or of the detail and development of doctrine;" and yet he adds: "It is difficult for me to enumerate the present addition to my theological creed which I derived from a friend whom I loved so much. He made me look with admiration toward the Church of Rome, and in the same degree to dislike the Reformation. He fixed in me the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and led me gradually to believe in the Real Presence." But Dean Church, the apologist of the Oxford movement, has given an adequate explanation of this influence. Keble had "moulded Froude" * * * "but Froude, in accepting Keble's ideas, had resolved to make them *active, public and aggressive*, and he

found in Newnan a colleague whose bold originality responded to his own."*

Newman and Froude went abroad together in 1832, and this visit gave new impulse to what Froude called "the great Conspiracy." Froude's *Remains* throws some light on this visit. While at Rome he and Newman visited Monsignor (subsequently Cardinal) Wiseman. "We got introduced to him to find out whether they (*i. e.*, the Church of Rome) would take us in on any terms to which we could twist our consciences." With reference to this remarkable visit to Rome, the Rev. William Palmer, who for ten years was one of the foremost leaders of the Tractarian movement (but subsequently retired from it because of its Romanizing tendencies, and who was the intimate friend of Newman and Hurrell Froude), tells us that "Froude had with Newman been anxious to ascertain on what terms they could be admitted to Communion by the Roman Church, supposing that some dispensation might be granted which would enable them to communicate with Rome without violation of conscience." Mr. Palmer adds that this visit to Rome was unknown to friends of Newman, and that if he (Mr. Palmer) had known the circumstances it is doubtful "whether he could have coöperated with him." Newman came away from Rome disappointed. When Dr. Wiseman asked him if he would not visit Rome again on his journey, Newman replied in the negative, adding, "I have a work to do in England." It was on the return voyage, he tells us that he "had fierce thoughts against the Liberals. A French vessel was at Algiers; I would not even look at the Tricolour;" and so hateful was revolutionary Paris, with all its beauty, that he "kept indoors the whole time" he was there.

Newman tells us, in his *Apologia*, that he ever considered and kept July 14, 1833, as the anniversary of the Tractarian movement. It was the day Keble preached his Assize Sermon—the very Sunday after Newman's return to Oxford. The sermon was a call to "all true sons to devote themselves to the cause of their Apostolic Mother," promising them that "the

*"The Oxford Movement."

victory will be complete, universal, eternal." In rapid succession followed the Hadleigh meeting and the appearance of the "Tracts for the Times." No one but Newman saw all the significance of the Tractarian movement. Keble wrote of the tracts in a letter, "They are a paper or two drawn up by some friends at Oxford, intended to circulate right notions on Apostolical succession, and also for a defence of the Prayer-book against any sort of profane innovation." But there is reason to believe that Newman saw the opportunity then opened to him. His depressed spirits "yielded to such a rebound" that his "friends at Oxford hardly knew him."

Newman was at last in his element. He was at last at the head of a party. He had taken the "ancient religion of England under his protection and defence." He emphasized the Catholic idea, and the idea grew at his hands. Of the principles he espoused, John Henry Newman was a masterful champion. He set himself, with the assistance of Keble and Pusey (who had now espoused their cause), to vindicate his position with all the power of his subtle mind. Evidently his enthusiasm grew as he neared his desired haven. Speaking of his attitude after 1845, he says: "I have been in perfect peace and contentment. * * * It was like coming into port after a rough sea, and my happiness on that score remains to this day without interruption."* The study of the Fathers was the first recourse of the new league of workers. This was confessedly Newman's idea of what the Church needed. (*Apologia* pp. 144-5). Tulloch says: "Whatever had the note of antiquity was brought to light, and the lineaments of the ancient Church were sought among the debris of mediaeval and patristic times rather than in the living pages of the New Testament. * * * The Fathers were taken without question. Neither chronological order nor historical method regulated their selection. A heap of documents of varying authority, or of no authority were cast before the reader. The Ignatian Epistles passed unchallenged. * * * If a writing contained the assertion of what was called Church principles, this was ample guarantee of its ex-

*"Apol." p. 238.

cellence and genuineness." And now these uncritical opponents of the critical spirit of the times show to what lengths men can go who in the name of religion despise reason. In his *Arians of the Fourth Century* (1833) Newman quotes with approval the immoral advice of Clement of Alexandria, in these words: "The Alexandrian Father * * * accurately describes the rules which should guide the Christian in speaking and writing economically. 'Being fully persuaded of the omnipresence of God,' says Clement, 'and ashamed to come short of the truth, he is satisfied with the approval of God, and of his own conscience. Whatever is in his mind is also on his tongue; towards those who are fit recipients, both in speaking and living, he harmonizes his profession with his thoughts. He both thinks and speaks the truth; *except when careful treatment is necessary*, and then as a physician for the good of his patients, *he will lie*, or rather utter a *lie*, as the Sophists say. * * * *He gives himself up for the Church.*" That this became a principle of the movement is clear from Isaac Williams' Tract No. 80, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," from which we quote: "With respect to the Holy Sacraments, it is in these and by these chiefly, that the Church of all ages has held the Doctrine of the Atonement after a certain manner of *reserve*. * * * The great difference between these two systems (Catholic and Protestant) consists in this, that one holds the doctrine *secretly*, as it were, and in Reserve; the other in a public and popular manner." The same is predicated of Priestly Absolution. The use to which this principle was put will appear from these words of Newman in a letter to the *Oxford Conservative Journal*, speaking of his insincere criticism of the Church of Rome: "If you ask me how an individual could venture, not simply to hold, but to publish such views of a Communion so ancient, so wide-spreading, so fruitful in saints, I answer, that I said to myself, '*I am not speaking my own words*, but I am following almost a *consensus* of the divines of my Church. They have ever used the strongest language against Rome, even the most learned and able of them. When I say what they say I am safe. *Such views, too, are necessary*

for our position. Yet I have reason to fear still, that such language is to be ascribed in no small measure * * * to a hope of approving myself to persons' respect and a wish to repel charges of Romanism." The Rev. William George Ward was Newman's successor as leader of the advanced Tractarians, and this was his view, as given by his son and biographer: "The more straightforward principle is, that occasionally, when duties conflict, another duty may be more imperative than the duty of truthfulness. Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then *lie like a trooper*." Dr. Pusey himself, in expounding the ethics of the Confessional, quotes approvingly the canonical warning: "What I know through Confession, I know less than what I do not know." He quotes from Pope Eugenius, who said that what a confessor knows in this way, he knows "*ut deus*;" what he knows and says elsewhere, he says "*ut homo*;" accordingly he can swear, as a man, that he does not know what, *ut deus*, he knows. Or, in Pusey's own words, "As man he may swear with a clear conscience that he knows not, what he knows only as God." "Is it necessary," Dr. Minton pertinently asks, "for Mr. Walsh, or anyone else, to multiply pages in showing that a movement conceived and controlled by men, ministers of God, whose ideas of truth and honor are such, has had a 'secret history' entirely different from that by which the world knew it, and that it has become a power which threatens not only the integrity but also the very existence of Anglican Protestantism?"

The next thing which suggested itself to Newman was the establishment of a *μόνῃ* at Littlemore, a part of the parish of St. Mary's, Oxford, of which he was vicar. Newman first moved in this direction in 1838, and it is to be remembered that he did not resign St. Mary's until 1843. (He had been using the Roman Breviary since 1836). The scheme did not succeed at once, mainly because of the wholesome fear on the part of the young men contemplating residence in it that such a step would have an adverse influence upon their candidacy for fellowships in the University. Mozley's letters seem to show that there was a "Coenobitium" early in 1840, though its exis-

tence was very successfully kept a secret. The plan, in its first form did not succeed; but so desirable was such an institution in Newman's mind that in 1842 he removed to Littlemore, where he had secured some nine or ten acres of land for the purpose of erecting a monastic house upon it. Accordingly he proceeded to realize his heart's desire. The Bishop of Oxford interposed an objection, which drew from Newman a characteristic letter in which the principle of "reserve in the communication of knowledge" was again put in practice. He calls the new building a "parsonage-house," said there was "no Monastery in process of erection," no "chapel," no "refectory," no "cloisters." Twenty-two years later Newman wrote in his *Apologetica*: "There is some kind or other of verbal misleading which is not sin." Was this one of the kind? His brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Mozley, refers to the building, in his *Reminiscences*, as a Monastic building. Newman's friend Oakeley said the institution was known as the "Littlemore Monastery." Three months before his reply to the Bishop Newman wrote to his friend, Mr. James Hope Scott, in a way that clearly revealed his intentions. "I am," he said, "almost in despair of keeping men together. *The only possible way is a Monastery.*" Whether the Littlemore institution was a monastery or not, the following description of the life there by one of its first inmates, the Rev. Father Lockhart, will aid in determining: "We had now arrived at the year 1842, when we took up residence with Newman at Littlemore. * * * It was a kind of *monastic life* of retirement, prayer and study. * * * We spent our time at Littlemore in study, prayer and fasting. We rose at midnight to recite the Breviary Office. * * * We fasted according to the practice recommended in Holy Scripture, and practiced in the most austere religious orders of Eastern and Western Christendom. We never broke our fast, except on Sundays and the Great Festivals, before 12, and not until 5 in the Advent and Lenten seasons." Another intimate acquaintance is quoted by Mr. Walsh: "During Lent they had nothing to eat each day till 5, and then the solitary meal was of salt-fish. Dr.

Wootten, the Tractarian doctor, told them they must all die in a few years if things went on so. * * * The 'chapel' was hardly more pretentious than the dining-room. At one end stood a large Crucifix, bought at Lima by a Spanish merchant living at Littlemore. It was what was called 'very pronounced.' * * * A table supported the base; and on the table were two candles (always lit at prayer-time by Newman), the light of which was requisite, for Newman had veiled the windows and walls with his favorite red hangings. * * * The days and hours of the Catholic Church were duly kept; and the only alteration made in the office was that the Saints were invoked with a modification of Newman's making—the '*Ora pro nobis*' being changed to '*Oret.*'"

After Tractarianism had become known as Puseyism, and both had developed into what is now known as Ritualism, it was felt by many members of the party that the time had come when the secret workers in what Froude had called "the Conspiracy" (1834) should combine together in secret societies. The first of these was the Society of the Holy Cross, which was founded Feb. 28, 1855, known as the S. S. C. (*Societatis Sanctæ Crucis Statutæ*). It is a strictly secret order, meets with closed doors, keeps hidden the roll of its members, has a complete outfit of rings, vows, retreats and cabalistic countersigns; when two brethren meet, one salutes the other, '*Pax tibi,*' and the reply is '*Per crucem.*' It was this society which published the outrageous book, *Priest in Absolution*, which developed such startling revelations and occasioned such bitter contention. Lord Redesdale, himself a High Churchman of the old type, on June 14, 1877, exposed the whole scheme of the English edition in the House of Lords, and it was afterwards unanimously condemned by the House of Bishops. It was in these proceedings that Archbishop Tait made the statement that there was "a conspiracy within our own body against the doctrine, the discipline and the practice of our Reformed Church." The proceedings of the society in the matter, which are uncovered by Mr. Walsh, form a chapter of indirection and evasion that challenges credence. Though commanded by the Bishops to de-

stroy the remaining copies of the books, the final action of the society, by a vote of 34 to 8, was, "that this synod is not in favor of the destruction of the remaining copies of the *Priest in Absolution* at the present time." It was at the establishment of the oratory of this society in London, that one of its founders, Mr. Shipley said, "they would not be satisfied until they had restored to the Church of England a rendering of the sacred Mass which was fully mediaeval in the richness, costliness, taste and perfection of its details."

The existence of the Order of Corporate Reunion became known only after it had become a large fraternity. Its origin is shrouded in mystery. It is "more unblushingly Popish than the S. S. C., going to the length of acknowledging the Pope as the lawful head of the whole visible Church on earth." It does not, however, advocate individual secession to Rome, but acts on the lines which one of its adherents laid down: "They go (to Rome) to get something which they cannot get, or do not get, or think they cannot get in the English Church. When once they have got this notion in their heads, all the no-Popery tracts and lectures will not keep them back. The real cure is to give them here what they are going to look for. * * * Now, this is what the tractarians, as they are called, are trying to do." The society goes even farther. It professes to supply not only Romish doctrines, but Orders and Sacraments such as even the Church of Rome must admit to be valid, though she refuses to acknowledge those of the Church of England. It has Bishops secretly consecrated, and these are prepared to give conditional reordination to such of the clergy of the Church of England as may choose to submit to the process. It admits the laity of both sexes to its ranks, and these are, as a rule, conditionally re-baptized when they join the order. It protests "against the disuse of Chrism in Confirmation, and the inadequate form of the administration of that Sacrament (?) in use in the Church of England; as well as against the total abolition of the Apostolic practice of anointing the sick with oil." The *Roman Catholic Standard and Ransomer* stated in 1894 (the editor had formerly been a member of the O. C. R): "We have

heard just lately that there are now 800 clergymen of the Church of England who have been *validly* ordained by Dr. Lee and his co-bishops of the O. C. R. If so, Dr. Lee's dream of providing a body with which the Pope could deal seems likely to be realized."

The early Tractarians, when they commenced their work, taught the doctrines of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, but they were very guarded in their statements. This was under the rule of "Reserve in the Communication of Religious Knowledge." Echoes of the doctrines sounded through the Tracts, but it was not until 1862 that a society was founded for the special purpose of teaching the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The name of the society is, The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament. Its methods are reflected by these words of its Superior General: "We must endeavor to make our position accord with our constitution, in keeping as far as possible out of public notice." Its membership comprises bishops, priests, laymen and women. In 1894 no less than 1682 clergymen of the Church of England, and 13,444 laymen and women, were members of this fraternity.* Its object as stated in the official *Manual*, are:

"1. The honor due to the person of our Lord Jesus Christ in the blessed sacrament of his body and blood.

"2. Mutual and special intercession at the time of and in union with the Eucharistic sacrifice.

"3. To promote the observance of the Catholic and primitive practice of receiving the holy communion fasting."

The confraternity has an extended millinery, combining the styles of the Eastern and the Western churches—not much disturbed because many of its vestments have been declared illegal by the courts of law.

The associates of the confraternity were required, on May 7th, 1897, to pray "that the primitive and Catholic practice of fasting communion by priests and people be generally recognized, and that obstacles to fasting communion be removed." There is a monthly prayer in the ritual of the confraternity that

*Annual Report of the C. B. S., 1894.

the primitive custom of evening communion "may cease." Bishop Wilberforce, though himself a high churchman, made an unsparing exposure of the *animus* of Confraternity. "It is not in a light sense that I say this new doctrine of fasting communion is dangerous. The practice is not advocated because a man comes in a clearer spirit and less disturbed body and mind, able to give himself entirely to prayer and communion with his God, but on a miserable, degraded notion that the consecrated elements will meet with other food in the stomach. * * * *The whole thing is simply disgusting. The patristic quotations by which the custom is supported are misquotations.*"

It would be interesting to follow Mr. Walsh in his exposure of the methods and objects of other secret societies which exist within the Church of England, such as the guild of all souls, ambiguously represented by Mr. Walsh as a purgatorial society; the order of the holy redeemer and the society of Saint Osmond, which seem to be the most esoteric and persistent of the Rome-bound proselyters; the association for the promotion of the unity of Christendom, the common meeting ground for all ritualists until 1864, when the inquisition ordered Roman Catholics to withdraw from it; and last, but by no means least, the English Church union, with its prodigiously active president, Lord Halifax, and its 250,000 members.

The greatest surprise of the many which Mr. Walsh presents is his chapter on sisterhoods. Mr. Walsh makes the statement that "there are at the present time, within the Church of England, a greater number of Sisters of Mercy than were in this country before the suppression of Monasteries and Convents by Henry VIII.;" that these are "purely secret societies; and that they probably possess more wealth than did the Roman Catholic convents in the early part of the sixteenth century. Much light is thrown upon the life in these establishments by those who have been in them; especially Miss Cusack who went from Dr. Pusey's sisterhood into Catholicism, and was known as "The Nun of Kenmare" and who afterwards became a Protestant.

Dr. Pusey's part in the matter of sisterhoods is interesting.

As early as Feb. 21. 1840 Newman wrote: "Pusey is at the present time eager about setting up Sisters of Mercy." He was already in correspondence with Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds, about the matter. In a letter dated June 9, Dr. Hook says: "I perfectly agree with you in thinking it to be most important to have a class of persons acting under us, and answering to the Sisters of Charity. * * * What I should like to have done is this: for you to train an elderly matron, * * * and for her to come here and take lodgings with two or three other females. *Let their object be known to none but myself as well-disposed persons willing to assist my curates and myself.*" The year following Dr. Pusey spent two months in Ireland in the special study of Roman Catholic sisterhoods. *The same year*, a young lady, Miss Marian Hughes, who subsequently became the Mother Superior of one of Dr. Pusey's convents at Oxford, took "a vow of celibacy" under the guidance of Dr. Pusey and immediately went to France to "study the religious life of women" there. The rules of Dr. Pusey's institutions, modeled largely upon Miss Hughes' reports, have been kept very successfully from the English public. The "Rule of Holy Obedience to the Mother superior" is one of those disclosed. Among other things is the precept to "banish from mind any question as to the wisdom of the command given you." Dr. Pusey, in his *Manual for Confessors*, required similar blind obedience to be given by Sisters of Mercy to their Father Confessor. A disgusting penalty imposed upon an inmate of one of these institutions was "to lie flat on the floor and with her tongue describe the figure of a cross in dirt." Another rule was that of "Holy Poverty" "the disposition of everything that is hers or may be given to her." Dr. Pusey himself prescribed the use of the "Discipline" for penance. He first became interested in the "Discipline" in 1844. In a letter to Mr. Hope-Scott who was then travelling on the Continent, he says: "There is yet one subject on which I should like to know more; if you fall in with persons who have the guidance of consciences,—what penances they employ for persons whose temptations are almost entirely spiritual, of delicate frames often. * *, * I see in

a spiritual writer that even for such, corporal severities are not to be neglected, but so many of them are unsafe. I suspect the discipline to be one of the safest, and with internal humiliation, the best. Could you procure and send me one by B.? What was described to me was of a very sacred character; 5 cords, each with 5 knots, in memory of the 5 wounds of our Lord." About two years after this letter Dr. Pusey seems to have practiced the use of "hair cloth" and "disciplines." On the "feast of St. Simon and St. Jude," 1846, he wrote to Keble, who at about that period became his father confessor: "Will you give me some penitential rules for myself. I hardly know what I can do just now, in a bodily way; nourishment I am ordered; sleep I must take when it comes; cold is bad for me; and I know not whether I am strong enough to *resume* the hair cloth. However I mean to try." Writing later he says: "I am a great coward about inflicting pain on myself, partly, I hope, from a derangement of my nervous system. Hair cloth I know not how to make pain; it is only symbolical, except when worn to an extent which seemed to wear me out. I have it on again, by God's mercy. * * * Praying with my arms in the form of a cross, seemed to distract me. I think I should like to be bid to use the discipline."* Keble would only "per-

*"Some idea," says Mr. Walsh, "of the extent to which these articles of torture are used at present within the Church of England may be gained from the following, which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* of September, 1896:

"John Kensit, 'the Protestant Bookseller,' has given Paternoster Row a new sensation this week. For some days past a large part of his window has been used for the exhibition of a large sheet displaying half a dozen 'instruments of torture' *said to be used and recommended by 'Members of the Church of England.'*

"Whoever they are used by—and it is pretty certain they are not mere ornaments or playthings—these 'instruments of torture' by no means belie the name Mr. Kensit has bestowed upon them. Take that broad stomacher of horse-hair, for example, and place it next to the skin; imagine the discomfort of the first five minutes as each bristly hair presses against the body, and picture the torture of each succeeding five minutes it is worn. Then turn from this mild 'Discipline' to the severer penance of the Barbed Heart. This is a maze of wire, the size of the palm of one's hand, upon one side of which barbs project, finer than the ends of the barbed fences of our fields. How many of these are pressing to-day against lacerated

mit," not "enjoin" it. The discipline, however, became the "rule" of the sisterhoods. The purpose of these sisterhoods is perhaps best summed up in Dr. Pusey's own words: "The sister is the pioneer of the priest." To which may be added these words of the late Archbishop Whately from *Cautions for the Times*: "The principle method of decoy, at present, is not so much argument as other kinds of persuasion. Among these, none seem more popular just now than what are called 'Brother-

breasts? Of similar construction, and equally fiendish in purpose, are the Wristlets and Anklets and the broad band of netted barbs which the penitent fastens around his or her leg. All of these may possibly be worn under conditions which will mitigate the severity of the torture; but there would seem to be no way of softening the lash when applied to the bare skin, so what can be said of the two Scourges exhibited by Mr. Kensit? One is of hard knotted ropes, half a dozen ends attached to a pliant handle; the other is of well-hardened and polished steel, each end of the five chains neatly finished with a steel rowel. Every blow from this, when the penitent swings it over his shoulder upon his bare back, must produce five wounds, bruises, or sores. No wonder the crowd gazes incredulously until ordered to 'move on.'

"Since this queer little exhibition opened, the bookseller has stood a running fire of question and expostulation. The instruments had not been on view an hour before a gentleman entered the shop and delivered himself after this fashion :

" 'Look here, sir, whoever you are, if you're the proprietor of this place take those things out of your window. It's a lie. It never could be done. I believe it's just one of your advertising dodges. I won't believe that those things were ever made to be used in this day.'

Mr. Kensit is accustomed to that sort of salutation, so he waited till his visitor had ended a long tirade, and then quietly remarked :

" 'Will you take the trouble to go into the shop next door and ask the shopman to show you a selection of these things? Ask him (a Roman Catholic publisher) to name his price, and let him tell you who buys them. Then you can come back and apologise to me.'

" 'The gentleman,' said Mr. Kensit, when he told a representative the story on Monday, 'went into the shop next door. In five minutes he was back again with a bundle under his arm. 'Mr. Kensit,' he said, 'you're right. They sell them, and I've bought a few to take home and show to my family. They'll never believe it unless I do.'

" 'Well,' said Mr. Kensit, 'did you ask who purchases them?'

" 'I did,' said the gentleman, 'and if you'll believe me, *the shopman said that for every one he sold to a Catholic, he sold three to Church of England people!*'

" 'I not only believe it,' said Mr. Kensit, 'but I know it.'"—Walsh's "Secret History" pp. 27, 28, popular ed.

hoods' and 'Sisterhoods of Mercy;' the real grand object of which appears to be, not so much almsgiving itself, as, under the pretence of that, imbuing with tractile principles those who receive, and those who administer 'the charity.'"

We have gone thus minutely into these phases of the Oxford movement in order that it may be seen in the light of its fruits and that the present situation in the Church of England might be better understood. With all of these societies and influences at work it is not surprising to learn that there are "upwards of 1200 churches in England where the mediæval vestments are used, where incense and altar lights are employed, and where the ritual is not easily distinguishable from that usually followed in Roman Catholic Churches." It is estimated that no fewer than 3,000 followed Newman into the Church of Rome. The list of distinguished seceders given in Brown's *Annals of the Tractarian Movement* affords ample proof of the services rendered to the Church of Rome by the Oxford movement. But the services rendered to Rome by the movement were by no means confined to the secession of a large number of her best sons and daughters. The Roman Catholic Magazine, the *Rambler*, in 1851, published a series of articles on "the rise, progress and results of Puseyism" in which these companion pictures occur. "From the moment the Oxford tracts commenced, the Catholic Church assumed a position in this country which she had never before attained since the schism of the sixteenth century. With what a depth of indescribable horror of Catholicism the whole mind of England was formerly saturated few can comprehend who have not experienced it. No one read Catholic books; no one entered Catholic churches; no one ever saw Catholic priests; few people even knew that there were Catholic bishops resident in England. See now the change that has come over the English people as a nation. Crowds attend the services in the Catholic churches * * * and a stillness most profound pays strange homage to the elevation of the most holy sacraments." The *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, the official organ of the priesthood in Ireland, in its issue for July,

1891, said: "At this hour five thousand Church of England clergymen are preaching from as many Protestant pulpits the Catholic faith to Catholicising congregations, much more effectively, with less suspicion and more acceptance than we could hope to do. * * * We could desire no better preparation for joining the Catholic Church than the Ritualists' Preparatory School."

And what is the great lesson of the Oxford movement? *If the Church is to have a message for the age, it must have an ear for the voice of the age.* It is sad to think that the Church of England is Romanising; but it is sadder still to think that she lost such a splendid opportunity for a new apology of her faith. The nineteenth century was the great century of inquiry and reconstruction. When John Henry Newman came to his place of power the reconstructive forces were awake and at work in every region of thought and life. Hegel and Schleiermacher were lecturing in Berlin; Strauss in Tübingen was at work on his *Leben Jesu*; Saint Simon in France had just completed his *Nouveau Christianisme* pleading that religion might be more an energy "directing all social forces toward the moral and physical amelioration of the class which is at once the most numerous and the most poor;" Comte had begun to elaborate his positive philosophy. In Scotland Carlyle was preaching his new gospel of work; Combe was groping after a new philosophy of life, and Erskine was wrestling with the old Calvinism. In England John Stuart Mill had thrown off the dogmatic empiricism of his father, had been spiritually awakened by the poetry of Wordsworth and the philosophy of Coleridge, and was looking about for a faith by which to order his life. While Newman was dreaming on the Mediterranean, "refusing to look at the Tricolor" at Algiers, and harboring "bitter thoughts against the Liberals," Darwin was on the *Beagle* exploring the ends of the earth. Everywhere the movement was towards positive ideas and such an interpretation of man, nature and the universe as the awakened intelligence of the new age demanded. It was, says Fairbairn, "a splendid moment for an Apologist, built after the manner of Augustine. * * * He would have seized

the new ideas, translated them into their Christian equivalents; found that every attempt to discover method and progress in creation, whether with Hegel or with Darwin, was no attempt to expel God from nature, but only to make nature more perfectly express him, and be more wholly his. * * * He would have recognized as Christian and claimed for Christianity, the new spirit, with its nobler truths, ideals, aims. What belongs of Right to the Christian religion ought to be incorporated with it; what is so incorporated can never become a weapon in the hands of the enemy." But this was not Newman's attitude. He saw in the new forces only a rebellion against authority, and in the spirit which sympathized with them, treason. He saw nothing of the splendid enthusiasm which was at the heart of the new movement; he faced it as if it were the very demon of revolution. It was necessary, therefore, to discover an authority to bridle and govern it. That authority to be adequate must be visible and supreme. To be supreme it must be religious; to be visible, it must be realized in some venerable and impressive polity or organized society. He did not fall back on the Christianity of Christ—that was too closely allied to the thing he hated; but he tried to recall the lost ideal of an authoritative church. "The ghost of a mediæval church was evoked to exorcise the resurgent spirit of Christ in man."

In the judgment of another—in which we heartily concur—"The controversies in which John Henry Newman figured are about the poorest that the nineteenth century contains; and the various ecclesiasticisms that have descended from them by extraordinary generations would seem to be among the vainest of human interests."* Newman succeeded wonderfully in making Roman Catholics of Englishmen; but he failed woefully in the apologetic which arrests unbelief and baptizes the spirit of a rational age into the faith of Christ. Continuity in dogmatic belief, in ritual, and in institutional form can give the church authority over no reasonable person; continuity of life is the note of the Church Catholic and universal, a life that becomes a

*Dr. Geo. A. Gordon.

larger witness of the Holy Ghost as the centuries pass. Newmanism must seem to the normal mind "axiomatic nonsense;" and the syllogism that supports it as credible as would be the claim of the Salvation Army that it dates back to St. Paul, because he exhorted to "fight the good fight of faith" and outlined the equipment of such a warrior. The contention that a given ecclesiastical order is the assurance of the availing type of life rests upon ignorance of history and human credulity. The church that has the soundest intellect, the most devout and loving heart, and the strongest will for righteousness is the best organized expression of Christianity.

NOTE :—Quotations not otherwise designated, except where their origin is plain, may be found in Fairbairn's "Catholicism, Roman and Anglican" and Walsh's "Secret History of the Oxford Movement." Other authorities consulted: Weaver's "Puseyism, A Refutation and Exposure;" Church's "Oxford Movement;" Newman's "*Apologia pro Vita Sua*;" Donaldson's "Five Great Oxford Leaders;" Tulloch's "Religious Thought in Britain During the XIX Century;" Lorimer's "Christianity in the Nineteenth Century;" Froude's "Remains;" Mozley's "Letters;" Harnack's "History of Dogma."

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE.*

BY REV. J. M. RUTHRAUFF, D. D.

Mr. President, members of the Board of Directors, Fathers and Brethern :

While I truly appreciate the great honor conferred upon me, I feel at the same time an unaffected sense of modesty in accepting the presidency of Wittenberg College and succeeding in office such eminent leaders as Drs. Keller, Sprecher, Helwig, and Ort; especially Drs. Sprecher and Ort, who were my personal teachers and whose joint services as President cover a period of forty-three years of the history of the institution. The former is still living, in the ninety-first year of his age, revered and beloved by all his former pupils and friends. The latter is still engaged in the active work of the institution, and his pronounced ability and eminent services throughout so long a time command the admiration of us all; besides the proportions to which the work has grown, the magnitude of the work which now confronts us, and the vital relation of Christian education to the civilization of the world, cause me to take a most serious view of the responsibility I have assumed; but relying upon the hearty coöperation of the Board of Directors, the friends of the college, and upon the wisdom and guidance of God, without which we strive in vain, we may at least hope for a reasonable measure of success.

I have chosen as my theme THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE. Inasmuch as Christian education is a fundamental factor in the civilization of the world, and the extension of the Master's kingdom, the Christian College becomes a logical necessity.

I.

In the first place it is necessary to the training of an adequate Christian ministry.

*Inaugural address delivered, June 12th, 1901, when installed President of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio.

The obligation of the Church to train her own ministry is made very clear in Romans 10 : 13-15 : "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed, and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard, and how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent?"

If, therefore, men are to be saved, and civilization advanced, it must needs be through the agency of an efficient ministry. This ministry must possess an intellectual culture, second to that of no other class of professional men. True, it is written : "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." Yet the Lord does not call drones nor weaklings to the gospel ministry. While it is doubtless true that a man of limited intellectual attainments thoroughly imbued with the Spirit of Christ can be useful, even more useful than the most brilliant scholar who is destitute of the Spirit of God, yet it is equally true that the highest quality of service can only be secured when the highest intellectual culture is combined with the highest spiritual culture. Other things being equal the best educated man will always have the advantage ; hence in an age like this when scientific training is made so prominent, and when the secular world is moving forward with such gigantic strides to still higher scientific attainments, the Church must see to it that her servants are not weaklings in comparison with the men of the world with whom they have continually to do, and whom they should be able to direct in the higher and weightier matters of our religion.

In addition to this intellectual and general culture the minister must be especially trained for the work he is expected to perform. He should know the Book he is expected to teach and the best methods of exegesis. He should be familiar with the history of Christianity and with the religious and philosophical movements that have militated for or against the cause of Christ in the past ; and lastly, he should know thoroughly the history, the doctrines and the usages of his own Church. This is not bigotry. True and enduring enthusiasm is born of know-

ledge. He who knows little or nothing about the history of his own Church, who is indifferent concerning the peculiar doctrines that differentiate his Church from others, who knows little about the institutions of his Church in either the past or present, and who fails to see the great mission that is peculiar to his own denomination, will be of little value to the cause of Christ. He could be at home as easily in one church as in another, but he would lack the faith, and zeal, and enthusiasm, necessary to the most efficient work anywhere. Yea, more, he will be at the mercy of every new heresy or "wind of doctrine" that chances to sweep over the land for the time. The athlete who wishes to jump farthest must start far back of the base in order to accumulate proper momentum. Likewise he who knows best the history of his Church, what battles have been fought, what victories won in the cause of truth, and who has a profound conviction that certain doctrines and usages are essential to the best Christian development, will be the most positive force in the advancement of that cause, and strike the most positive blows and accomplish the most enduring and far-reaching results.

We all admire positive men; "men who have convictions and the courage of their conviction; men who love their Church and know why they love it;" men who are willing to spend and be spent; men who forget self in the accomplishment of the work in hand; men who are ready to "decrease in order that Christ may increase." Such are the characteristics of all great leaders, and men of such qualities are needed to-day in the ministry in ever increasing numbers. Some think we have too many ministers; but not so long as one third of the human race has not even yet heard of Christ, and as only one-third of the race are nominally Christians. Not so long as a large part of the Pagan and civilized world are locked in deadly combat in the field of battle; not so long as nearly one-half the population of our own land is without the pale of the Church; not so long as crime, intemperance, avarice, licentiousness, abound as they do in our own land, and not so long as hundreds of thousands of souls are borne down to shame and death before the gigantic forces of

evil that still assert themselves in our midst. As we do not gather grapes of thistles, nor figs of thorns, so we cannot expect such a ministry to spring up spontaneously from the unregenerate world; nor can we expect such a ministry to come from the purely secular schools supported by the state or by individuals independent of the Church. The Church is securing very few theological students from the State University. Of 1641 students in eleven of the leading theological seminaries, a few years ago, only 61 came from state universities. Of 571 students in the Presbyterian seminaries several years ago, only 23 were from state universities. In six years travel over the territory of Wittenberg and Carthage colleges, I have found but one graduate from a state university in our ministry. If history teaches anything clearly it is that the state university cannot supply an adequate Christian ministry. Such a ministry must be born in the Church, spring from the heart of the Church, nurtured at the altars of the Church, trained and indoctrinated in the schools of the Church, and sent forth from the bosom of the Church to work through her and for her in the advancement of the Master's cause. Hence, the Christian college is a necessity if we would have a ministry. Indeed, if Christianity itself is not to decline.

II.

The Christian college is necessary in order that we may have trained Christian leaders in all other professions and avocations in life.

A test vote in any large body of Christians would show that over three-fourths became Christians before they reach the age of twenty. This shows that character is firmly fixed before this period and that it seldom changes thereafter. Again, the most powerful agencies for the formation of character are the schools of the land. As like begets like, as the child generally bears the characteristics of the present, so the pupils of any school will generally bear the stamp of that school. If the school is deficient in any direction the pupil will likewise be deficient. If the school is lax in discipline the pupil will probably fail to have a true appreciation of law, and the proper reverence

for authority. If the school is indifferent or skeptical on religious matters the pupil will generally become as skeptical and indifferent as the school in which he is trained. On the other hand, if the school is exact and thorough the pupil will generally become exact and thorough in the discharge of his duties. If the school is positively Christian with all Christian teachers, and the curriculum embodying courses in Bible instruction and Christian evidences, the pupil will generally go out from such a school with a positive Christian mould to take his place in society as a leader of a positive Christian type. If, therefore, we are to have intelligent Christian parents, capable of directing the intellectual and religious development of their children, if we are to have Christian merchants and mechanics, Christian teachers and editors, Christian dentists and physicians, Christian law-makers and rulers, and Christian leaders in all departments of life, the Church must educate her own children in her own schools. If this is true, then the Church is under obligations to found Christian colleges in sufficient numbers, and to see that they have the endowment and equipment necessary to do first-class work. While all our colleges cannot become universities, and while no college should add new departments faster than they can be properly equipped and supported, the Church should never be satisfied until some of her institutions become universities in fact as well as in name, until her sons and daughters are furnished with the opportunity of securing, under Christian influences, all the general, special, technical, scientific and professional training needed in any legitimate sphere in life. Unless such provision is made, the Church will compel her sons and daughters to seek their education in the purely secular schools of the land where they at once pass into the atmosphere of religious indifference from which many of them will emerge only to flounder in the deadly whirlpool of materialism, and indifference to all religious duties. Many of these will doubtless become successful in life, from a worldly point of view; but whatever they gain of fame, or power, or wealth, will be largely used against the Church. It will not be used for the building

of Christian schools or churches or for the evangelization of the world. It is the mission of Christianity to "overcome the world," "to subdue the earth." The mammon of unrighteousness must pass under the control of God's children and become the mammon of righteousness.

But, this will never come to pass until the Church trains the leaders in all departments of life who are to make the conquest of the world, develop its resources, gain possession of its treasures and forces, and use them for the elevation of men and for the glory of God. It is the province of Christianity to discover to the world true ethical standards; to create pure, moral sentiment; to secure the enactment of righteous laws, and to exalt to all positions of trust and influence incorruptible men, who will enforce law and be "living epistles seen and read of all men."

The Church is making some progress in this direction and is producing many noble men and women who are making themselves felt in all departments of life; but the standards are yet too low, and public sentiment too weak, and the number of true men too limited. As long as a large per cent of the men who control the vast commercial enterprises, make our laws, and rule our land, are born in godless homes, educated in purely secular and godless schools; actuated by purely worldly ambitions; and secure their special training from the heartless world, progress must necessarily be slow and Christianity often seem weak and a failure. The remedy is the Christian College. A college doing university work in fact as well as in name. A college so ably equipped with buildings and apparatus, and so liberally endowed, that the ablest teachers can be secured. And a college so many-sided that when we invite young people to come to the institution they can feel that they are securing all that they need in quality and extent of work done, equal to that of the best institutions of the land. When such provision is made for our own children, and when Christians are consistent enough to their own children to send them to their own institutions, then we shall soon see an army of men and women springing up as by magic as superior to the mere worldling as Daniel and his

companions were superior to the wise men of the East, who shall transform the homes of the world into Christian homes, who shall by their irresistible power and superior merit gain control of the vast business concerns, legislative halls, the executive office, and of the public schools and universities. Not that the State and the Church will be organically united, but that Christian sentiment will be so pronounced that no unbelieving teacher or ruler can ever be elected to any position where the rising generation may be mistaught, or where legislation might be corrupted, and justice miscarried. You may say that this is too idealistic; granted that it may seem so; yet if we do not in some true sense apprehend the ideal we will never be able to become truly conscious of the weakness of that which is real. A straight edge is necessary to detect the irregularities of a piece of timber. A view of the spotless character of Christ is necessary to reveal to us our own imperfections. Some may say that it is impossible of attainment; granted that it may not be fully realized in our day; yet if we do not see the ideal we will not desire anything better than we have; and if we do not desire the ideal we will make no effort to improve upon that which now really exists; and indifference on any subject is demoralizing and retrograding. Indeed, if we do not begin to strive for that which is better no progress will be made. "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath." We sincerely believe that the Christian College, even in this comprehensive sense not only may be, but will be realized in the near future. Our civilization is preeminently the fruit of Christian education. All the schools and colleges of this land were Christian schools for many generations, and over nine-tenths of the colleges in our land to-day are Christian colleges. The purely secular school or state university is, comparatively, of recent origin. The agencies that have done so much to produce our civilization must continue to operate, not only to preserve what we have, but to carry it to a higher degree of perfection. In order to do this, however, the Christian College must fully meet the demands of the age. It must compete with the purely secular

school or state university both in the scope and quality of its work. No backward step dare be taken. The watchword must be Forward. If ground has been lost in any degree in the past by our indifference, or by our failure to fully apprehend our duty toward the business world, and to make proper provision for training its leaders, this ground must be redeemed. If the Church has been neglectful of this great cause she must be aroused from her lethargy. Indeed, the Church is already awaking to fuller consciousness of the great need in this direction. The subject is being investigated as never before. More sermons are preached, more books, papers and magazine articles are published annually on this subject than ever before. The information is going abroad. Men are thinking, reading and acting. As a consequence more large gifts and legacies have been given to Christian institutions in the past ten years than in generations before. Many of our weak colleges have been made comparatively strong and their future guaranteed. Memorial buildings are being erected, chairs are being endowed, scholarships and fellowships are being founded. This work has but to be carried on under wise direction and the desired end will be attained. The college lays claims upon the Church for patronage and support. It furnishes a ministry for the Church, it furnishes opportunities for her children to prepare for their life work, and it contributes to the general culture of the land. The college also lays just claims for support upon the community in which it exists. It puts thousands of dollars annually into circulation. It affords an opportunity for education to the young people of that community that they could not otherwise have, and it elevates the moral and intellectual tone of the entire community. The blessings of the Christian College are beyond estimate; when these facts are properly understood friends will rise up at home and abroad who will bring to it the support needed.

III.

The college should be under denominational control, and stand for some definite statement of religious truth. Not that the college is to teach the distinctive denominational tenets to the

regular undergraduate classes. This is unnecessary, and would be an innovation that is seldom if ever practiced by any denominational college. The place to teach the distinctive denomination tenets is in the theological seminary, or in voluntary classes organized for that purpose. Yet, denominational control is necessary that nothing contrary to the belief of the denomination shall be taught. It is necessary as a safeguard against the teachings and influence of indifferent and skeptical teachers who frequently find their way into the faculties of secular and undenominational colleges. Denominational control is necessary that a positive religious sentiment may surround the entire student body, that will strengthen the religious character of believers, and if possible lead the indifferent and unbelieving student to accept Christ. This end will be accomplished by the courses offered in Bible study, by the study of ethics and theism, by the daily chapel exercises, by the work of the different Christian associations, and such special services as may be found profitable from time to time, and by the Christian character and example of the teachers and student body. Denominational control is necessary in order to guarantee the permanent religious character of the institution; and to guarantee that the funds contributed for the founding and development of the school shall be used permanently for the advancement of the cause of Christian education substantially in the sense in which the donors intended they should be used; and that at some future time the agency they have created may not be used for a directly opposite purpose. There can be no certainty that an undenominational school will remain safely Christian even if all the teachers and trustees are pronounced Christians to-day; for they are pledged to no particular religious belief and each member of the Faculty and of the Board is at liberty to adopt any confessional basis he may choose and to change or modify his views whenever he may choose. He may believe in the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the doctrine of regeneration and in the supernatural element in the Scriptures to-day; while he or his successors in office may come to believe the opposite tomorrow. An absolute monarch may be just and humane to-

day. He or his successors might become Neros to-morrow. Only a constitutional government, where the rulers are bound to certain constitutional requirements and where the rulers are chosen by the people themselves can give the assurance of certainty and permanency to the government of any people. So only when the college is controlled by some denomination that has a specific, confessional basis, to which the teachers and Board of Directors are pledged, can there be a certainty that the institution will not be diverted from its original purpose. Individuals may change their views. They have a right to do so whenever they choose, but when they do choose to change to such an extent that they are no longer in harmony with the obligations they have assumed, when they entered upon the position they hold, there is but one honorable course to pursue, viz: to vacate the position. Where this is not done voluntarily the Board of Directors should see that it is done, and that men are elected who will faithfully carry out the will of the Church they represent. To make certain of this, the Board of Directors should never be a close corporation, perpetuating its own existence; but its members should always be elected by the synods or religious body whose ends it is founded to serve. Individual members of a Board, or their successors, sometimes change their views most radically, and have diverted institutions, not infrequently, from their original purpose, contrary to the convictions of the great body it was founded to represent. Such a possibility should never exist. Religious denominations do sometimes modify their views and when they do their institutions legitimately go with them; but Christianity is properly conservative. The Church believes that the great body of doctrine she holds is of divine origin and as immutable as the character of God. Whenever a misapprehension or inaccurate statement of this truth is discovered and has passed into the consciousness of the great body of believers that constitute the Church, a modification of statement or interpretation thereof may be necessary; but such changes are rarely necessary and should be made with the greatest of care. Therefore, all the institutions of the Church should be so absolutely under her

own control that their character cannot be changed until the Church, as a body, sees fit to modify her position. This is necessary in order to secure permanency in the character of the institution and to command the confidence, coöperation, patronage and support of the membership of the Church at large. Again, denominational control is necessary to the spread of religious truth. He who does not believe anything definitely will put forth little or no effort to disseminate his views. Only that man or class of men who believe that they have apprehended the truth most clearly, and that those truths are of vital importance to the welfare of men will become zealous in the propagation of their views. Denominationalism has the advantage of being rooted far back in the history of civilization, of having in it a force that has accumulated along with the development of Christian doctrine and the advancement of civilization. It is necessarily conservative. It will be slow to change its convictions or to surrender its position. It believes something definite concerning the Holy Scriptures and it believes it most profoundly; but this conservative position, this rigid grasp upon historical Christianity, has in it a force of great value. Because of this force, this accumulation of historic power, this incarnation of Divine Truth, the Church becomes permanently and persistently aggressive in the spread of the gospel. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day and forever, and his Church must be as secure and immovable as the truth of Christ which it embodies. It holds truth that does not fade with the advance of civilization, but only reveals itself more clearly in human consciousness and human living. It is this development of Christianity alone that has been able in the past to withstand the different forms of heresy with which the Church has been assailed; and it is only this conservative form of Christianity through the agency of our own institutions of learning that will be able to withstand and overcome the rationalism, stoicism, and materialism of the present time. These forces assail the very citadel of Christianity. They endeavor to rob humanity of its belief in the supernatural element in the Holy Scriptures, of the efficacy in prayer and personality of God.

IV.

Wittenberg College is owned and controlled by the Evangelical Lutheran Church. All the members of her Board of Directors, except four, are elected by the five following Synods: The East Ohio, Wittenberg, Miami, Olive Branch, and Northern Indiana. Each synod elects one clerical and one lay director for every ten ministers on her Synodical roll. But no Synod is entitled to more than eight directors. Two of the remaining directors are nominated by the Alumni association, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors. The remaining two are elected by the Board of Directors to represent Clark County. The Board is now composed of forty members, one-half of which retire or are re-elected every two years. The object of the institution as stated in the Charter is: "The promotion of theological and scientific knowledge." The object as stated in the constitution is substantially the same, viz: "The promotion of Christian Education," a chief aim being "the education of young men for the ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

Each member of the Board of Directors is required on taking his seat to "make and subscribe to the following declaration: "Do you sincerely approve of the object of Wittenberg College and do you solemnly promise to endeavor faithfully to carry into effect the provisions of its charter and constitution and thus promote the great design of the institution?" The constitution provides that: "No person shall be elected to a professorship in the Theological Seminary who has not been a pastor of an Evangelical Lutheran Church for at least five years." Upon taking his seat, and every fifth year thereafter, each professor in the Theological Seminary is required to subscribe to the following declaration: "I do solemnly declare in the presence of God and this Board that I do sincerely believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the inspired Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; and I believe that the Augsburg Confession is a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and of the faith of our Church founded upon that word; and I promise to teach and vindicate these doctrines and principles in opposition to the

views of Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Unitarians, Arians, Universalists, Antinomians, Pelagians, Anabaptists, Papists, and all other errorists, so long as I remain a professor in this institution." Concerning the professors in the other departments of the college the Constitution says: "No person shall be elected professor in this institution who is not a man of approved piety, and a communicant in some branch of the Evangelical Church." Every professor before entering on the discharge of his duties is required to make the following declaration: "I solemnly promise to discharge faithfully all the duties of my professorship and to conform to all the regulations of the institution, and requirements of this constitution."

So far, therefore, as the object and management of Wittenberg College is concerned, it is not only positively Christian, but under safe denominational control; and can never be swerved from its original purpose so long as the Church to which it belongs does not change her confessional basis. While special emphasis is laid upon the work of training young men for the ministry, and properly so, the way was opened and the foundation laid at the very beginning for scientific training. The work of the institution can be lawfully expanded to meet all scientific and professional training needed by society in any direction, and for all times. The quality of the work done has always been of a high order; many of her Alumni have attained high professional rank, and will compare favorably with those of the best institutions in land.

The College is no longer an experiment. It has lived long enough to demonstrate its power both to endure and to be useful. With the growth of the institution, the growth of the Church and the advance of civilization, there has also come increased demands. The College needs additional endowment and additional buildings and equipments to support easily the work already undertaken, and to add other lines of work needed in this age. I am satisfied that if we had means enough to support a few additional professors, and to erect a science hall, properly equipped, scores of young people could be at-

tracted to Wittenberg to secure scientific and professional training who are now compelled to go elsewhere; many to purely secular schools.

We need a Y. M. C. A. building, with gymnasium equipment. We need a building for the conservatory of music, with recitation rooms and equipment, and a large auditorium in which the recitals, lectures and commencement exercises may be held.

We need an art building, where an art museum could be accumulated, with properly equipped studios. And in time medical, law and other departments should come. Indeed I hardly know which should come first.

I am certain that such an extension of the work of the institution would prove of great value to the city, to the Church and to the land. For as I have already said, the Church must provide for the training of all the leaders of society, in all business and professional lines. The demand is upon us, and the command to go forward is most imperative.

Will we heed the command? Will we meet the demand?

Would that God would lead some of his children, to whom he has given the power to create wealth, to a larger realization, both of their responsibility, and glorious privilege, to serve their age and honor their Maker by giving to this noble institution, the means needed for its proper enlargement and equipment.

Let us earnestly hope and fervently pray that this may be speedily and amply done.

ARTICLE V.

THE CHANGED CONDITIONS OF EDUCATION.

BY C. S. ALBERT, D. D.

"The nineteenth century," says Alfred Russell Wallace, "marks the beginning of a new era of human progress." And surely to the observant this claim is substantiated when its achievements are considered. Its discoveries have changed the outward conditions of life. Its larger knowledge has destroyed the very conceptions of the world and its growth which our fathers held. The directive principle of its thought, evolution, is masterful and antagonistic to much that the men of other centuries considered axioms. It is a new world in which we live, and this world has largely come into being during the last fifty years.

A few considerations, briefly stated, will more clearly indicate this.

President Taylor, of Vassar College, in *A New World and an Old Gospel*, has pointed out that these years have added immensely to the knowledge of the universe. "It was in 1845 that Neptune was discovered, extending enormously the limits of the known universe, and most of the measurements of the stellar spaces have taken place since then. Over 400 small planets have been discovered since 1850, and as late as 1892 the fifth satellite of Jupiter was brought within reach of the telescope. The vast spaces of the solar system are found to be filled with solid bodies, streams of which, as meteors, pass through our orbit, and before them the old nebular hypothesis seems to be giving way to a theory of the stellar universe formed of solid particles, united by impact and heat."

The world has been changed historically and temporally. The world period of six thousand years since man's creation is no longer tenable. Archaeology in Babylon and Egypt has revealed that historically man was there perhaps from 5,000 to

10,000 years B. C., and that back of this was an age not historical.

Geology, by its discoveries of the immense periods of time, has changed our vision of the past. But what is more important to thought, it has shown that the same forces which built up the earth are still at work. The unity of the power to create and to preserve is one. This is another world and requires different thinking from the old world of our fathers.

Again, invention has almost annihilated distances in the world. Steam and electricity have nearly banished space. Friend speaks with friend a thousand miles away. The Transvaal and the Philippines are nearer to us than Europe was to our fathers. What is of more consequence, these conditions have affected all our social, industrial, economic, political and spiritual life. They bind nations together as nothing ever did before. They lessen world-spaces and make its distant points near. Interests hitherto diverse, and isolated, now intertwine and have common relations.

Inventions have changed the world industrially, until we are confronted by the most serious problems of labor and capital, gigantic in their combinations and involving the well-being of millions. Industrial questions are new and strange.

Politically and socially vast changes have occurred. The people have come into power, slavery has disappeared. The ancient East is no longer sealed; the nations are in contact as never before; vast aggregations of people in cities bring distressing social conditions. Problems, our ancestors had, but never handled, vaster and profounder, are studied. Political economy and social problems must be considered and weighed.

Again, we are confronted by the discoveries of biology. Biology is the science of the phenomena of life. It has traced all life back to protoplasm, "the cell," beginning with this the biologist traces the structure, physiology and growth of the human nervous system. He deals with facts. And so psychology has come to be studied on the basis of physiology. Sociology must consider it in its investigations. Ethics, morality as a science,

is profoundly affected by its discoveries. Yet, biology was born as a science in 1860.

A new theory, at least in its scientific aspect, has come to stay in these last fifty years, the theory of evolution, which is dominant in many departments of knowledge, and affects all. It has brought modifications and changes. We may not concede the claims of its advanced advocates, but we cannot hide from ourselves that it has affected our views of creation, of history, religion, the Bible, and the Church.

It follows from these data that the scope of education has been vastly enlarged. Objects of study, departments of knowledge, of which our fathers either knew nothing or but vaguely, are now embraced in the curriculum of the educators. They have seriously affected educational methods and schemes which heretofore have laid down the preliminaries for the professional man. The classical course, so long unchallenged and dominant, is sharply criticized. Assault has been made on the study of Greek in particular and the classical languages in general as educational values and forces. Germany, the home of the idealist and dreamer, has felt the modern movement and the trend to the practical, and is being induced to rearrange its estimate of fundamental educational values.

The conditions of education have been changed both by the vastness of modern knowledge and the clamant demand of this practical age with its industrial victories and problems. There is a marked tendency to specialization which seeks to begin in the preparatory stages of education even in those of our common schools, and to grow more intense as it ascends to the higher stages of the college and university.

Under such conditions there must be an insistence on the true meaning of education. It must be allowed that the earlier schemes of higher education were largely in the interest of the clergy and of the men of literary leisure. The insistence put upon the classics was in their behalf, preparing them for their profession and a liberal education.

Underneath it all, however, there was a grasp of the fundamental meaning of education. The object of the collegiate ed-

education was the making of a man, by the development of his intellectual powers, and the formation of a moral and righteous character. There was therefore a broad and comprehensive training in disciplinary studies, in the classics, mathematics, history, moral and mental philosophy and the principles of science. The outcome was a balanced mind, master of its powers, taught to reason and judge, possessed of general information. "The college teaching was inadequate in quantity to enable a student to pretend to the mastery in any department, but adequate both in quantity and quality to enable even the less able students to estimate justly the world in which they lived and their capacity for usefulness in it." Above all the college of fifty years ago in our land had a high sense of its responsibility to so influence men morally and religiously that they should go forth from its walls men capable of justly estimating the value of work done by others in widely different spheres, men aware of their obligations to society, to their land and to their God, men of tough moral fibre, with high ideals of a noble life, determined to be of service to their fellow-men. Educated men were then looked up to as the champions and defenders of truth and right.

How deeply ingrained was this conception, the words of Prof. Huxley on a liberal education beautifully express, though, because he did not lay hold firmly on God, he fails to recognize the part which God should have in the educated life:

"That man, I think, has had a liberal education, who has been so trained in his youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure, all the work that as a mechanism it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logical engine, with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order; ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned

to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate all villainess, and to respect others as himself.

"Such a one and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education, for he is, as completely as a man can be, in harmony with nature. He will make the best of her, and she of him. They will get on together easily; she as the ever beneficent mother, he as her mouthpiece, her conscious self, her minister and interpreter."

After the college had laid the foundations of intelligent and moral manhood, the student was regarded as prepared for special work, for university work. He would ever carry with him into the particular province of knowledge he had selected as his own the conception of the largeness of the vast domains of knowledge in general. It curbed conceit. It balanced his judgments. He did humbly his particular work, readily acknowledging that there were other fields, as important as his own, concerning which he was not authority.

Special work from the beginning, the work which ignores the broader liberal education, has the tendency to narrow men, to warp their judgment, to make them incapable of putting a correct value on other departments of knowledge. This is most true of those who delve in the material. They lose their sensitiveness of mind and spirit to the spiritual. The eye of the soul films, its ear grows dull just as the great English scholar Darwin, devoted to science alone, died at last to the sweetness of music, to the thrill of poetry. No voice of singer could charm, no verse of Shakspeare stir response in him. His finer perceptions were atrophied from lack of use.

The college, the American college, therefore stands for foundations, the university, for special work. Broadly stated, the function of the college is the development of manhood, of the university, the enlargement of the boundaries of knowledge.

But another changed condition is apparent. The university has made the college curriculum a part of its course, and claims that it can lay better foundations than the smaller college. We may be sure that this claim is not made recklessly. Its advocates produce strong arguments in justification. The univer-

sity being richly endowed can enlarge its curriculum. It can call into its service a body of teachers and professors, each one of whom is a master of his department, competent to instruct; it claims that it is impossible that one man should successfully teach several departments, as the small college limited in endowment, makes obligatory on its professors. It commands the services of young men full of the enthusiasm of youth and in touch with the most modern methods, whilst at the same time it retains the services of the older men, ripe in learning and experience. The aggressiveness and dash of youth, so potent to kindle a like spirit in young men, is happily wedded to the caution and wisdom of riper years.

The small college has its distinct advantages, however, provided it is well-equipped for its particular function, and possesses men of learning, who are true teachers, able to impart knowledge and stimulate students. In the small college the student comes into direct contact with his professors. The professor and the student meet together and know each other. The young man regards the older as a friend, counsels with him about his studies and his future. The professor becomes interested in the man and the development of his character. He has time and opportunity to know his student. In the university much of this is lost. The unformed tutor is too often the instructor of the student. The professor and the boy do not come into constant and intimate personal contact.

There is, too, a distinct advantage to the student of the smaller college in the field it gives him for the development of individuality and personal power. One has well said: "As numbers diminish, individual responsibility increases. Few things are of more importance for an American boy than that he should early come to feel a degree of personal responsibility for the organic and social life about him. It is a great injury to a boy and to public interests that he should grow up content to be 'one of the mass,' to have his thinking done for him, and to take no part and feel no obligation in relation to what affects the common welfare. In the small college the individual counts for the utmost. His influence is at its maximum. Others find

him out, he finds himself out and he finds his own place. In the organizations of the college he finds the freest scope for whatever talent he has for leadership, counsel or helpful co-operation. The college is thus a gymnasium for the development of individual manhood."

Perhaps here is the reason why so large a proportion of the masterful men in literature, statesmanship and religion have been the sons of the small college. But we come now to a graver consideration, namely, the consideration of moral and religious influence. The undergraduate days are those in which a young man is most sensitive to influence in manners and morals, faith and character. Dr. Patton says: "A father may well feel that his son's refined demeanor would be a poor offset to his loss of religious faith, and that great attainments would not atone for bad habits. A young man would do well to consider the moral as well as the intellectual influences that surround a college or university. His undergraduate life will certainly not be a conspicuous success if he fails to acquire as the result of it that discipline of his powers and that degree of knowledge necessary for independent inquiry. But it will certainly be a conspicuous failure if he does not learn to scorn everything that is base and mean; if he does not come into possession of high ideals of conduct, and above all, if he ceases to maintain a reverent attitude toward the spiritual side of life.

"The first thing to be considered in regard to an institution of learning, whatever be its size and wheresoever it be situated, is, what is the moral tone of the place and what efforts are made there to keep the students under the best influences?"

The instinct of the Church has been correct when it provided the denominational college with professors, decided in Christian life and doctrine. It was the instinct of self-preservation, but also the perception that its peculiar life could only exert its strongest influence where the conditions were favorable to that life. It had regard for the young man as well as for itself.

Such colleges have in the past wonderfully won men to Christ. There the religious life has become precious to many.

These colleges through their instructors strong in intellect and devoted to God, have often been the means of salvation to thoughtless young men. It is remarkable that with a few noble exceptions our educated Lutheran laymen who are of untold value to the Church were educated in our Lutheran denominational colleges.

There is a distinction from the beginning between colleges. Some are founded from convictions, convictions of their absolute need as educational and moral factors. All over this land there are found colleges built to exploit a town and add to its attractions. But others have been founded on conviction, have been begun in sacrifice and continued in sacrifice. Carthage and Midland as well as Hartwick, Gettysburg, Wittenberg and Susquehanna, stand for conviction and sacrifice by self-denial and high ideals. The moral atmosphere thus engendered remains to invigorate the pulses of the spiritual life.

The state universities are the outcome of our educational system. We do not condemn them, but they are not distinctively Christian, either in the selection of professors, or in their influence. They cannot be, when the demand is that there shall be no distinctive religious teaching, when many who occupy chairs are either indifferent to or openly antagonistic to Christianity. Religious influences there are, but they are not dominant.

The same conditions prevail in others of the universities not supported by the state. The moral and religious influences are not dominant. How true this statement is, the following, quoted by Dr. Ray before the Presbyterian General Assembly, substantiates:

"President Holden, of Wooster, has just made an exhaustive study of the catalogues of all theological seminaries in this country. They contain 1915 theological students who are college graduates. Of these 1915 theological students 1805 come from Christian colleges and universities, and the remaining 110 from non-Christian (secularized and undenominational) colleges.

"I find by a careful collation of the last report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education the following facts: There are

about 54,000 youths in college classes in this country, about 28,000 of them in Christian, and about 25,000 of them in non-Christian colleges.

"So there is at present one college graduate theological student for every 16 students in Christian colleges, and one college graduate theological student for every 230 students in non-Christian colleges."

Whilst it is true we do not wish our colleges to be mere preparatory schools for ministers, we do desire that out of them our ministry should come. We do demand that the religious influence shall be such that not only men may be led to the ministry, but also that other educated men, lawyers, doctors, men of science, engineers and the like, be established in the faith, their religious convictions deepened, and they be men with a deep sense of their obligations to their fellow-men and God. Nevertheless we cannot appeal to the loyalty of our people alone to sustain the denominational college. Lutheran is a great word wherewith to charm, but it will not charm parents to send forth their children imperfectly equipped for life's strenuous struggles. There must be more than the name. In the chairs there must be men, able and trained to teach, there must be equipment, fitted to the requirements of the advanced demands of knowledge. It is not to be expected that parents will handicap their children in the strenuous race of the present life by sending them to Lutheran colleges which do not afford an education equal to that given by other colleges.

The Church, if it would keep its young men under its influence, can only do so by strengthening the college faculties. Men can no longer instruct students in several branches and teach each branch well. That is, in these days of specialization, the student can gain inspiration for study in a special branch alone from those who are masters in the department with which they deal, enthusiasts themselves, because they do original work and by independent study gain that mastery and love for their work, which brings the breath of life and enthusiasm to others.

But this means a large corps of instructors even for the small college, 15 to 25 professors. It means thorough equipment, good libraries, scientific apparatus, and—as it has come to be a truism that the body as well as intellect and spirit must be cared for, that intellect and spirit may have strong bodies to respond to their demands—there must be abundant opportunity to build up the body.

The best instructors must be adequately supported if they are to be at our command. This means money. Equipment means money. Physical appliances mean money.

Contrast on this Western field what the State Universities spend in a year for maintenance. \$180,000 in Nebraska, \$120,000 in Kansas. Iowa as much if not more. Then contrast our own colleges on this territory and understand the fearful odds with which they contend.

The following, which appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post*, in an article entitled, "Recent Gifts to Colleges," by James Melvin Lee, indicates how rapidly colleges and universities are increasing their endowments and multiplying their facilities and attractions:

Mr. E. L. Godkin, in retiring from the editorship of the *New York Evening Post*, published his recollections of nearly half a century of journalism, in which he took a pessimistic view of the press and the pulpit; but he thought that the progress made by colleges, big or little, both in the quality of instruction and in the amount of money received from personal gifts and bequests, was something unparalleled in the history of the world.

Though this is an era of large gifts, small ones are so numerous that in the aggregate they rival the former. One denomination has raised, chiefly by small subscriptions, nearly \$5,000,000 for its schools, as a twentieth century thank-offering. The endowment of Brown University has recently been increased by more than \$1,000,000; the complete list of the subscribers to this fund published in the Brown Alumni Monthly, numbered, by actual count, 176 persons, and, deducting the \$250,000 from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, it was for the most part given in fairly small amounts.

One of the most remarkable bequests of the past year was \$1,500,000 left by Mrs. Josephine L. Newcomb, of New York City, to Tulane University. According to information received from the secretary of that institution she had also given \$300,000 just before her death. Fifty thousand dollars has been received to found the library. Large gifts have been hitherto confined to Northern colleges—a fact which the South has lamented—but perhaps the tide is now turning.

Cornell College, of Mount Vernon, Iowa, through two of the trustees, Senator Allison and Governor Shaw, has secured the promise of \$40,000 from Mr. Carnegie. Of course it is for a library, and the conditions are that it shall be free to students and to citizens, and that the sum of \$4,000 shall be guaranteed for its maintenance. Other gifts amount to over \$200,000.

Cornell University, of Ithaca, New York, has received \$75,000 for enlarging the Sibley College of Mechanical Engineering. Other donations foot up \$141,953.

The principal gift to Syracuse University the past year was for a "College of Applied Science," by Mr. Lyman C. Smith. He believes that it will cost not less than \$725,000 before it is finished. Mr. John D. Atchbold has promised \$400,000 for endowment, provided an equal amount is raised by other friends of the institution.

Amherst has raised \$100,000 to increase the salaries of its professors, has added \$50,000 to its endowment, and has raised \$5,000 for various purposes. A promise of \$25,000 has been announced to be added to the fund for a new observatory building in case a like sum can be procured.

Oberlin has received \$120,000 for a gymnasium and a chemical laboratory. In addition, Mr. John D. Rockefeller has made a provisional offer of \$200,000 for general endowment, provided the college raises \$300,000 before January 1, 1902. According to official information \$150,000 has already been provided for.

Exclusive of the gifts made to the Bi-Centennial Memorial Fund, which now amounts to more than \$300,000, Yale has received over \$145,000 since July 31, 1900. An anonymous

gift of \$96,000 for building a dispensary under the charge of the medical department has also been received. Harvard is reported, though not officially, to have received \$735,000.

Other donations and bequests received by American colleges are as follows: Lafayette, 84,500; Princeton, \$250,000; Pennsylvania, \$540,000; Clark, \$3,000,000; Dartmouth, \$210,000; Western Reserve, \$150,000; University of Michigan, \$39,900; Ohio Wesleyan, \$600,000; Union, \$55,000; Columbia, \$492,000; Allegheny, \$170,000; American University, \$130,000; De Pauw, \$242,500; Dickinson, 51,500; and Wesleyan, \$70,000.

Thirty years ago our Lutheran colleges, in endowment, equipment, number of instructors, compared much more favorably with the leading colleges of the land than they do now. There is before us no more necessary work, nor one that our wealthy men should more earnestly sustain with large benefactions than the increase of the endowment and equipment of our colleges. If it be neglected, the future of the Lutheran Church will be meagre in results. The Church, shorn of strength, vitality and aggressiveness, will have little influence as a religious factor in the land.

Such are the facts. What relation has our Board of Education to do with these facts? The Board of Education enables us to found, maintain and strengthen the colleges just where our Church is now weak, but when it has every promise of a glorious future.

Long ago it was seen that if our Church was to supply the needs of its membership, and retain its educated young men, and women, it must have its own institutions right here on this western soil. Splendid Gettysburg and Wittenberg could not draw those seeking higher education to their walls past colleges at their very doors. They went to these nearby institutions, but they failed in many instances to return Lutherans. Young men trained in our seminaries East were not in touch with the life of the West and soon grew weary of work here and returned to the East where they felt more at home. Our ministry was peripatetic, our congregations languished. It was ab-

solutely necessary to found Midland and strengthen Carthage, to build on Western soil a seminary whose young men knew the great people of the Western States, thought their thoughts, lived their life and were proud of their states and thrilled with fiery pulsations of love for their honor and glory. The few years of work which have given us the noble men who are doing splendid work in these Western States have proved the wisdom of all this thought.

But the Board of Education stands for more. It stands for practical endowment. The money the Board receives is for direct expenditure, not for endowment. If the Church gives it an income of \$15,000, it is equivalent to \$300,000 endowment, \$25,000 to \$500,000 endowment, for the colleges it aids. It makes the college financially strong until the institution's constituents endow it well that the Board may found other institutions needed in other portions of our vast country.

The ministry and membership of the General Synod should intelligently grasp the situation. This is necessary work, missionary work of the highest order. Colleges to the Church are like West Point and the Naval Academy to the nation. The Church is militant before it is triumphant. The Church is engaged in the fiercest of all wars, wars waged not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Every member of the Church is or may be a soldier in this glorious war, but these soldiers of the Church need leaders and trained leaders. Captains of the Lord's hosts, under captains of that Great Captain of our salvation, Jesus Christ. Our colleges and seminaries train them to lead the membership to victory. The Church therefore that has the eye to see, the brain to conceive, the will to act will put its training schools just where they are needed and when they are needed. To this end it will not count the cost of sacrifice and gifts; for here, under God, it realizes, is the way to victory.

ARTICLE VI.
CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A. M.

Straws show which way the wind blows. Was Jesus a perfect gentleman? Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis finds a word in the Sinaitic palimpsest that confirms her opinion that he was. John 4 : 24 reads in the Syriac version : "And while they were talking, his disciples came and wondered that with the woman he was *standing* and talking."

The Jewish Rabbi sits while teaching. Jesus was sitting weary at the well, but "prompted by an innate feeling of chivalry" and courtesy for even "the most degraded representative" of womanhood, he rose to his feet to address the woman of Samaria.

The Expository Times for May.

How much of the historic life of Christ in the gospels is to be found in the letters of Paul? Prof. Rhys Rees Lloyd gives his answer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April.

There is no mention of supernatural birth ; no allusion to the childhood and youth of Jesus ; no reference to his baptism by water ; and discoverable teaching of Christ is limited to two statements made in the night of his arrest, and these may not be correctly reproduced. "This summary," says Mr. Lloyd, "causes us to wonder at the silence maintained respecting the marvelous discussions and conversations of Jesus." And we wonder too ; not at the silence of the Pauline letters, but at the spectacles through which Prof. Lloyd reads them. Only parallel statements in gospels and letters shine through the glasses, or make any apprehensible impression on the retina ; while di-

rect allusions, principles, spirit, ethical and soteriological facts christologically worded are dark invisible lines. On this principle a credible history of the great life which moves the moral world must be brief indeed, briefer even than two statements; *nihil*.

Did Paul and Silas travel with a Baedeker? Prof. Selwyn thinks that the Septuagint Book of Joshua was the guide book of the Second Missionary Journey. If Prof. Lloyd finds little of the historic Christ in Paul's letters, Prof. Selwyn finds much of Jesus, Son of Naue, in Paul's conceptions. The spirit of Joshua is the Spirit of Jesus. Paul and Silas were prophets, and as Christian prophets "searched the Scriptures in order to find fulfilment." "They were the two spies sent by Jesus, Son of Naue, to spy out the land and Jericho." From Horeb to the Jordan finds its antitype in the descent from "the mountains of Misia to the coast of Troas." The man of Macedonia fulfils the call of the men of Gibeon, or the Captain of the Lord's host with sword in hand challenging Joshua.

The land of Canaan was ordered by Joshua to be described into seven portions. These two Christian prophets divided the Roman Empire into seven portions "to allot to the tribes of the new and greater Israel." When the lots were cast before the Lord at Shiloh the first to come up was the tribe of Benjamin. This was Paul's tribe, and Paul "accepted Macedonia as the inheritance of the Lord." Philippi was their Jericho. Jericho was taken on the seventh day, and the "crowning incident" occurred outside the gate of Philippi on the Sabbath day. Rahab finds fulfilment in Lydia, and the scarlet thread in the Thyatiran purple. "Jericho was 'straitly shut up and made fast with bars; none went out and none came in.' This is fulfilled in the prison at Philippi."

The songs and hymns of Paul and Silas find their type in the shouts of the marching multitude; the noise and simultaneous fall of the walls, in the earthquake and simultaneous opening of the prison doors.

How Lydia becomes the antitype of the ventriloquist (witch) of Endor, and the manner in which Shiloh, (Selo) becomes metamorphosed into Thessalonica, we leave to the reading of the articles themselves for elucidation. And here something from an older document seems to have crept in. Paul and Silas—accompanying Timothy is nobody now, probably uncircumcised—arrive at Thessalonica as the two angels before Sodom. Jason is Lot receiving them. And then an after-suggestion supplements the Baedeker. The raising of the widow's son at Zarephath is the type of resuscitated Eutychus, and all the circumstances of restoration find parallels in the conduct of Paul and Elijah. And finally the Conciliar letter embodying the decrees delivered to the brethren in the cities of Asia Minor has its suggestions in two of its parts in the final exhortation of Joshua to the Israelites (Josh. XXIII 7ff). We surmise that Dr. Selwyn is writing a parody on certain methods of Biblical Criticism. *The Expositor* for July and August.

In the same number of *The Expositor* Dr. George Matheson gives his view of the relation of evolution to the moral life of man.

Toward morality the material world seems perfectly indifferent. The impression on man in the presence of boisterous nature in its stormiest moments is not that the universe is angry, but that it is utterly indifferent. The powers of nature do not manifest enmity, but they do awaken an appalling sense in us that we are overlooked. It is in the moral sphere that we feel this most keenly. But what is the source of this impression? Does it originate with science? Dr. Matheson thinks not. It has arisen from disappointed poetry. "The doctrine of Evolution has disproved the assertion that Nature is morally indifferent." "I think the process of evolution as it appears in our world, is a distinctly moral process." Morality "has come originally from the stars." The growth of moral law is the result of "earthly evolution." "Sin is selfishness and morality is socialness." "Morality is sympathy," feeling for others, "altruism." And where does sympathy come from? The necessities of life

have driven men into companionship. From this feeling of necessary regard has grown sympathy, and from sympathy socialness has come. This reasoning shows that morality has its origin in selfishness, and this is not a happy "star." The order of moral evolution is the selfish necessity of gregariousness for common defence, then the growth of fellow feeling, sympathy, socialness, altruism, morality. Mr. Matheson does not say so, but his evolution of morals results in bald utilitarian ethics. Selfishness then is the root and ethics the fruit. But selfishness is not originally sin. It becomes sin however. They are not synchronous in origin and action. Sin is the far subsequent fruit of selfishness. Selfishness is not sin in the "moneron." "It is not merely that the moneron knows no better; there is no better to be known. There can be no degradation where there is no height." Selfishness is a virtue in the unmoral state. But in the unmoral state there are premonitions of altruism. Swarms of bees and bands of swallows are proofs of the moral attitude of nature, proofs that nature is not morally indifferent. But Dr. Matheson leaps the chasm between inanimate and animate nature and leaves no bridge for us to follow him. We are still far away from the stars.

But what place does Christianity occupy in the system of moral evolution? At what point does Christianity approach man in his rise from the "moneron"? What is the difference between man and the unmoral life that is below him? Is it the endowment of reason? the power of language? the grace of altruistic sympathy and sentiment? In none of these respects is man original. The world of unmoral creatures shares these powers with him. What is it that man possesses *alone*, that differentiates him from the lower animal world? Dr. Matheson is ready to express the supremacy of man in a single sentence: "The developed man is distinguished from the animal nature everywhere in the fact that he alone of all creatures has power of sympathy sufficient to leap the wall of his own species." Christianity in man is simply the spread of his altruism. The dog will spring into the water to save a child, but the act is the

result of training. He will do the same for a stick or an umbrella. The bee in search of nectar carries pollen which fructifies the blossom. But it does it without a purpose. The savage loves and defends those who are of his tribe. Judaism calls all to Jerusalem. Men must become "proselytes of the gate." Buddhism heralds the same cry, "Come into my garden." All these simply manifest altruism within the species. But Christianity leaps the wall of separation between races and makes her altruism cosmopolitan. This is the distinctive feature of Christianity. And Christianity is in no respect a supernatural element. Mr. Matheson emphatically declares this possession which man holds alone to be "the result of his latest development." Christianity does not enter the world as a factor from the supersensible world, but as a fruit of evolution, the product of development. Christianity is "as secular a force in the world as the electric telegraph or the steam engine." When the book comes to be written which explains the place of Christ in the system of evolution its scope and province will be divided between the theologian and the British Association, for Christianity is the discovered "link between the Altruism of the animal nature and the Altruism of the man."

Is Christianity then entirely embraced as a part of natural evolution? or is natural evolution as a system all Christian? Only in the latter aspect can there be such a thing as Christian evolution. A great body of truth has been brought to light through the method of research called evolution, and what shall we do with it? It certainly has a place somewhere. All knowledge is related knowledge; the system of the universe is one, and the ultimate cause must be first and sole. Evolution has rightly nothing to do with origins, only with material phenomena; nothing to do with the First Cause. Its association with phenomena is not causation, but method. It is not the study of origins, or of ends, but rightly deals solely with the conduct of nature. All evolutionists have not been true to evolution. But the trend of science now is toward the separation of the departments of knowledge. All knowledge is related, but its

genetic relations are not yet all known. Some evolutionists have tried to be metaphysicians and theologians to the detriment of evolution. The effort has been to be historic from end to end, or without end in a completed circle of related truths. Evolution has been sought as a principle of consecutive action in nature from the unknown to the unknown, a system complete, linked together in all its parts with no ligament ill-fitting. It must not only be historical, but genetic. This procedure on the part of some scientists has carried evolution out of its province. True evolution will become the Christian theologian's evolution too. It is a method of action in nature that does not eliminate God from his active relation to the universe.

But dangers lurk unseen in subjectiveness and speculation. The Christian evolutionist who takes his evolution into his present study of origins will lose his religion in metaphysics; and if he takes the end of moral endeavor, the law of righteousness, to be the product of natural development, he will metamorphose his religion into ethics.

Because some disciples of evolution have done both these things, some theologians have sought to follow them. But both these efforts transgress the province of evolution. There is no historic point where natural evolution is to be separated from Christian evolution. They are both one, or none. There is a right and possible adjustment of evolution as a system to the body of revealed truth.

The Christian consciousness can find itself at home in it, and hold its religious conceptions still spiritually valid. But the question now is, "What is the scope of evolution?" And the answer is rightly given, "Material phenomena." This is the coming limited province of evolution. Material science deals only with sensible phenomena. The content of the supersensible is not its field.

If the content of religion and of ethics be explained by the attempt of evolution, we reach Feuerbach's faith. Theology becomes but anthropology, and ethics but subjectiveness. The supreme being is man. In his spiritual idealizations man objectifies and contemplates himself. *Homo homini deus*. Exalted

ethical and spiritual conceptions as attributes of God or of man are figments of the imagination. When man idealizes he de-naturalizes himself, and departing from his nature he mutilates his true self. If evolution be nature itself and not method, man is but the natural development of the world's inherent forces, and there is nothing above him, nothing higher. And when we turn to origins and ultimates and attempt to solve them by evolution we reach a sort of divine immanence which is nothing short of pantheism. That perfect order which we see is a method of divine action in nature, conscious or unconscious. If the latter, we have Von Hartmann's philosophy; if the former, we have the faith of Spinoza, who says that when we love ourselves, we love God; or of Fichte, who says the same thing negatively. We cannot love God. Our love of God is God's love for himself in us. Hegel generalizes the whole relation of man to God by saying that religion is God's consciousness of himself in us. The highest place of man is to be but a part of something, though that something be the Infinite. The pioneer theological evolutionist, Schleiermacher, our prophet of pantheistic romanticism, finds man reaching the highest conception of himself in his religion, a religion which is man's consciousness of being part of the Infinite. At last ethics too loses its positive content and passes into aesthetics, into a dreamy rest amid the relations of the beautiful. Religion becomes independent of morality and of activity, and is the immediate movement of God in man. To adapt Christ to this system, he must be divested of his divinity, and his gospel must be sublimated into an ethical soteriology. We have this adjustment made by Harnack, who says, "To represent the Gospel as an ethical message is no depreciation of its value."

Jesus had the most intimate and deep knowledge of God, and the closest moral affinity to him. This penetrative knowledge and perfect moral sympathy made Jesus the Son of God. The divinity of Christ was a speculative idea of Paul's. Jesus brought a good man's message to men. "Therefore to say that the Gospel is a matter of ordinary morality is not to misunderstand him." This is the *extract* of the "Essence of Christian-

ity." It is the fruit of evolution carried into religious phenomena. The supersensible is weighed in material balances and found seriously wanting.

The acceptance of evolution as a method of nature does not necessitate the loss of all pure religion, but it does demand some new forms for the religious content. That the forms of our religious content have undergone historic changes and will undergo them is admissible. The new aspect, however, to be true, dare not violate the moral purpose and end of Christian Revelation. It is the unsettled implications of evolution, and not its proved certainties that awakens apprehension.

When the Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, was in Constantinople, he observed a burial custom which brought to mind a pamphlet, *The Parable of the Grave-Clothes*, by Rev. Mr. Beard. As the funeral passed Mr. Latham noticed as the corpse lay on a bier that there was an exposure of the face, neck and upper part of the shoulders, leaving a space of a foot or more between the wrappings of the head and of the body. A new argument for the resurrection of Jesus impressed itself upon him, which he produces in his book, *The Risen Master*.

The body of Jesus was laid on a ledge in the rock hewn sepulchre with the head on a slightly elevated step. On the resurrection morning when John entered the empty tomb, "he saw, and believed." What did he see? He saw the linen clothes lying, but the body gone out of them. There lay the cloths as if the body were still in them, only lying slightly flat, but not displaced. The body had just slipped out of them. And where the head lay he saw the napkin lying by itself, the "rolled-round" napkin, (*εντετυλιγμενον*), the curled up headdress, a little flat, but not displaced, the roll still in it. The body could not have been stolen, for that act would have necessitated the unwrapping of the cloths which were left. Nor could friends have removed the body and left the linen cloths as they were lying. The spices were not scattered from unwound cloths indicative of hasty removal. If John had seen cloths unwound and folded, it would have suggested removal of the body. But no hands had been there. The body had passed out of the

cloths and left them undisturbed. That is what John saw; and that is why he believed.

Prof. G. Frederick Wright sees in the Old Testament miracles the element of divine opportuneness. The destruction of Sodom, the parting of the waters of the Jordan for the passing over of Joshua and the hosts of Israel, and the falling of the walls of Jericho are miracles wrought by physical causes through divine agency. Geological disturbances culminated in the destruction of Sodom. An earthquake opened the faucets of spouting oil wells. Subterranean forces made a landslip in the bed of the Jordan and the flow of the waters was momentarily stopped. There was a mine under the walls of Jericho, but so deeply laid that only the divine hand could touch the explosive. But the concurrence of geologic time with the time of these chronicled events is hardly verifiable. The Old Testament history of this period is chronologically established with variations of but several centuries. But geology wants millenniums before historic time for the occurrence of the great Fault of the Jordan valley, and the subsequent physical disturbances significant in that region. Divine opportuneness in miracles, the moving of physical forces by divine agency for moral ends, is quite credible. The principle is acceptable, but in these cases it is difficult to synchronize the facts with geologic time.

Bibliotheca Sacra for April.

Even chickens have evidential value for Old Testament criticism. There is an extra-legal sacrifice still offered by the Jews on the day of Atonement, consisting of a cock. This custom can be traced back nearly to the time of the exile. But the first chapter of Leviticus names the sacrificial animals, the ox, the sheep, the goat, and of fowls, two kinds of doves. The hen was introduced into Palestine by the Persians when they came as conquerors. This fowl was known to the Jews at the time of the exile, but not before. The Levitical code was fixed before the exile, else it would have included among acceptable offerings a clean fowl fit for sacrifice.—*The Expository Times* for Jan.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.

During the last week of Sept. 1900, the *Congres scientifique international des catholiques* met in Munich. This association, or diet, of Roman Catholic scientific men, was called into existence in 1888 by Prof. Duilné, Rector of the University of Toulouse, and Msgr. d'Hulst, Rector of the *Institut catholique* in Paris. Since then it has assembled triennially. In 1888 and in 1891 it met in Paris, in 1894 in Brussels, in 1897 in Freiburg in Switzerland, and in 1900 in Munich. At the first three diets the influence of the German Catholics was very small. But a marked change was to be noted at Freiburg, where about one-fourth of the addresses were in German; and at Munich last year about two-thirds of the whole number of addresses were in German. The 260 addresses delivered there were distributed among the several languages represented as follows: German 183; French 41; English 13; Italian 10; Spanish 9; Latin 4. In fact the Congress received its impress and character from the German Catholics present and participating. The "Acts" of this congress have been published in a 518 page vol. Prof. Zoeckler reviewed this report in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of June 21st, 1901, as follows:

The animating spirit of the meeting, which was felt in almost every address, "was, when put in few words, 'our scientific work dare not stand behind that of Protestantism.'" "In spite of the humble address of loyalty to the Pope, a marked tendency pervaded the acts of the meeting that recalled the 'Reformed Catholicism' of Schell and J. Mueller." The common assertion that the work of Catholic scientists amounts to little, when compared with that of Protestant students, was most energetically denied by almost every one of the leading speakers. A char-

acteristic expression of this was found in the address on *Catholic Truth as Key to the History of Philosophy*, which was delivered at the first general session by Willman of Prague, author of *History of Idealism*. Beginning with the declaration of Joseph Goerres; 'dig deeper and you will find Catholic foundations everywhere,' he warned expressly against the Rationalism, the Individualism and the 'Relativism' of the reigning spirit of the age in modern scientific work among Protestants, and recommended over against these modern systems (especially that of Kant and his most recent disciples) the coöperation of speculation and religion, as the Catholic *philosophia perennis*, going back to St. Thomas of Aquinas, teaches and exhibits."

The chief address at the second general assembly was by von Hertling on *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*. It was directed against the modern attempts at separating the primitive Christian "kernel and fundamental contents" from the husk in which we find it, as a result of Hellenizing influences already in anti-Nicaean and still more in post-Nicaean times, *i. e.*, he opposed the theory of Harnack and his followers in history of dogma. Hertling's protest against the onesidedness of this view of history included much that was striking and even acceptable to those who hold to the positive evangelical standpoint. "In agreement with the Roman Catholic system, the speaker declared at the close, 'in Thomas Aquinas the relation of Christianity to Greek Philosophy reached its zenith; but he also raised the question as to whether in it the historical process has really closed, and thought, that though formulation of dogmas dare experience no change, the conceptions, which stand or stood only on the periphery of the Christian doctrinal content, are subject to the change of human investigation and thought, just as surely as 'not all that in the 13th century was taken with ecstatic approval from Aristotle, can stand before the increasing knowledge of nature of later ages.'"

The German address, delivered by Hartmann Grisar, Professor of church history at Innsbruck, on *A Wish for Catholic Historical Criticism*, rose almost to a surprising boldness, and warned Catholic students to keep pace with modern science,

and to give up all that was untenable in Catholic tradition. "It sounds strange, indeed, that a priest of a Society of Jesus should raise and defend the accusation against the ultramontane hyperconservatism in the realm of history, 'that it does not pay any attention to the historical genesis and growth of the hundred-fold errors, that appeared in a former age, and were circulated, mostly in good faith.' The speaker received marked applause, in spite of the unreserved way in which he made war on the superstitions connected with relics and miracles in Catholic popular writings, and on the non-critical holding of traditions connected with the Catacombs and other ecclesiastical monuments, and on the remaining untenable legends in the Breviary and in the stories of the martyrs, etc. On page 142 of the Report we read: 'The address made a profound impression on the assembly, which found expression in a storm of applause.'" Yet the address of Grisar showed plainly enough, toward the end, that its critical propositions are not intended as attacks on the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical system. 'A close sympathy with church authority' must unconditionally be preserved in the completion of this critical process of purification, which has been taken in hand. Under all conditions one must avoid wounding the Christian spirit by a too merciless procedure against venerable traditions, that have become dear to the Catholic common people. 'For example, it would be altogether unseemly for a person to announce to the people from the pulpit, in a tone of marked superiority, or even derision, that the *Casa santa di Loreto* was not borne thither by angels from Nazareth.' Thus even here is seen the well known opportunism of the Jesuitical method of teaching and politics."

Prof. de Lapparent, in mentioning the great services of his deceased colleague, Prof. d'Hulst, of the Paris *Institut catholique*, spoke at length of the exact scientific method of investigation, especially as it appeared toward the end of the last century, and its relation to faith and the Catholic Church, and expressed the opinion that it meant no danger whatever for Catholicism. Grauert, the historian from Munich, voiced the same sentiments. Throughout the Congress the Catholic natural scientists showed

a very kindly feeling of appreciation for their fellow investigators among the Protestants, and did not hesitate to express it whenever occasion permitted.

These congresses are divided into eight sections, according to the various subjects treated: Science of Religion, Philosophy, Social and Legal Science, History, History of Art and Civilization, Orientalia, Philology and Natural Science. Prof. Bardenhewer published a volume of "Biblical Studies" of the diet, for which he selected ten addresses from the Orientalia section (almost all of the addresses in this section were on, or immediately connected with, biblical themes) and two from the section that treated of the Science of Religion.

Prof. Zoeckler chose two of these theses as characteristic of the modern Catholic striving after more exact scientific method in Old Testament work. Prof. Hoberg, of Freiburg in Br., closed his address on *Negative and Positive Criticism of the Pentateuch*," with demand, that "over against the non Catholic investigation of the Pentateuch there must be placed a Catholic critique, which is strong in itself and is not conscious of continual dependance upon the former." The Jesuit, von Humelauer, of Valkenburg in Holland, in his address *Concerning Deuteronomy*, offers a specimen of such an independent Catholic criticism of the Pentateuch, in which he shows a marked approach to the position of the Wellhausen school, as is shown by the following conclusions: The collection of laws in Deut. 12, to 26, 15 contains fragments of the "words of Joshua." And before the royal law of Samuel is to be placed the "real Mosaic kernel" of Deut., the Mosaic law, Deut. 6, 1 to 7, 11. This primitive "Thora" with the curse chapter, Deut. 28, form the "covenant words" of the second covenant entered into by Moses in Moab, etc. Other addresses revealed similar tendencies. Hence we are forced to the conclusion, that there is a higher criticism in the Roman Catholic Church which is closely related to that of the Wellhausen school.

Grisar, the Jesuit professor of Church History in Innsbruck, is publishing a *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*,

which Prof. Tschackert reviews in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of July 5th. Though Grisar professes to view the events that he chronicles without prejudice, he shows plainly, in the coloring that he gives events, that he is an ultramontane Jesuit. The view-point, from which he examines everything, and in the interests of which everything is presented, is that of unity under the Pope, which, as a moulding and directing thought, can be traced on almost every page. In fact Tschackert thinks that the evident purpose for which the work was written is the glorification of the Papacy. The history of the city of Rome is used merely as a back-ground, on which to show the popes to the best advantage. Grisar shows the same critical attitude toward the "trash of legend and superstition" that he assumed before the Catholic congress in Munich in 1900; but he accepts the legend of Peter, on which the entire Jesuitic and Vatican conception of the Papacy rests, and builds his history of the popes on it.

Tschackert notes the great contrast between Grisar's history and that of Gregorovius (*History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*). The latter holds up the picture of the "eternal city," and presents the popes in strict objectivity. The heroic characters among them, those who accomplished something good, are given the prominence they deserve, and the bad popes are shown in realistic faithfulness. Hence, in spite of all the results of recent investigation, the work of Gregorovius is no more likely to be set aside as out of date than one of the chief works of Ranke or Karl Hase. No wonder the later Catholic scientists working in this field refuse to bow under the yoke of Gregorovius, for it is but natural that the ultramontanizing of learning should bring early and characteristic fruits just here.

It seems almost that an evil fate pursued Grisar's work, for at the same time Graf Hoensbroech's important volume on *Das Papstthum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit* appeared, which shows the work of the Papacy in impeding progress, and going to the sources, produced terrible pictures of the inquisition and various superstitions. It presents a night-scene, dark and awful, over against Grisar's bright picture in light colors.

It is true that Hoensbroech's book is one-sided. But that which it offers is true, which accounts for the great influence it exercises already. A second edition followed close upon the first. And, in spite of its one-sidedness, Tschackert prophesies that from all appearances it will occupy a lasting place in German historical literature, and prove to be a healthful corrective for those who may be captivated by Grisar's master work.

Prof. Wilderboer, in his address delivered on the occasion of his surrendering the rectorship of the University of Groningen in Holland, criticized severely the one-sided use of the doctrines of development, when applied to the religious history of Israel. He declared unconditionally that the oft repeated alternative is false: Either a decline of the religion of the people from the original height, which the prophets still represented, or a development of the old religion, still fostered by the people, to the ethical Javehism of the prophets.

He claims that there existed, at the time of the appearance of Javhism, a religion of the people, which Javeheism had to overcome. The essential content of this primitive religion is to be determined chiefly by comparison with the religion of the ancient Arabians. The mingling of Javeh and his cult with Baal of the Canaanites, occasioned by Javeh, the Sinai God, becoming Lord of Canaan and supplanting Baal, had a greater meaning for the religion of the people in the land of Canaan. Javehism did not only stand in opposition to this religion of the people, compounded out of different elements, it derived also much from it. This is true both in its religious customs and in its conceptions. The hope of immortality and belief in the resurrection are also, in part, conditioned by these factors. In a word the numerous phenomena cannot be brought under the categories of "decline" or "development." We cannot explain the ancient religious life of Israel by an "either-or." Wilderboer sums up the result briefly as follows: Two elements extend through the history of the Israelitish religion: We have a natural and an ethical element, or, if you prefer, a developed and an instituted religion. And the latter does not proceed

from the former—a thought that, in the main point, would be accepted by most Old Testament students.

Wurm has also raised his voice against the one sided application of the idea of development to the religious history of Israel in *Beitraege zur Foerderung christlicher Erkenntniss*. He discusses the historico-religious paralels to the Old Testament, in three sections. In the first, which treats of the primitive religion, Wurm seeks to prove that the historico-religious paralels throughout confirm Paul's conception as found in Rom. 1 : 18, *et seqq.*, for there is nowhere a real difficulty in tracing the existing heathen religions back to a primitive monotheism; while, on the other hand, there are great difficulties, especially the unity of God in the religions of uncultured peoples, in accounting for them on the basis of a primitive polytheism. In the second section, which treats of the national religions, and the position of the law in them, the Graf-Wallhausen theory is refuted by historico religious paralels, and it is proven that the Old Testament giving of the law, according to its chief elements, does not come from a post-exilian period, or the time of later kings, but is the original bond which made the people of Israel a civilized people. The third section treats of the transition of the national religion to a world religion, and shows that Christianity alone is the really redeeming universal religion, in which the religious conception found its purest expression.

Dr. Theodore Elze published a pamphlet on *Luthers Reise nach Rom*, which has been reviewed by Bossert. The pamphlet and the review show clearly that the four chief problems connected with this journey of Luther are as unsettled as ever. Up to the present time there is no agreement as to the date, occasion, Luther's relation to the occasion, and the road traveled. Elze sets as the time the late Fall, Winter and Spring of 1510 and 1511. He thinks that the occasion was matters connected with the Augustinian cloister at Wittenberg, and that Luther was a messenger or chosen delegate to the Pope to attend to the matter, whatsoever it was.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL. PHILADELPHIA.
1522 ARCH STREET.

Elementary Homiletics or Rules and Principles in the Preparation and Preaching of Sermons. By the Rev. Jacob Fry, D. D., Professor of Homiletics and Sacred Oratory in the Lutheran Seminary at Mount Airy, Philadelphia, Pa. Second Edition. Revised and Improved. Pp. 215. \$1.00.

We welcome this book to our table, and we expect to use parts of it to illustrate, supplement and confirm passages in our own lectures on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons. The author speaks the language of sound judgment and of large experience. We like his fundamental principle: "Preaching is the chief business of the Christian ministry," p. 11. This is *apostolic*. Paul says: "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel," 1 Cor. 17. It is also *Lutheran*. Luther says: "Upon whom the preaching office is conferred, upon him is conferred the highest office in the Christian Church. He may baptize, administer the Lord's Supper, and discharge all pastoral duties, or if he do not so wish, he may abide in preaching alone, and leave to others baptism and other subordinate duties, as Christ did, and Paul and all the apostles, Acts 6." *Erl. Ed.* 22: 151.

With this principle in the foreground, and kept steadily in view, no intelligent writer is likely to err widely in teaching the science of preaching. At least we feel sure that Dr. Fry is thoroughly sound in all his main conceptions; and we believe that the minister who studies well and applies the rules, suggestions and cautions, contained in this book; that is, applies them, not slavishly, but in the free exercise of his own gifts and personality, will not fail to make preaching his chief business. We therefore endorse the fundamental principle with which this book starts.

The author modestly calls his book, *Elementary Homiletics*. Nevertheless he has given us in these 215 pages both *multum* and *multa*. We wish that he may find the necessary time, and have the inclination, to develop these *rules* and *principles* into a treatise three times as large as the present volume. There is need, we think, of just such a work as we suggest, a work by a competent hand on Homiletics according to the Lutheran conception of preaching.

We especially like Dr. Fry's *Methods of Division*, pp. 80 *et seqq.*, and approve the emphasis that he places on the *Analytical* or *Textual Method*. This, of course, is not the only lawful method of division, nor

with all texts the best method, nor with some texts a reasonably possible method, but it is preeminently the *Lutheran* method, the method by which the preacher can best unfold and apply the truths of God's word. While other methods of division may occasionally be employed for the purpose of emphasizing certain truths, or of answering objections or of treating delicate subjects, yet upon the whole that method of division will be found most fruitful which brings the largest amount of divine truth to bear on the minds and hearts of the hearers of the sermon.

We must also commend Dr. Fry's illustrations or examples of the various methods of division. These examples are so good and suggestive that we fear they will prove a temptation to many students of his book—not to imitate by diligent study, but to appropriate bodily. As a rule it is only the good that is appropriated.

With what the author says on *The Composition of the Sermon*, pp. 134 *et seqq.*, we are in hearty accord. Too many sermons are simply thrown together, much as billets of wood are thrown on a heap. There is utter lack of order, articulation, purpose. Thoughts cross each other at every possible angle. The end is not seen at the beginning, and is not held steadily in the mind's eye as the speaking proceeds. Often the speaking is not preaching, but a confused and rambling talk. It can make no definite impression. Every sentence strikes at a different place. A good plan is absolutely necessary to the composition of a good sermon. The preacher must be an architect. He must also be a wise master-builder. He must gather his materials with care; he must keep his audience in view; he must choose his language with reference to force, elegance and propriety. "Every young preacher should write out one sermon every week," p. 136. The young preacher who does not heed this suggestion for at least the first ten years of his ministry, will, in all probability, do like "the empty cart" of which the author speaks in another place—he will "rattle," and we may add, Will soon go a begging.

Dr. Fry lays much stress on *Declamation or Delivery*. Here he treats excellently of *Voice, Utterance, Gesture*. We commend the chapters to all who think that God will be specially effective through the low, indistinct, monotonous, affected, nasal, "professional," tones of a preacher. A strong, sonorous, manly voice, intelligently and sympathetically used, is, on the human side, the mightiest element of a minister's power. Yet the voice is an instrument for which at least a majority of ministers have very little concern. Preaching is divine Truth through personality. The more attractive and effective the personality, the more effective the truth will be. Dr. Fry's suggestions on the training and use of the voice, are very practical. A good voice, clear and distinct utterance, and appropriate gestures, seldom come to the preacher, except as the result of long and patient self-training.

The poet is born; the orator is made, that is, chiefly self-made. "Every man therefore who enters the pulpit is bound by the highest motives to give all diligence in cultivating his powers of speech, and in studying the recognized laws of oratory," p. 175.

But why particularize? The clerical reader of this notice will do himself and his congregation a real service by studying this book carefully, and by making a diligent application of its "rules and principles in the preparation and preaching of sermons." He will also find the literary style of the book, good—clear, concise, and generally correct. But we venture to suggest that the author and the reader examine the words, "excellencies," pp. 173, 174, and "none," p. 146, in the *Century Dictionary*. On pages 125–6 it is clearly implied by the grammar that a "hammer" is to be "driven in." Nor can we refrain from calling attention to the author's constant omission of the conjunctive *that*, before subordinate clauses, as twice, for instance, on p. 208, last line and line ten from the bottom. Such omission in such sentences is certainly not justified by classic English usage. But these lapses are only *ut maculae solis*.

What we have written up to this time is intended to express our opinion on the more strictly homiletical parts of this book. On the *Selection of Texts*, Dr. Fry has this to say: "Ordinarily the text of the sermon for the chief service of the day should be taken from the *Gospel* or *Epistle* for the day, either whole or in part," p. 36. This thesis is supported by the usual arguments, as (*a*) such selection makes Christ the centre of the sermon; (*b*) It preserves the cultus of our Church; (*c*) It maintains the communion of saints; (*d*) "It preserves the congregation from being subject to the special whims, likes or dislikes, of the preacher in the choice of texts and topics;" (*e*) "It saves the preacher from the perplexity and loss of time incident to selecting at random"—the three last words from *contradictio in adjecto*.

Now we do not deny that there are some advantages in voluntarily following—Dr. Fry is "very far from believing or advocating the *compulsory* use, by ecclesiastical enactments or otherwise, of these *pericopes* as the invariable texts for the sermon at the chief service of each Sunday," p. 39—the *pericopes*. But long study and careful observation have convinced us that the ends to be attained, as suggested by Dr. Fry, can be just as easily and *more fully* attained by the thoughtful and judicious preacher, who makes his own selections in view of known wants of the congregation. And as for the argument connected with the "whims" of the preacher, we regard that as too *whimsical* and too weak to claim serious attention, and it is utterly refuted by the history of preaching, which shows only too evidently that the observance of the *pericopal* system has not preserved the congregations from the whims, vagaries, conceits, arbitrarinesses, etc., of the preachers. Under Romanism these very *pericopes* have been made to set forth the

merits of the saints, and of the Virgin. Under Orthodoxy they were made convenient pretexts for sermons against the Catholics, the Reformed, the Socinians, the Macedonians, the Patripassians, the Valentinians. Carpzov suggested a hundred methods of dividing a text, and well illustrated his artificiality, not to say, whimsicality, by preaching a whole year on Christ as an artisan, and described him as a cloth-maker (Matt. 6 : 25), as a lamp-maker (Luke 2 : 47), as an upholsterer. M. Dietrich named Christ "the best chimney-sweep," and then described the chimney-sweep, the flue, the broom. On another occasion his theme was: "*Christ as a Target, the arrows, the miss-shots.*" Sustmann took for his subject *Christi Esel*, and then preached on our "asinine nature." Reimer preached on the Holy Ghost as a "big cannon" (Karthanne). Andrew Schoppius preached on the origin of the human hair, and thundered against the tobacco-brothers and the tobacco-sisters. These and other themes equally monstrous were extracted from the *pericopes*; and in the grand old days of Orthodoxy the sermons were so long that Gerber complains that in the churches and chapels, the people laughed, and jested, and conversed, and even slept. "Churches and chapels were turned into beer-halls and theatres. Yea, we read that during the divine service people got drunk and committed offences that cannot even be named." Kahnis, *Deutscher Protestantismus* I., 115.

And every reader of the QUARTERLY is supposed to know that under the dominance of Rationalism these same Pericopes were made the starting points for lectures on farming, vaccination, the making of wills, on birds, beasts and fishes.

And as for keeping Christ at the centre and maintaining the cultus of the Church, and preserving the communion of the saints, we know that Rationalism drove Christ completely from the centre, debased the cultus of the Church, and ignored the communion of the saints.

It is thus demonstrable that the *Pericopes* provide the congregation with no final guarantee against the special whims, the likes and dislikes, of the preacher. Indeed they may be used, and have been used, to give a certain authority to clerical whims. The remedy against clerical whims is clerical common sense. The minister who has good common sense joined with intelligent piety and a devout spirit, does not need to bow his head to an external yoke, whether such be made by civil or ecclesiastical enactments, or by the dictation of the self-appointed guardians of the Church's doctrine and practice, who are wont to charge disloyalty upon everyone who does not follow the traditions of the elders.

As for the argument about "selecting at random," that is a reflection on the tens of thousands of wise and faithful preachers in our own and in other lands, who judiciously adapt means to ends by selecting texts that will furnish themes for sermons best suited to the demands of the hour. The many should not be deprived of the large liberty they have

in Christ, because a few preachers, who have "special whims," and "select at random," have abused that liberty.

But we do not wish to be misunderstood. We are heartily in favor of all the legitimate ends aimed at by the *pericopal* system. But, as already intimated, we believe that these ends can be *more fully* attained by the free selection of texts. There is only a small part of Christ, and of the communion of the saints, and of the spirit and principles of worship, contained in the *pericopes*. The selection is conspicuous for omissions, rather than for inclusions. It leaves out some of the most precious and important parts of the Gospels and Epistles. In the *Table of the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Festivals of the Church Year*, now before the American Lutheran Church, only thirty verses are taken from the Gospel of Mark. From the same table the entire Old Testament is omitted, except a few verses from Isaiah, Joel and Jeremiah; also all of the Acts of the Apostles except thirty-one verses, and all of the Apocalypse, the Parable of the prodigal son, the conversation of Christ with the woman of Samaria, the restoration of Peter, all the parables in Matthew 13 except one, a very large part of the Sermon on Mount, the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:15; and from the Epistles very many of the most effective passages on justification. Hence the preacher who preaches from these "Epistles" and "Gospels" year after year, or even "ordinarily" takes his text from these sources, whether he do it in obedience to prescriptive regulation, or to churchly custom, or to self-imposed limitation as the custom of some is, will find that he cannot give his people a comprehensive knowledge of the Scriptures in their organic unity. Much of the counsel of God respecting their salvation will be necessarily withheld from them, unless the preacher make digressions that are homiletically unwarrantable, just as in Germany, where the use of the *Pericopes* is compulsory, the more conscientious and spiritual pastors have been wont to do. "Moreover, with prescribed texts *the necessary attention to the present special needs and circumstances of the congregation is made too difficult* for the preacher, as is also the free *outpouring of his own spiritual life*, of the truths and experiences of life which have been affecting him throughout the week. In this way not only is the congregation's desired to learn, which should always remain fresh, easily hindered, and weakened, so that at length many have no conception of the inexhaustable riches of Scripture, but even the preacher, who is spared the trouble of a spontaneous choice of text, only too often falls into a *rut* equally injurious to himself and the people." Christlieb, *Homiletic*, p. 214. It is exactly in this connection that Christlieb says that "in respect of Scripture knowledge, especially of the Old Testament, an average German congregation is generally notably behind English Protestantism."

Now this may be considered a severe judgment, but it comes from one who as preacher, pastor and professor, had had ample experience, and who will not be charged with prejudice against the average German

congregation. It is well-known also that both Spener and Francke found the people of their day in almost heathenish ignorance of the Bible, and that they instituted *Bibelstunden* for the removal of this ignorance.

Again: The endorsement of the *pericopal* system by German preachers has been by no means so universal as many persons suppose. Luther retained the *pericopes* out of respect for tradition, and "because there are so few preachers who can treat an entire evangelist effectively, and profitably, and because therewith we shall prevent the license of the sectaries and fanatics"—which clearly implies that had circumstances been different, he would have broken away from tradition, and then it would have been Lutheran *not to use* the *pericopes*. He complained that "from St. Paul's Epistles mostly those passages were chosen which treat of external works and exhortation. The person who prescribed them was very unlearned, and thought too much of works"—which must be regarded as a most just criticism in view of the fact that in the table to which reference has been already made, not one word has been taken from the first five chapters of Romans, only fifty-four verses from Galatians, and one short lesson from five verses from Hebrews. Philip Jacob Spener, "who gave life to the Lutheran Church, as Luther gave it doctrine," wrote: "How heartily did I wish that we had never admitted in our churches the use of the *pericoparum evangelicarum*" (*Bedenken*, III., 128). It is well known that to the required text Spener often added one of his own choosing, and then based his sermon on the latter. Reinhard said: "The *pericopes* are in part very badly chosen, and are far from being effective." Herder is represented as "comparing the compulsory use of the *pericopes* to a fence in the garden of Scripture, which prevents the man who is imprisoned within it from enjoying any fruits outside it, compels him to walk every year certain steps up and down, and finally permits him to preach on the three letters of the word 'and,' " (Christlieb), *Homiletic*, p. 219. Stier, the author of *The Words of Jesus*, himself a great preacher, declares: "The *pericopes* have in them a Catholic element in the evil sense of the word; a semi-pelagian interest has unmistakably prevailed in their selection; the Gospels have been selected in a certain seeking after miracles and with a clinging to the externals of the Gospel, the Epistles almost entirely in a kind of bias toward mere morality,"—which may be rather a strong arraignment, but it contains, undeniably, a large amount of truth, and is substantially a repetition of Luther's criticism. But strongest of all are the objections of that most orthodox and powerful preacher, the redoubtable Claus Harms. We name in brief his six "disadvantages" of continuous preaching on the gospel *pericopes*. "In the gospel lessons the Gospel is not preached. How could the Gospel be preached from them? It is not in them." Luther and Spangenberg have long ago said the same. Even the Apostles are authorities here. They make but little use of the passages contained in the gospel *Peri-*

copes. "I do not say: The order of Salvation, Christianity, the Gospel, cannot be preached, and is not preached; but I say: These *Pericopes* hinder, and render it difficult to do so. This is the first disadvantage."

2. The gospel *Pericopes* favor the rationalistic preachers: "For this reason the rationalistic preachers always prefer 'the very words of Jesus,' and fight shy of the Epistles. One can preach on all the gospel *Pericopes*, and need not touch a single Christian doctrine. Even in the gospel for Trinity Sunday several themes may be found which completely excluded its Kernel."

3. A third disadvantage is that it will be found to be difficult year after year to find a new theme. Consequently the preacher will fall back on the old material. He here quotes Reinhard as we have done above.

4. "The fourth disadvantage is that it promotes laziness in the preachers. The gospel for the Sunday is as familiar to them as their own house, in which they can go round in the dark. The two or three themes on which they have already preached several times recur at once. The familiar exegesis is at hand. The Introduction, Proposition, Division, rise unbidden before the mind, and all the material comes as of itself. If this be not the case, yet is the world full of printed sermons and sketches on the gospel *Pericopes*."

5. The hearers lose interest. The *Pericope* is too familiar. The people fall asleep, even though they keep their eyes open.

6. "Books of sermons are common, and it is said: Our preacher does not preach nearly so well on the *Pericope* as we read in our sermon book. Why need we go to church?" * * * "Some will say: The preachers ought to be ashamed to warm over their old sermons, while we give them fresh grain and fresh money for their work, and bring them fresh hearts to hear what has never yet been preached to us. Others say: What need do we have of a preacher, since he never presents anything new? Let us buy a round of sermons for a few years from an old preacher, or at auction, and give the sexton a couple of dollars to read them to us in the church." "Sing unto the Lord a new song." *Pastoral Theology*, I., 5, 6.

We regard these "disadvantages," of which we have given only the substance, as absolutely decisive against the use of the *Pericopes* "ordinarily," or as a rule, whether such rule be established by authority, or be self-imposed. Harms tells us that once and again he preached the year through on free texts. His example is worthy of imitation, and his success may well be envied. And so effective was his criticism, that in Germany almost every Lutheran *Landeskirche* has ordered one or more courses of new *Pericopes* to be used in alternation with the old. Achelis, *Prakt. Theol.* I., 340.

That the preacher can often find a suitable theme for his sermon in the *Pericope*, no one can deny; but that the system brings limiting and

hampering conditions; that it hinders the fulness of the presentation of the Gospel, that it exposes the preacher to grave temptations—these are facts established by the testimony of not a few of the best, wisest and holiest men that ever stood in a pulpit.

But the decisive question with us should be, Who gave us authority to ignore such large parts of God's Word; to deprive the people of hearing the whole counsel of God; to harp on the same string, and to sing the same song year after year from the pulpit? The Bible is larger than the Prayer Book, and the authority of God is weightier than that of Jerome, of Charlemagne, of Luther, of tradition. It is no answer to our inquiry to say, that the extra-pericopal portions of the Scriptures can be treated at the second service, or at the mid-week meeting. It is a sad fact that all such services are lamentably ill-attended; and equally sad is the fact that the average preacher makes but imperfect preparation for such services. Certainly the preacher owes the fulness and the richness of the Gospel chiefly to his morning audience—to the aged who need the consolation of the Gospel, and to the young who need its instruction. When the preacher is confined, or confines himself, year after year to a small round of Scripture, he dwarfs his mind as a Bible student, and he shortens his arm as a sower of the good seed, and must expect to reap a small harvest. Rather should he "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free and be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage," and inquire, "Now, therefore, why tempt ye God, that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?" Acts. 15:10.

We would not throw away the the *pericopes*. We would not, as we did not, ignore them in practice. But we would hold ourselves free from their bondage, and use them only when they furnish a more suitable text for the gospel message than we can find elsewhere in the Word of God. That great preacher, and most fruitful and suggestive teacher of Homiletics, the late Dr. Theodore Christlieb, of Bonn, has fairly well voiced our sentiments on this subject: "Let us therefore leave the *Pericopes* standing as the Church Lectionary, though in revised form and completed by further yearly courses (whether much longer passages of Scripture should be used for this purpose is another question, and belongs to Liturgics), and let us recognize in them the value of a venerable church custom, and at the same time, for beginners a guide in the choice of texts, which on the whole is useful, to which also it must always be left free to have recourse in the sermon; yet the disadvantages of the *compulsory use* [or of the *voluntary adoption*] of the *Pericopes* for the choice of the *text*, its injurious effects upon the preacher and people, are so many and serious, and, on the other hand the advantages of the free choice of texts—partly for the preacher in relation to independence and spontaneity, the variety, freshness, and directness of his testimony, and partly for the people and their growth

in deeper and more complete knowledge of Scripture—are so many and important, that the *free choice of the text*, which prevails in most of the Evangelical Churches, and, as a matter of fact, proves itself to be by far the most rich in blessings, is *much to be preferred.*” *Homiletic*, p. 220.

J. W. RICHARD.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON.

The *Atlantic Monthly* for October comes this month with a heavily bordered cover in honor of the lamented President. It also contains an article on “The Death of the President,” which certainly was prompt. Indeed the *Atlantic* was the first of the monthlies to appear containing mention of the tragedy. We always expect something choice in this magazine, but this is one of the best numbers we have seen. The paper on “The Ills of Pennsylvania” is likely to excite wide-spread interest and attention. It is a brilliant and fearless paper and the only regret the reader has is that he may not know who its writer is. “Reconstruction and Disfranchisement;” “The Undoing of Reconstruction;” “Yale’s Fourth Jubilee;” The Piracy of Public Franchises;” “College Honor;” “Reminiscences of a Dramatic Critic;” “An English Writer’s Notes on England;” “The Author of *Obermann*;” “Small Voices of the Town;” “A Problem in Arithmetical Progression,” and “What the Public Wants to Read” are all papers of very much more than ordinary merit. Then the fiction and poetry of this number are particularly good. While other magazines are endeavoring to compensate their subscribers for giving them poor-rate literature by giving them illustrations, the *Atlantic* never once lowers its literary standard, but is more than ever the leading monthly magazine without which no student or scholar can afford to do.

ABBAY PRESS, 114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

As Ithers See Us. By Percy Vere. Pp. 177. \$1.00.

Under the above pen name, the initiated recognize Rev. J. T. Huddle, one of our young Philadelphia pastors, who, in a series of essays holds up the mirror of self-knowledge to the reader, hoping that those who hitherto have been beholding themselves in a glass darkly may see face to face the faults and foibles that are theirs. “Or, in other words” says the author, “I have a few little mischievous foxes, caught in vineyards here and there, which I wish to exhibit for your inspection. Most of them are mine, caught while gnawing my own vines; but if you find among them any bearing your own mark you are welcome to appropriate them.”

In a keen and witty, but quite informal manner, Mr. Huddle presents the common faults of man, the failings of the “fairly good” that sour many a sweet life, that poison church and home, that make man wonder if he has a friend.

The literary style of this book is generally good. The mechanical

work is excellent. Altogether one cannot fail to find it pleasant reading; unless, perhaps, one sees in the mirror held up a too familiar failing and finds among the little foxes some of his own that baffle the trap of his good sense.

We heartily commend this series of essays to the readers of the QUARTERLY. It is a good book to have in the home, to be read alike by old and young, and insures an entertaining and a profitable hour to all who opens it covers.

M. E. RICHARD.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

An Introduction to Political Economy. By Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics and Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. New and Revised Edition. (8x5½; pp. x. 377).

A new edition of Professor Ely's popular "Introduction to Political Economy," bringing it by revision down to date, is an important and welcome book. The first gratifying fact to be noted with regard to it is that in the body of the discussion the old division of the subject under the heads of Production, Exchange, Distribution and Consumption is retained. Until a more natural division is found it is desirable to keep the old as conducing both to clearness and to completeness of treatment. The reader is in no danger of losing himself, and can see the relations of things more easily and comprehend better the value of what is new. There may be a greater appearance of originality if a writer pursues his subjective method, but the reader's ease is promoted if the familiar paths are followed.

We can hardly defend the awkward definition hidden away on page 86; "Political Economy is the science of those social phenomena to which the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of man give rise."

The most recent theories of the science are lucidly presented. The introduction of ethical considerations to supplant the "enlightened self-interest" of the older Economists is strongly advocated. This may at first seem like a radical departure in the science and a great ennoblement of the discussion, but really it makes little difference. Righteousness and self-interest lead to the same end, though it may be admitted that the former usually moves by a more direct road. Possibly economics with its self-interest can render aid to ethics with its altruism to as great an extent as practical ethics can aid economics. No great harm can result, however, by removing from a text-book on economics the old-standing and prejudicial declaration that the science is founded on selfishness.

The fairness with which the author treats the doctrine of protection, the subject of labor organizations and the wages question marks a distinct advance beyond earlier economists, and if we mistake not, beyond his less mature self. On the matter of strikes, monopolies and various socialistic measures he recognizes the definite and positive convictions

into which the ideas of thinking men are hardening where a decade ago all was in solution and uncertainty.

The style of the work is exceptionally fluent, popular and entertaining. Perhaps the very facility of the author occasionally becomes a snare and betrays him into statements that have no discoverable relation to the subject (see p. 34.). Important matters are often too briefly stated and unimportant ones are too much emphasized by expansion. We have a right to be exacting on these points in a book that has long been before the public and widely useful. There is probably no other treatise which gives so satisfactorily to the general reader the present status of economic science and is so fresh in its illustrations.

JOHN A. HIMES.

Daniel, Darius the Median, Cyrus the Great. A Chronologico-Historical Study Based on the Results of Recent Researches and from Sources Hebrew, Greek, Cuneiform, etc., by Joseph Horner, D. D., LL. D. (7½x5; pp. 142).

The complete title of this treatise is given by the author in his Preface as: "Daniel, Darius the Median and Cyrus the Great; an authentication of Daniel's book, an identification of the Median, an elucidation, in part, of the story of the Great King and parts of the books of Jeremiah and Ezra; aiming by information derived from recent researches and from sources HEBREW, GREEK, CUNEIFORM, etc., to bring more clearly into view the general and singular accuracy of the Biblical historical notes, for the period from the fall of Nineveh, B. C. 607, to the reign of Darius the Persian, son of Hystaspes, B. C. 521; with tabulated chronology and related suggestions, geographical, exegetical, etc.; the whole intended as an effort, in its sphere, corrective of some of the errors, oversights, misinterpretations, etc., of former writers, and of the later destructive criticism."

The chief problem of the writer is the identification of the tribes and rulers of profane with those of sacred history. The solution of it is undertaken in no iconoclastic spirit; due weight is given to tradition, but the old puzzles are attacked with the aid of whatever additional knowledge is furnished by recently deciphered inscriptions and by research. Proper caution is observed in drawing inferences and the conclusions may therefore be received with considerable favor. Repetition is resorted to for the sake of clearness but with the effect rather of confusion; an improved method would produce better results and make the book easier reading for the uninformed and unscholarly.

JOHN A. HIMES.

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CONTENTS OF NO. IV.

ARTICLE.	PAGE.
<p>I. THE CALL TO THE MINISTRY,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY PRESIDENT JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.</p>	453
<p>II. HARNACK'S WESEN DES CHRISTENTHUMS,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY GEORGE U. WENNER, D. D.</p>	507
<p>III. SOME ASPECTS OF THE OXFORD MOVEMENT,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY REV. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, A. M.</p>	521
<p>IV. THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY REV. J. M. RUTHRAUFF, D. D.</p>	545
<p>V. THE CHANGED CONDITIONS OF EDUCATION,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY C. S. ALBERT, D. D.</p>	559
<p>VI. CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">I. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY REV. M. COOVER, A. M.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">II. GERMAN,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A. M.</p>	572
<p>VII. REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE,</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Elementary Homiletics—Atlantic Monthly—As Ithers See Us—An In- troduction to Political Economy—Daniel, Darius the Median, Cyrus the Great.</p>	588



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IN ITS

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